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A HISTORY
OF THE
MENTAL GROWTH OF MANKIND
IN
ANCIENT TIMES

BY
JOHN S. HITTELL

VOLUME I.
SAVAGISM



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PREFACE.

A good record of the mental growth of mankind would comprehend all the highly important lessons of human experience, and would be the most valuable of all histories; but as it would be precious, so it is difficult of composition. Many authors have undertaken it; many others may undertake it before one produces a work worthy of the subject; and as failure may help to clear the track for success, I venture to offer my contribution in this matter to the public. According to my conception of the history of culture, it should give solutions to such queries as these:—

Is man the direct product of natural evolution or of supernatural creation? Are all men descendants of one primary human stock? Were the first men black, yellow, or white? In what part of the earth and in what geological period did they make their appearance? Is the intellectual development of man a necessary result of his nature in such an environment as that in which he exists and has existed in historical times? Has his progress been continuous? Has it shown itself in all the departments of life? Has it been governed exclusively by natural causes and uniform law? Has it always

been beneficent? What are its main branches? How has each of them advanced in different ages and countries? How has each of them affected the general welfare? Into what categories should we divide the mental growth of mankind for the purpose of getting the clearest and most correct conceptions of its advances?

What are the most important branches of industry? How did the arts of kindling fire, cooking and preserving food, chipping stone into edge tools, shaping spears, bows, and arrows, tanning leather, weaving cloth, burning pottery, plaiting baskets, building huts and boats, tilling land, domesticating herbivorous animals, smelting, casting, and forging metals,—how did these arts begin and advance? How did edge tools of stone, bronze, and iron become characteristic features of certain stages in human culture? How, when, and where did the great inventions have their origin and development, and what influence did they exert on human society? How, and to what extent, has the productive power of industry increased? Has the increase added to the comfort of man and to what extent? Has any one of the main branches of industry ever made much progress without stimulating many of the others? Do increasing wealth, abundant machinery, and cheap transportation contribute to the greatest good of the greatest number?

What were the social customs of the earliest times and how did they change into those of the present age? How did phrases of salutation and forms of obeisance

and prostration begin? Was dress first used for ornament, for comfort, or for the gratification of modesty and what changes has it undergone? What matrimonial system existed among the earliest men? Did promiscuity ever prevail extensively? When, where, and how did polygyny, polyandry, and monogamy begin and spread?

Is articulate speech of natural or supernatural origin? Were its first forms simple or complex? How have words been changed in length and in inflection? What relations do figurative bear to literal meanings, and abstract to concrete terms in the various conditions of speech? What are the main classes of language, and how have they arisen? What are the causes of simplicity and complexity in grammatical construction? How did the art of writing begin? How did it advance from signs for ideas to others for words, for syllables, and for letters? How did printing commence, and how has it grown?

How was education, by the aid of books, established? What are its main branches? How has it been affected by general progress? What nations have taken the lead in it? What places in it have been occupied in various centuries, by law, medicine, surgery, physical science, engineering, mathematics, metaphysical philosophy, theology, philology, history, ethnology, and ancient and modern literature?

When religion first appeared on the earth, was it a complete system of supernatural revelation, needing no

modification in creed or discipline to adapt it to the wants of men in all ages and countries? Or, like other branches of culture, did it appear at first in mere rudiments, and did it grow gradually into many complex and highly differentiated forms? How did low savages come to adopt the belief that the spirits of their relatives continue to live after the death of the body, with the same needs, passions, and occupations as in the corporeal life, demanding offerings to preserve their favor? How did this belief lead to the erection of shelters over graves, and to the construction of temples, to the establishment of periodical sacrifices, and to the installation and endowment of priests, and how did the divine ancestor of a family become the partial god of a tribe, and then of a nation, and finally the impartial god of all mankind? What are the main features of the leading religious systems of past and present times, and what are and have been their influences on mankind?

Have all men accepted the same ideas of ethical obligation? Have they believed that slavery, retaliation, despotic government, superior political privilege of a small class, torture, and religious persecution were right, and if various ethical theories have prevailed in different times and countries, have the differences been marked by continuous improvement? Have they been affected, and in what manner, by the changes in industrial and political conditions? Is our moral code the product of intuitive perception, or of experience guided by reason?

What nations have excelled in war, and how did they attain superiority? What influence have they exerted on the world? What were the main characteristics of their military systems? How has the military art been changed by the introduction of metallic weapons, gunpowder, and other developments in the industrial arts?

How did political organization begin and advance from the small group without a chief, to the tribe with a chief, to the kingdom with a hereditary sovereign, to the city with an aristocratic government, and to the nation which grants equal civil and political rights to all its adult male residents born on its soil? What have been the main steps in the development of constitutional, civil, criminal, international, and parliamentary law?

What have been the most important contributions to culture, and to what ages, continents, and races are we indebted for them? What do we owe to the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Chaldeans, Hindoos, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Jews, Arabs, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Hollanders, Scandinavians, Slavs, English, Scotch, and Americans? What geographical conditions are most favorable to culture, and in what countries has it reached its highest developments?

Is it because of inherent capacity or of peculiar environment that different peoples have excelled in certain departments of culture? If, at the age of five years, a thousand Athenian boys had been adopted in Spartan families, trained in the Spartan system, and in every

manner treated as if they had been the children of their foster parents, would they have acquired the Spartan characteristics? If an equal number of Spartan boys had been brought up in Athens as the children of Athenian parents, would they have grown to be like the native Athenians? Is one Euraryan nationality more competent than the others, to excel, in either the fine arts, poetry, science, philosophy, industry, polity or war? Has the Celt any natural fitness for free government? Is he superior to the Teuton in delicacy of sentiment? Are the nations of Southern Europe superior to those of the North in artistic genius? Are those of the North superior in mental and physical energy?

To these questions, which have never been answered satisfactorily, I shall offer replies, which, however weak they may be in many points, will yet, I hope, contribute a little to the stock of historical truth. I shall try to throw light on human nature as it is, by showing something of what it has been,¹ and to trace in the remote past the origins of some of our present institutions.² I believe that continuous progress has prevailed throughout the past; and that the irrepressible progressiveness of humanity is one of the great facts, or laws in nature, deserving to be classed with the inherence of force in matter, the definiteness of chemical proportions, cosmic evolution, biological evolution, the conservation of energy, and the invaluable correlation of the physical and psychical forces.

I expect to follow up this book with other volumes in which the course of human progress will be traced down to the present time.

Besides giving information as full and correct as I can about my subject, I shall call attention to the ablest authors who have written about various branches of culture, and wherever I can find material suitable for my purpose, I shall quote their language for the purpose of enlivening my work with their brilliancy and stimulating the reader to examine their books.

Several words of my own coinage occur in this book; others used here are not defined clearly in the dictionaries, or are not accepted by uniform usage in the meanings in which I employ them, and it seems proper that I should give definitions in such cases.

I use culture only in the sense of the mental growth of mankind; culturestep from the German *kulturstufe*, as a grade of culture;³ and culture-historical from the German *kulturhistorisch* as relating to the history of culture.⁴

I divide culture into three main culturesteps,—savagism, barbarism, and civilization. Savagism is the condition of the North American Indians, the Australians, the natives of the Pacific Islands, and the negroes generally. They have not risen to city life and national organization. Barbarism is the condition of the Aztecs, Quichuans, ancient Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Persians, and Hindoos, the Chinese and the Mohammedan nations. They have cities and natural governments, but

lack a high intellectual life. Civilization is limited to the ancient Greeks, and Romans, and the modern Christian nations.

To the Aryans in Europe—that is the Celts, Greeks, Latins, Slavs, and Teutons—and their descendants in other parts of the world, I give the name Euraryans. The best word to comprehend productive toil of all kinds,—commerce, transportation of passengers and freight, banking, agriculture, mining, metallurgy, and manufactures,—is industry.⁵ Since the word polygamy means plural marriage, and may indicate the marriage of one woman to several men, or of several women to one man, polygyny is here preferred to signify a matrimonial system in which one husband has several wives.

JOHN S. HITTELL.

San Francisco, September 9, 1893.

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A HISTORY OF MANKIND.

Savagism.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. *Man's Antiquity*.—Man has existed on the earth certainly forty thousand and perhaps two hundred thousand years.¹ In the pleistocene era, when periods of subtropical warmth, continuing each for thousands of years, alternated with others of glacial cold in central Europe, he dwelt there. In the last of at least four warm interglacial periods of that era, the climate of the Northern Hemisphere was so mild that the vegetation in latitude 75° N. was about the same as that now found twenty degrees nearer to the equator; and the lion, the hippopotamus, the kaffir cat, the hyena, and many plants of subtropical character lived as far north as England. The woolly elephant or mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros and the sabre-toothed tiger were also there, but these animals, now extinct, may have been able to endure the severe winters of the northern temperate zone. The era or the last era of the subtropical mammals in northwestern Europe was followed by the reappearance of the great ice sheet, at which time the land there had a con-

siderably higher elevation than now ; and then the land sank, the climate became milder and the ice melted, but the elephant, the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the lion, and the tiger did not return. Another subsidence of the land occurred and in the midst of this era, man, with polished stone tools and presumably with tillage, made his appearance. Again the land in England rose, this time to an elevation about fifty feet above its present level, and numerous small glaciers appeared in the British and Scandinavian mountains. Still later the land sank to thirty feet below its present level, and then Europe took its present shape, but this occurred so long before our time that no record or tradition of the changes in the form and area of the continent has been preserved among its people.

Geikie, Croll, Lyell, and other learned and able scholars who have written about the antiquity of mankind, believe that our species has existed on the earth at least two hundred thousand years. Some authorities who have investigated the history of oriental nations tell us that presumably not more than fifteen thousand and perhaps not more than ten thousand years have elapsed since the introduction of bronze tools began to lift men from savagism into barbarism. Not three thousand years have passed since some of the Greek states emerged from barbarism into civilization. All mankind spent perhaps one hundred and eighty thousand years in savagism ; and during part of the last twenty thousand years, a small proportion of our race has been in higher conditions of culture. The development of tilling from non-tilling culture was an achievement of greater difficulty and demanded more time than that of barbarism from savagism.

The earliest traces of men have been found in Europe and North America, because in those continents there has been the greatest amount of mining and excavation, under the inspection of highly educated men; but it does not follow that the earliest men lived in those continents. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that the human race first appeared in the torrid portions of Africa or Malaysia,² where the black race, the nearest human relatives of the highest brutes, the anthropoid apes—and presumably older than the more highly developed yellow and white races, are indigenous. Reasoning from the changes observed in later ages, we infer that these primitive black men were smaller in body and brain, and more ape-like in their forms and faces, than the Africans of modern times.

Of the men who lived more than twenty thousand years ago, it may be said that we know nothing save that they lived and had edge-tools of stone. We find their bones, their arrowheads, their flint knives or scrapers, and the marks of their tools or weapons on fossil wood or bone, and very little more. These remains furnish much material for remark to the archæologist, but little for the historian.

All men belong to one species. All races of humanity are indefinitely fertile in their crosses with one another. In all tribes and nations and in all stages of culture, man has the same general features of physical form and mental character. He has the same number of pulse beats and of inhalations in a minute, the same average temperature, the same wants, the same passions.³ In his most primitive condition he contained the potentialities of speech, industry, society, polity and religion, as they now appear. He was a struggling, toiling, reasoning animal,

with a capacity for and an irresistible impulse towards continuous and unlimited mental progress. He was so constituted that he could enjoy keen pleasures and endure bitter sorrows; that his days should be fringed with smiles and tears; that life should be dear to him; and that his attachment to it should increase as his generations multiplied.

By his physical and intellectual qualities, man is enabled to obtain his food, to preserve his life, and to make his permanent home in every zone, and in every continent. He can live where ether boils and where mercury freezes in the open air. The land animals, the birds, the aquatic mammals, and the fishes of every zone furnish food nutritious to him. He can reach all parts of the earth's surface save those within a few degrees of the poles. He dominates over the globe, occupies most of it, and it is by his sufferance that many of the other occupants are permitted to live.

SEC. 2. *Simian Relations*.—The negro's skeleton is relatively heavier than that of the white man; his skull is thicker, and sometimes in Dahomy has no sutures.¹ In fighting, black men often butt each other like rams, and they break a stick over the head rather than over the knee. The swords of the Spaniards were often broken on the heads of the aborigines in Jamaica.² The Australians break sticks over their heads,³ and they have duels, in which the combatants exchange alternate blows on the head with stout clubs, each standing still in his turn to give his enemy a fair chance, until one is stunned. Every blow would disable if not kill a European. The tibia and fibula in the shin are sometimes united into one bone through their whole length in the black and more rarely in the yellow man, as they always are in the

ape, *Simia troglodytes*. The arch of the negro's instep is low and his foot flat, resembling the foot of the ape and suggesting the exaggeration of the burlesque song, "The hollow of his foot makes a hole in the ground." His heel projects more than the white man's, so that he needs a different shoe.⁴ Often when standing, instead of throwing his weight squarely on his flat sole, he rests on the outer edges of his feet, as do the large apes.⁵ The sesamoid bones at the joints of the thumb and great toe are found rarely in Europeans and often in negroes.⁶

The legs are shorter relatively in the savage than in the civilized man;⁷ and in the African the lower arm and hand are longer. When standing upright he can touch his knee-cap with the point of his middle finger, while the white man cannot come within two inches of it.⁸ In the civilized man the tibia is round; in many savages, including Michigan mound-builders⁹ and European cave dwellers,¹⁰ it is flat or platecnymic. The perforation of the lower end of the humerus for the passage of the great nerve is found in all the quadrumana, in one-third of the Europeans of the reindeer period, and in one per cent. of the modern Europeans.¹¹

While the finger bones are longer in the negro, the fingers down to the separation between them are shorter, the flesh or skin extending farther from the knuckles,¹² and one of the most strongly marked lines of the European hand, that of the last three fingers, is wanting in the blacks, and is slightly marked in the yellow and red men.¹³

In the narrowness of the pelvis¹⁴ and in the breadth and arched form of the chest, the negro occupies an intermediate position between the white man and the ape.¹⁵ A comparison of the profiles of the heads of different races

shows that in prognathism or projection of the lower part of the face, the black man is nearest to, and the white man farthest from the ape, with the yellow in the intermediate position. Flatness of nose and projection of teeth accompany general prognathism. The negro's occiput, instead of projecting beyond his thick neck, is on a line with it, and the same peculiarity is found in some Polynesians. The flat nasal bones are ossified with the adjacent bones in some Africans as they are in apes.¹⁶

The women of the Bushmen tribe have a remarkable development of fat on the hips which in some cases projects out backwards six inches or more, with a nearly even horizontal upper surface. This hump,—of which engravings may be found in many scientific works, from drawings of the woman who attracted great attention at Paris in the last century as “the Hottentot Venus,”—has its counterpart in some of the female apes.¹⁷

Negroes and Australians have little calf on the leg, and anatomists say that the calf is one of the peculiar features of humanity. One of the most remarkable peculiarities of the black men, is the woolly character of the hair. Instead of being long and straight, or curly, as in white men, it is either short or kinky. In many tribes it does not exceed three inches in length, and gathers in little rope-like twists about a third of an inch in diameter. In the Hottentots, Bushmen and Papuans, the hair grows in tufts with intervening bare patches of scalp, and instead of gradually diminishing in length and thickness of growth on the temples and neck, as in the white man, it ceases abruptly, suggesting to the inexperienced European observer, the idea that it must be a wig.¹⁸

In many tribes, the women are more muscular than the men. They carry heavier burdens, and can swim

farther.¹⁹ They are accustomed to steady toil, while the men are not. And yet, in consequence of very early marriages and the custom of suckling their children for at least three years, with occasional subjection to excessive fatigue and insufficient food supply, they are wrinkled before they reach twenty-five. In several tropical countries, they cease to bear children before they have reached that age.²⁰ With rare exceptions, they have neither finely-shaped features nor charming expression; and the roundness of youth disappears before they are out of their teens. The beauty of the mature woman is a product of civilization. In certain tribes nearly all the children are born at one season of the year, as in many species of brutes.

These physical variations between savages and civilized men are, nearly all, caused by differences in culture. They are results of intellectual development accompanied by different modes of life, and as such must be considered as belonging to the history of the mental growth of the species.

SEC. 3. *Size, etc.*—The primitive negroes were probably smaller than modern savages, who generally are smaller than civilized men. The average height of the Dokos, Akkas and Abongos is four feet and one inch; of the Bushmen four feet and a half; of the Veddahs and Andamanese, less than five feet; and of the Brazilian Indians, the Aleuts, the Eskimos and some savage tribes of Northern Asia, less than five feet four inches.¹ The prehistoric cave dwellers of Europe were small, and the hilt of the swords of the bronze age are too short for the modern European hand.

The savage has relatively a larger alimentary system than the civilized man, and can eat more at a meal.

The Bushmen have "powers of stomach similar to beasts of prey, both in voracity and in the power of supporting hunger."² A Yakoot or a Tungos can devour forty pounds of meat in a day.³ Wonderful stories are told of the capacity of stomach in Comanches, Eskimos, and Australians.⁴ Though the savage is tough and under great stimulus can travel fast and far, he dislikes steady toil and is, perhaps, unfitted for it by the irregularity of his food supply if not by the character of his digestive system or of his mind. After gorging himself he wants a prolonged period of rest. The Hottentots have been described as "the laziest people under the sun."⁵ In consequence of irregularity in exertion, the Bushmen are usually suffering with famine or stuffing themselves with a feast.⁶ The Bhils "will half starve rather than work."⁷ The Kirghiz are exemplary idlers.⁸ The North American Indians hate and despise regular work of every kind. They act as if they had inherited a constitutional unfitness for steady toil.

SEC. 4. *Acute Senses*.—In acuteness of sight, hearing, and smell, the savages approach the brutes. The North American Indian can see objects at a distance as distinctly with the naked eye as a white man can with an opera glass. There are tribes in which every individual can recognize, by its odor, the ownership of an article of clothing recently worn by any intimate acquaintance. When meeting a stranger they want to smell him¹ as an aid to identification. They can discover the approach of a white man in the dark by his odor, which is offensive to them as it is to their horses and dogs. Some tribes can distinguish the sexes by the smell.² Savages dislike odors imperceptible to the average white nostril, and they like or are indifferent to some such as that of

the stoat, very offensive to the civilized olfactories. Many of the favorite perfumes of the black and red man fill the European with repugnance. To most savages putrid meats and vegetables and unwashed intestines of animals are not rendered unwelcome as food by their odor.³

SEC. 5. *Vitality*.—In the toughness of his vitality, the savage resembles a brute. The healing power of nature is stronger in him than in the civilized man. A severe bullet wound that would immediately prostrate a white man, and prove fatal to him, despite the best surgical care, will not prevent a Redman from keeping on his horse to ride thirty or forty miles and finally recovering without the aid of a surgeon.¹ An Australian had his skull fractured to the length of three inches on the temple by a blow which entirely severed the temporal artery, and yet the next day he took an active part in a public gathering. Another Australian had the ulna and radius of one arm shattered so that the splinters of bone were driven down into his hand, and yet his wound healed without bandage or operation, and notwithstanding the fact that many maggots had made their appearance on its surface.² In Abyssinia death seldom ensues when a hand or foot is cut off in the punishment of crime.³ Moors, Arabs, Malays, and Redmen recover from wounds that would be fatal to Europeans.⁴ Savage women in Africa, in the Pacific Islands and in both Americas give birth to children with little pain, and with very brief interruption, usually of not more than an hour or two, to their ordinary occupations.

Of the relative insensibility of savages to pain, we shall find many proofs in the sections relating to their tattooings, cicatrizations and ceremonies of initiation into

the classes of adults, warriors and priests. Monteiro observed in Angola that negroes suffered little pain from large wounds, and that their systems felt no such shock as do those of whites from severe amputations.⁵ Moseley says "negroes are void of sensibility to a surprising degree. They are not subject to nervous diseases. They sleep soundly in every disease, nor does any mental disturbance ever keep them awake. They bear chirurgical operations much better than white people; and what would be the cause of insupportable pain to a white man a negro would almost disregard."⁶

Savages are also relatively insensible to the discomforts of cold. The Fuegian when nearly naked seemed almost indifferent to sleet, while Cook's sailors, with all their clothing, were suffering intensely. The Yakoot can sleep without injury while the frost forms on his naked legs; and the North American Indian does not need one-fourth as much clothing as does his white neighbor in the winter of Dakota. The red children of that region go naked in cold weather, a practice which would soon be fatal to white boys and girls of the same age.⁷ The Bushman has little feeling for changes of temperature, and the Abipone is "extremely tolerant of the inclemencies of the sky."⁸

The colored races are less susceptible than white people to various forms of malarious disease. In the Gulf States east of the Mississippi, pure negroes seldom die of yellow fever; the larger the proportion of white blood in the mixed breed, the greater the mortality from that epidemic. The dark hill tribes of Hindostan suffer less with malaria than do the Europeans in the same region. Gout, apoplexy and dropsy were unknown among the aborigines of Lower California.⁹

SEC. 6. *Habits*.—Some savage habits, unknown to civilization, may deserve mention here. The Hottentots and Bushmen sleep on their sides with the knees touching the breast, and the calf touching the thigh; and the Australian sleeps rolled up like a hedgehog.¹ The Polynesians generally, the Malays and some Africans, as well as the poorer Chinamen frequently rest by sitting on their haunches, with all their weight on their feet.² In the Soudan and other parts of Africa a man may sometimes be seen resting while standing erect, with one foot on the other leg above the knee, steadying himself with his spear.³ In the midst of a tiresome march, the Aymara prepares himself for continuing his journey by standing for a few minutes on his head.⁴

SEC. 7. *Savagism Disappearing*.—Savagism is diminishing rapidly in its numbers and area; and at the end of the next century will probably have few living representatives. Since 1500 A. D., many tribes have died out; many have greatly decreased, and none have gained much in number. The rapid diminution has been observed under the dominion of the Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Russian, American and aboriginal governments; under the Catholic, Protestant, Greek and heathen religions; under civil, military and sacerdotal rule; in tropical, temperate and frigid climes; in Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, Australia, Tasmania, the Aleutian Islands, the United States, Canada, South America, the Antilles, and Africa.¹ The last aboriginal Cuban died in 1700;² the last Tasmanian in 1869;³ the last of many tribes once numerous east of the Mississippi in unrecorded years. There are not now one-twentieth as many Redmen in the United States as there were three centuries since.⁴ Cook estimated the

number of the Hawaiians about 1775 at four hundred thousand, and now the census shows about forty thousand. The Tahitian islands had sixteen thousand inhabitants in 1797 and have now six thousand.⁵ In 1820 the Mariana group had twenty thousand; in 1880 not two thousand.⁶ Lavavai had one thousand two hundred in 1822 and in 1830 only one hundred and twenty. In 1822 there were twenty thousand Indians at the missions of California, and the descendants of those people pure in their blood, do not now number one thousand, and their descendants of mixed blood are few.

The main causes of the decrease are the inability of the savages to adopt a civilized mode of life, the diminution of their food supplies, their inability to restrain their longing for intoxicating liquors, the introduction among them of new diseases, their disastrous wars with the more numerous white men, and their expulsion from their ancestral homes by advancing civilization. Nowhere has a considerable community, savage three centuries since, risen without admixture with white blood, to a culture of unquestionable civilization. Large areas occupied exclusively by savages in 1500 are now occupied exclusively by civilized white men, and other such areas are under the dominating control of the Europeans.

In the early part of the last century, the buffalo ranged over one million five hundred thousand square miles of North America, and was the chief reliance of three hundred thousand Redmen for their food, clothing, bedding, and tent covering. The total number of these animals was presumably not less than eight million or ten million, so that two million could die annually without diminution of the stock. Those immense herds have now disappeared,⁷ as a source of food. Under the influence of fire

arms and of the high prices offered for pelts, many large animals, including deer, antelope, elk and moose, have entirely disappeared from extensive regions now occupied by white men, and have greatly diminished in regions still inhabited exclusively by Redmen. Under the demand for the oil and skin of seals, and for the ivory of walruses, those aquatic mammals have been greatly reduced in numbers, and the Eskimos are thus deprived of their previous supply of food. The Indians on the banks of the Columbia and Fraser have been deprived by white fisheries, of much of the salmon which formerly ascended to the upper portions of those rivers.

Various contagious and infectious diseases previously unknown to the aboriginal Americans and Pacific Islanders, were introduced among them by the Europeans. The smallpox swept away entire tribes, and the measles proved fatal to many. Forms of throat disease previously unknown or unimportant became widely destructive in Polynesia after the people began to wear clothes. While under the control of the Franciscan friars, the Mission Indians of California diminished rapidly; and those Indians taken while children as servants into American families in California, generally died of consumption before reaching the age of thirty.

Wherever civilized settlers have established themselves in savage territory, the aborigines have been driven back and in many cases have been expelled by force from their ancestral homes. War, the practically unavoidable accompaniment of the spread of civilization, was in many cases provoked much more by the savages than by the civilized men, and the general result has been beneficial to mankind.⁸

SEC. 8. *Savage History*.—As a necessary result of the

character of the material, a large part of this volume will be a description of the arts and institutions of different tribes, with little information about the circumstances of their development. In savagism, progress is so slow and so hidden from observation, that we must learn its growth only by comparison of the various conditions, successive in culture, not in the same territory, but in different countries. It has not been given to any one political organization to march, in the plain view of history, through all grades of past progress, nor to be its leading exponent for many ages. As compared with the long existence of humanity, nations generally have short lives. They strut for a few years on the scene and then make their exit, to appear no more forever. A Celtic, a Roman, and a Teutonic Gaul have occupied the territory and contributed to the population of modern France. A Numidian, a Carthaginian, a Roman, a Vandal, and a Mohammedan state ruled successively before the French established their present dominion in Algiers. In Egypt, Judea, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany, England, Russia, and Hindostan, we find revolution after revolution. Among peoples in the lower culture-steps, generally, the warfare is more bitter and continuous, the military organization less compact, and the political community smaller. Such influences are unfavorable to the long duration of tribal life, and to the production of many grades of culture in any one nationality; and they render it impossible to trace much mental growth in any one savage community.

Every savage tribe has remained through its whole known career, in the same or nearly the same culture-step. If it had no tillage when first observed by white men, then it has not adopted tillage yet. If it had no

slaves, then it has no slaves yet. No tribe has a tradition of inventing or adopting pottery, weaving, or sail canoes. Such improvements were made in the past, but at a time so remote that the memory of their first introduction has been lost. The Australians, Kaffirs, and Redmen of North America, after being familiar for generations with civilized arts, are still savages.

The account of the manners and customs of savages at the beginning of a history of mankind may be properly historical, though it does not trace distinctly the development of the higher from the lower conditions. It is sufficient to show how one tribe lived on wild plants and animals; and how another obtained some of its food from land tilled by women; and how still another had large stocks of food grown with the help of slaves; and how one of these forms followed another in the natural course of progress. Of the advance of humanity before the time of written records, we must form our conceptions, to a large extent, by inferences from later conditions. Such inferences, though very different from the proofs obtainable for most of the facts in civilized culture, are safe guides when used with knowledge and judgment, and are indispensable aids in searching for light upon the childhood of humanity.

In the accounts given here of the savages and their culture, the present tense will be used for convenience of expression even in reference to tribes which, in modern times, have died out or have abandoned the arts, customs, and ideas of their forefathers.

CHAPTER II.

ETHNOLOGY.

SECTION 9. *Races*.—Men may be divided into three main races, the black, the yellow, and the white.

The black race, in physical organization nearest to the ape, and in mental capacity the lowest, numbers perhaps two hundred and fifty million persons, and occupies Australia, Melanesia, most of Africa, and a small part of Asia. Most of the blacks are in the torrid zone, and more than any other, they are a tropical race. They have never produced a great inventor, merchant, statesman, conqueror, orator, author, or religious teacher, nor built a splendid city, nor maintained a durable government over millions of people, nor made an important contribution to progress in historical times. The negroes and Congoese, ever since they became known to white men, have been recognized as the fittest of all families for bondage, and have furnished most of the material for the slave trade. Too lazy to apply themselves steadily to labor without compulsion, too stupid to form powerful military organizations, and too spiritless to make stubborn resistance to oppression, they have in all ages submitted to servitude.

The yellow race, in physical organization between the black and the white races, numbers perhaps six hundred million persons, and occupies eastern and northern Asia, both Americas, the Malay archipelago, Polynesia, Micronesia, and Madagascar. It is found in the torrid, temperate, and frigid zones. Most of the yellow men are barbarous, many are savage, none are civilized.

The white race numbers perhaps five hundred and fifty million persons, and includes the Hindoos, Persians, Afghans, Belooches, Armenians, Georgians, Circassians, Slavonians, Celts, Greeks, Latins and Teutons, who are classed together as Aryans, and the Hebrews, Arabs, Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Copts, Fellahs, Abyssinians and Berbers, who are classed together as Semites. The white men belong to the temperate zone and all civilization belongs to them, but not all of them are civilized.

Besides races of different colors, mankind is divided into archæological classes of the prehistoric and the historic. The prehistoric savages of most interest to us are the pleistocene European cave dwellers and drift men, the Danish shell-mounders, the Swiss pile dwellers, who may have belonged to the white race, and the Aleutian echinus-eaters, who were yellow.

Although geographical circumstances have great influence on the progress of civilized communities, they have relatively little on tribes in low conditions of culture. The small and isolated group of the Tahitian Islands with only six hundred square miles of area in the tropics, without an indigenous cereal or quadruped, was the home of the highest development of modern savagism, and decidedly superior to Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand, each of which had a greater area, larger popula-

tion, and greater natural resources in charge of the same Polynesian race.

SEC. 10. *Australians, etc.*—The black race is divided into the Australian, Melanesian, Negro, Congoese, and Kaffir families. The Australians have no tillage, no pottery, no cloth, no permanent chiefs, and in most districts, no huts and no canoes. In competition with all other families, they can claim the distinction of having the largest number of people and the most extensive territory in the lowest condition of culture.

Their continent, the only one exclusively savage, that is, savage in its aboriginal population, is also the poorest of the continents in soil, rainfall, botany, and zoölogy. It has no indigenous cereal or placental mammal. The greater part of its area is an arid desert. It has no great navigable river, no large fertile valley. Africa has a majority of the savages of the globe, and as compared with the other continents, has the shortest coast line in proportion to area, the fewest good harbors, and the most oppressive climate. The Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian Islands are generally small, and lacking in cereals and in indigenous ruminants, and most of them have neither clay suitable for pottery, nor flint suitable for stone knives. America is poor in indigenous cereals and ruminants.

The Melanesians, called also Papuans or negrillos, number perhaps two hundred thousand and occupy Melanesia or the tropical Pacific Islands, extending through fifty degrees of longitude from Fiji to Wagen in the southern hemisphere. There are also a few small communities of Melanesians in the Malay archipelago, and these are about as low in culture as the Australians. The Papuans generally are in the tillage culturestep. They have dogs,

pigs, chickens, huts, and canoes. They have few slaves and no hereditary nobility. In industrial skill, political organization and general culture, the Fijians are much superior to the other Melanesians.

SEC. 11. *Negroes, etc.*—The Kaffirs occupy Africa from 10° S. latitude to the Cape of Good Hope. From their line to 17° N. are the Congoese, between whose territory and the Sahara are the negroes. The Bushmen, few in number, and on the same level in culture with the Australians, belong to the Kaffir family. The African blacks generally are in a condition of impure savagism. By intercourse with white men they have learned the arts of metallurgy and pasturage, and have acquired considerable stocks of iron and of milk-yielding animals; but their polity, religion, social institutions and general mental state are savage. They have no public records, no art of writing, no orderly government, and no noteworthy accumulation of property increasing from generation to generation. They have pottery, woollen cloth, large canoes and permanent dwellings. Many of their tribes have despotic chiefs, and slaves; few have a well organized nobility.

SEC. 12. *Malays.*—The Malays occupy the islands west of New Guinea and north of Australia, besides part of the peninsula of Malacca. Their territory is nearly all insular and, except Madagascar, all in the tropics. Their sea-coast is extensive in proportion to the area of the land, and their islands are near together, so that their situation is favorable to maritime commerce. As boat-builders, mariners, explorers and colonists, they and their descendants, the Polynesians¹ and Micronesians, have surpassed all other savage families. They sailed far to the west, to the east and to the north. The name Malagasy indicates that the inhabitants of Madagascar immi-

grated from Malacca; and numerous words prove the relationship of their speech with that of the Malays in Java and Borneo, and with that of the Polynesians and Micronesians. Though thirty degrees of longitude separate Tahiti from New Zealand, a native of the former group could serve as interpreter in the latter, for Captain Cook. Traditions of the first colonizing expeditions are preserved in many of the islands; and the names of their former homes were carried with them to the new islands. The word Hawaii—or its equivalent, evidently of the same origin,—is derived from the old name of Java, and is found in Samoa, Tonga, Roratonga and New Zealand.²

Since ancient times, the Malays of Malacca, Sumatra and Java have been influenced by communication, more or less direct, with China, Siam and Burma, from which they learned to smelt iron, to tame the buffalo, and to use letters, so that they or most of them long since rose into barbarism. There are however many Malays who are still savages, and of these the general cultural condition is very similar to that of the Polynesians.

SEC. 13. *Polynesians*.—The most interesting sub-family of the Malays is the Polynesian, which occupies New Zealand, Tucopia, the Ellice group, and the tropical islands of the Pacific east of longitude 180°. Except New Zealand, all this territory is in the tropics, and consists of numerous insular groups. The largest island has less than eight thousand square miles and fewer than twenty-five thousand inhabitants now, and probably had fewer than eighty thousand people when first known to European navigators. The larger islands of tropical Polynesia are volcanic and rise in their center to high peaks, with narrow belts suitable for tillage near the sea shore. Many of the smaller islands are of coral rock,

and rise only a few feet above the level of the ocean. The Polynesians and the Micronesians west of them have no metals, no pottery, no weaving, no public records and no herds of ruminant animals, but their lack of metals, ruminants, pottery and cloth should be charged to the poverty of their country, not to their want of enterprise. They have tillage, slaves, hereditary nobles and priests, despotic chiefs, ancestral gods and national divinities. Their general culture is the highest in modern savagism and in a comparison of their tribes with one another, the Tahitians are entitled to the first, and the Maori to the last place, notwithstanding the great advantages of New Zealand over every other Polynesian group, in larger population, greater area, more varied natural resources, and the stimulating influence of a temperate climate.¹

SEC. 14. *Americans*.—The Americans of aboriginal blood now living may number twenty-five million, many of them mixed with black or white blood. They have no influential nucleus of pure stock or strong aboriginal government; and those tribes which have kept their blood pure or nearly so, are rapidly decreasing in number. They are presumably descended from Asiatic immigrants who may have crossed to America by way of the Aleutian Islands or by Behring Strait.¹ Similar arts and institutions are found on both shores of the North Pacific;² and the languages of the New World, from the extreme north to the extreme south, all belong to the same polysynthetic class which is akin to the agglutinative tongues of Northern Asia.³

For convenience of description, the term Redmen will be given here to the aboriginal North Americans between the territories of the Aztecs and of the Eskimos. All the Redmen east of the Mississippi, are in the tillage cul-

ture step, many possessing pottery, cloth, canoes, and dogs; many of the tribes west of the Mississippi are in the non-tilling condition; and the lower Californians and some tribes in Central California are so low that they have no canoes, no huts, and not even dogs. Thus in the last point they are even lower than the Australians. None of the Redmen have slaves, nobles, despotic chiefs, ancestral or national gods. The mound-builders, who were Redmen, the same in family and general culture as the tribes east of the Mississippi in modern times, will be the subject of another section.

The Caribs in the region north of the Orinoco are the most advanced savages of South America. They have slaves, nobles, and sail canoes. In these they venture to all parts of the Caribbean Sea. Most of the South American tribes in the basins of the Amazon and La Plata have torpid minds and low culture.

The Eskimos, who occupy the entire northern shore of North America from Hudson's Strait to Point Barrow, spend most of their time in the snow. They live in snow huts through more than eight months of the year, and depend for food mainly on the blubber of the seal, walrus and whale. Tillage is impossible in their frozen soil, and they have no domestic animal save the dog. They neither weave cloth nor burn pottery. From the seal they get clothing, bedding, tent-covers, boat-covers, curtains, leather, waterproof garments, oil bottles, thread and oil for light and cookery.

SEC. 15. *Mound-Builders*.—Neither history nor tradition gives us any account of the origin of numerous earthworks found over much of the Mississippi basin and several adjacent regions. These structures, mostly mounds, have never been counted with precision, but the

total number has been estimated at fifty thousand. In Ohio there are thirteen thousand; in a semi-circle east of the Mississippi River, with a radius fifty miles long from the mouth of the Illinois river as a center, there are five thousand.¹ The works are most numerous in or near fertile valleys and were found on the sites of many now flourishing cities, including Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Milwaukee and Dayton. Of these works a majority are conical mounds, erected for sepulchral or military purposes, ranging from five to ninety feet in height and averaging perhaps twenty. Some of the larger mounds of irregular shape must have been intended for public worship. The largest of these, at Cahokia, Illinois, is seven hundred feet long, five hundred wide, and at the highest point, ninety feet high. It covers six acres, and its solid contents are estimated to be seven hundred and forty thousand cubic yards. Many of the mounds are shaped like animals; and one resembles a mammoth. As a general rule the material of the mound is exactly the same as that of the adjacent soil.

Besides the mounds, there are numerous walls evidently constructed for the purposes of fortifications. These, when first observed by the white men, were usually from ten to fifteen feet wide, and in the middle about a foot or two feet above the level of the adjacent soil. The walls inclosed squares, circles, long parallelograms, octagonal or irregular plots, and many were on hill-tops near water suitable for military purposes. The enclosed areas vary from ten to two hundred acres. The material of the walls is usually earth, rarely rough stone, never cut stone.

In the mounds are found many tools and ornaments of stone, vessels of unglazed pottery, net sinkers of galena,

awls of bone, beads of shell, bracelets, pendants, beads and knives of beaten copper, simple ornaments of silver, and pieces of obsidian. The copper, silver and obsidian are rare. There is no cast copper, no bronze, no iron, no cut stone, no lime mortar. There is nothing to indicate a culture different from that found in the same regions of the first European explorers. The size and multitude of the mounds indicate either that the population was much denser formerly than in the last century, or that many successive generations toiled in piling up the earth. If it be true, however, as reported, that De Soto at one place marched for two leagues through a continuous field of maize, in what is now northern Florida, that region may then have been as densely populated as was the Miami Valley when the mounds were built. Lapham, Carr and Jones, who are among the most trustworthy writers on the mounds of the Redmen, believe the modern Indians are the descendants of the mound-builders. Lapham found that the bones in some of the mounds were not more than four centuries old. Many of the military and ecclesiastical usages of the mound-builders are found among the recent Redmen. The embankments of the Iroquois to sustain their palisades have made walls like those of the mound-builders; and the Natchez and Creeks have erected mounds since the white men settled on the continent.

SEC. 16. *Aleut Mounds*.—In many countries, the sites of ancient savage villages are marked by mounds, made by the gradual accumulation of refuse from their meals, their fires, and their mechanical labors. Such mounds consist of ashes, wood, coal, bone, shell, fragments of stone and dirt. On the banks of some rivers and tide-waters rich in mollusks, a great part of the material is

shell, suggesting the name of shell mounds used in portions of the United States and Australia. Other names for such accumulations are, village mounds and kitchen heaps.

The Aleutian Indians have a multitude of village mounds, extending through thirty-five degrees of longitude from the island of Attu to Cook's Inlet on the American Continent. W. H. Dall, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of them, opened some in Attu, Amchitka, Adakh, Akka, Unalashka, Amukna, and the Shumagin group, and he made slight excavations in many other places.¹ These excavations were remarkable on account of finding no trace of fire; and many of the mounds had strata indicating that the savages used no fish, bird or mammal as an article of food. The mounds are slight elevations near fresh water, and near harbors where canoes could land in rough weather, and consist of three strata. Of these the first and lowest was deposited when the people ate nothing but the echinus, a shellfish; the second, when their food consisted exclusively of fish; and the third, when they had added birds and mammals to their list of provisions.

The echinus is a marine mollusk which spends part its life in deep water, but comes to the shore at all seasons of the year. Having neither acute senses nor means of speedy movement, it does not readily discover nor easily avoid its enemies, and can be taken with little effort by the rudest savages. In all the Aleut mounds opened by Mr. Dall, the layer of echinus shells was found.² In most cases it was two or three feet deep, and in one mound covered an area of four acres. Nine-tenths of the material in this layer consists, as he says, "of the broken test and spines of the echinus," and the other tenth con-

sists of the shells of other mollusks intermingled with some few fish bones. There are no ashes nor coal, nor much soil or decayed vegetable matter. Neither is there any knife, awl, stone, bone, or shell shaped artificially to an edge or point; no skin-scraper; no whorl for a spindle; no hook; no pottery; no trace of fire or cooking. The only articles shaped by art are some hammer stones, with slight hollows on opposite sides, for thumb and finger. These were used, perhaps, for breaking the shells of the echinus.³ Near the top of the stratum are some few net sinkers of stone.

The second layer made up of fish bones, commences abruptly as if the echinus-eater had disappeared completely and had been succeeded by a different community who depended on fish exclusively for their food. As the lowest layer contains little except echinus shells, so the second is made up, at least in its lower portion, almost entirely of the bones of fish, and of species now found in the vicinity. As in the first stratum, so in the second, there is no trace of fire. The condition of the bones suggests that the fish were eaten raw as they now are occasionally by the Aleuts. Old men among them attribute the frequency of disease to the degenerate custom of cooking. The fish bone stratum has an average thickness of two feet. It contains numerous net sinkers and some few spear-heads of stone, but no trace of houses. Two skulls of adults found in this stratum have a mean capacity of one thousand three hundred and twenty cubic centimetres, indicating very small brains.

The second stratum gradually changes into the third or mammal layer, which contains bones of the hair seal, the fur seal, the sea lion, the walrus, the whale, and many birds. In the lower portions of the stratum

are found lance-heads of stone, and in the upper portion, lance-heads of bone, and of bone and stone combined, some with a cord attached for fastening to a shaft. Besides these, there are awls, skin-scrapers, stones for rubbing skins, lamps of stone and of unburned clay, remains of houses and rare traces of fire. In some mounds the last stratum is ten feet thick, and in one, it covers an area of twenty acres. Twenty skulls of adults taken from this highest stratum have a mean capacity of one thousand four hundred and eighteen cubic centimetres, or six per cent. more than the mean of the two skulls in the fish bone stratum.⁵ One stone celt was found in these Aleut mounds; no axe, or gouge. Mr. Dall thinks that a thousand years should be allowed for the accumulation of the echinus layer and twice as long for each of the two later strata.

Many of these Aleut islands are distant twenty miles or more from the nearest land, and their inhabitants must have had boats, the possession of which in modern times has been accompanied in every case by edge tools, weapons and fire. If any quadruped or bird had the habit of carrying mollusks to a common feeding place on the shore of tide water, we might doubt whether the lower stratum of these mounds were of human origin. But no brute has such a habit.

The exclusive dependence of the Aleuts of the first stratum on the echinus for food, suggests that they were lower in culture, at least in some respects, than any tribe that has existed in historical times. It is worthy of remark that the largest plants on these islands are bushes not more than four feet high. Dall supposes that after the people began to kill seals, and to cover themselves with skins, they may have warmed themselves occasion-

ally by standing over grass fires with skin cloaks round them in such a way as to shut in the smoke and heated air.⁶

SEC. 17. *Pleistocene Europeans*.—The white race comprises the civilized Euraryans, some civilized and many barbarous Asiatic Aryans, and some barbarous and some savage Semites in Arabia and Abyssinia. Whether the prehistoric Europeans of the pleistocene age and of the later periods of tillage and bronze culture were white men, is doubtful.

Between two glacial periods man lived in Switzerland ;¹ and there were men in California before the rivers flowed in their present beds and before the Sierra Nevada had received its present shape by the aid of elevation, eruption and erosion.²

Perhaps the earliest men of whom we have numerous traces were the drift Europeans, so called because their remains are found in the drift or gravel of the ancient river channels in France and England, at elevations eighty or one hundred feet above the level of the present streams. The erosion of the soil or perhaps rock to such a depth suggests the probability of the lapse of hundreds of thousands of years, but there is no distinct proof of the length of the intervening period.³

In the pleistocene geological age the reindeer, the musk ox, the marmot, the arctic fox, the snowy owl, and other animals similar to those now found in Lapland, and other lands equally near to the pole, existed in Central Europe, while that region had a subfrigid climate. With them were the hairy mammoth and man. These pleistocene Europeans dwelt in caves, and had neither tillage nor polished stone tools, nor pottery, nor woven cloth, nor domestic animals. They did not bury nor

burn their dead. They had axes and chisels of flint, bows, arrows, arrow-straighteners, barbed fishing and fowling spears, daggers, marrow spoons, needles, skin-scrapers and amulets like those of the Eskimos, whom they resembled in lack of tillage and of pottery, in indifference to the dead and in skill as draughtsmen. Unlike the Eskimos, they were cannibals and had no dogs. The bones of those animals are not found in their caves, and such small bones as dogs chew up and swallow are numerous. They understood the value of flint as a material for stone knives and arrowheads, and flaked off chips from cores. Their food was mostly animal and they cooked their meat with hot stones, whether by boiling or baking or both, is uncertain. They broke the marrow bones of large quadrupeds and of men for the purpose of digging out the fat contents.⁴

The cave men continued to live in Central Europe from the subfrigid pleistocene to the subtropical or tropical pleistocene period, when the arctic mammals had disappeared and had been succeeded by the elephant, the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the hyena, and the cave lion. During the thousands of years which had elapsed in the meantime, there was no perceptible improvement in culture. The later cave dwellers of the pleistocene age were like their predecessors in the lack of tillage, pottery, and polished stone. Rude as were their lives, they were not without a taste for art. In France, Britain and Switzerland, the cave men made drawings of animals and hunting scenes on bone, horn, ivory, and stone, with remarkable action, accuracy of proportion, and steadiness of outline—at least, as compared with similar productions by other savages.⁵ They have left us sketches of the woolly mammoth, of the

reindeer feeding, of a horse with a short upright mane, of the stag, of the ibex, of the Irish elk, of the cave bear, of the seals, and of men.

SEC. 18. *Danish Mounds*.—The earliest traces of men who had polished stone tools are found in the peat bogs and village mounds of Denmark. These bogs contain the remains of three distinct botanical periods. The highest stratum has trunks of the beech, which is now, as it was two thousand years ago, the characteristic tree of the country. Under the beech, is an oak stratum, with the pedunculated oak in the upper and the sessile oak in the lower portion. Still lower is a third stratum of the scotch fir, containing many trunks three feet thick. This tree is not now found in Denmark, and when planted there does not thrive. The climate must have changed since the Scotch fir grew there in forests of large trees. Under one of the logs in a Danish bog was found a flint shaped by man—proof that men lived in the Scotch fir period.

Contemporaneous, presumably, with the fir, are some of the shell mounds, now from one foot to twenty feet above the level of high tide. Some of them are three hundred yards long, sixty wide and three high. Their material is a mixture of shells, bones, ashes, charcoal and earth. The shells of the oyster are abundant though that mollusk does not live in the modern Baltic, the water of which is too brackish for it. The shells of the cockle, mussel, and periwinkle are much larger than the shells of the same species found now in the same waters. This is another evidence that when these mounds were built up, the Baltic had a larger proportion of salt in its water and had a wider connection with the ocean than at present.

Among the common birds was the penguin, which long since disappeared from Europe, but survives in Greenland. The Danes of the fir period had edge tools of polished stone, but no metals, no cultivated plants, and no domestic animal save the dog. They caught the cod, herring and flounder in the sea, and they killed the capercailzie or grouse that eats the buds of the Scotch fir. No bones of mammoth, elephant, rhinoceros or reindeer are found in these mounds. The skulls of the people are small and similar to those of the Lapps.¹

SEC. 19. *Swiss Lake Dwellings*.—The largest body of information about prehistoric sayages in any part of the world, is derived from relic beds found in various lakes of Switzerland. There archæologists have found tools and weapons of stone, bone, horn, and wood, household utensils of wood, pottery, and stone, the remains of houses and their furniture, the refuse of kitchens and stables, besides boats, baskets, mats, cloth, nets, thread, leather, toys and ornaments. These things had lain there undisturbed for thousands of years, until they were discovered, collected, studied and described, about the middle of the Nineteenth century.

One hundred and thirty-three prehistoric village sites in sixteen Swiss lakes are known. Of such villages the lake of Neuchatel has thirty-six, the lake of Geneva twenty-four, and other lakes, smaller numbers. Of the total number, thirty-three when last inhabited were in the culturestep of stone; twenty-two in that of bronze; seventeen in that of iron; and in regard to sixty-one, there is no distinct statement of the cultural condition, perhaps, because since their discovery, their sites have always been too deeply covered with water to permit a satisfactory examination.

Most of these villages were built on piles in water from two to twelve feet deep, when the lakes were at their lowest level. The piles were from three to eight inches thick, and were driven from three to five feet into the mud. In the villages of the stone culturestep, the only ones to be considered here, the piles before driving were sharpened at the bottom with fire or by stone axes; and at the top were morticed to hold beams on which were laid floors of poles or rude planks. The houses were of poles wattled with twigs, plastered on the sides with clay, and on the roof thatched with straw. The outer rows of piles were wattled, and in some villages stones were placed around them to steady them. Walks on piles led from the land to the platform.

Such a pile foundation not only cost much labor, but after completion, was, in many respects, less convenient than the shore for a village site. In case of fire it was difficult to save young children, cattle and food, which were kept there; and through holes in the floors, tools, cattle, and children would occasionally fall. Such objections were doubtless evident to the villagers, but they were more than counterbalanced by the importance of having sites relatively secure against sudden attacks of human enemies. These villages were built for constant residence, not for occasional refuge.

In some few cases, the lake villages, instead of standing on piles, were supported by an artificial foundation made by sinking rafts of brush loaded with stone or gravel, and kept in place by piles.

Of the thirty Swiss villages known to be of the stone age, mentioned by Keller, fifteen are in the lake of Constance, seven in that of Neuchatel, and one each in a number of other lakes.

Wheat, barley, millet, caraway and poppy were cultivated; the seeds of the poppy and caraway being used for flavoring. Tillage seems to have received much attention, for manure was saved for agricultural purposes. Wild fruits, berries and nuts, including apples, pears, plums, cherries, grapes, strawberries, blackberries, beech-nuts and walnuts, were gathered for food. Domestic animals were numerous. The cow, the urus, the horse, the sheep, the goat and the pig were stabled occasionally at least, and perhaps every night in the pile villages. A large part of the animal food of the people was however obtained by the chase of wild animals.

Pottery shaped by hand was abundant. In some cases the clay for it was mixed with powdered charcoal, or with small pieces of granite, silicious rock or partially burned limestone. Many of the pots for cooking had conical bottoms which rested in a clay ring, a pattern adopted perhaps for the purpose of diminishing the danger of burning the cooked food. Bowls and platters were made of wood and steatite. Large pans were perforated as if for making cheese.

Pieces of yarn, thread, cord, rope, cloth woven on different methods and matting are found. Some houses had large stocks of flax, as if belonging to professional weavers. Fishing lines were made of flax, and were set with baited hooks. For raising such lines, the prehistoric Swiss lake dweller had the arpion, a peculiar dredging hook, now used for the same purpose in the same place. Among the relics are netting pins, crochet hooks, hairpins, and combs. Glass and nephrite from Asia, flint from Germany or France and amber from the shores of the Baltic furnish evidence of traffic with remote lands.

These Swiss lake dwellers of the stone culturestep were

superior to any modern savages. Their possession of the cow, sheep, goat, pig and horse as domestic animals ; their system of keeping them in stables ; their cultivation of wheat, barley and flax ; and the construction of their pile houses, when considered together, indicate that they had advanced much farther than the Tahitians.

The wheat, barley and flax cultivated by the Swiss lake villagers had been brought from Asia, and probably the cow, the horse, the sheep, the goat and the pig, bred in stables on piles, were first domesticated systematically on the same continent. Possibly the lake dwellers were Aryans who, accustomed to cultivating the soil and keeping herds in their Asiatic home, brought animals and seeds with them in their westward migration, and thus introduced them into Europe.

The small proportion of bronze and iron relics found in most of the Swiss lake villages which were occupied after the introduction of metals, implies that these settlements had continued in the stone culturestep for many centuries. The moor villages of Italy, the Scotch and Irish crannoges or strongholds built in swamps, are, in many points, analogous to the Swiss lake villages, but do not give us any important additional information about the stone age.

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRY.

SEC. 20. *Fire*.—Of the important arts acquired by man, the earliest may have been those of making edge-tools, of using articulate speech and of taming fire.¹ Some Australians and Tasmanians² are the only modern savages who have not known how to kindle fire, but they possessed it, kept it burning continually, and carried it with them carefully, when moving. There are many countries where fire may be obtained from natural sources, but to get it occasionally by accident and then to use it for only a few hours is very different from taming it so that it shall always be ready to render service in every hut or group of people. Without such taming, man would perhaps never have ventured far from the tropical region in which he had his origin. If he had not established himself in the temperate zone he never would have reached his present intellectual development. Besides protecting him against cold and carnivorous beasts, fire rendered many kinds of food more palatable and more digestible to him, and stimulated him to carry his provisions to a place of assemblage and companionship where the cooking could be done conveniently. Thus it became a great aid to sociability, and gave a higher value to the woman who became its custodian and the chief advocate of the social feelings connected with the do-

mestic hearth.³ The construction of the kindling apparatus, the precautions necessary to keep it ready for immediate use, the necessities of borrowing and of transporting fire, and the inconveniences resulting from its occasional extinction, when it could not be kindled again soon, were stimulants to thought, and to mutual helpfulness. There was presumably a condition in which the lack of fire was the characteristic feature of an early culturestep, but of this stage of human growth we have no certain remains.

In Australia fire is kindled by rubbing a hard stick in the groove of a stick of soft wood, until enough heat is evolved to set fire to wood dust, shavings or tinder. The fire drill, of hard wood pressing on a hole in soft wood, is turned between the palms in Polynesia; by a string pulled first one way then the other in Dakota and the Eskimo region; like a carpenter's brace in the Iroquois region, and in some countries by a loose bowstring fastened to the top and worked pump fashion. In western Africa the necessary heat is obtained by rubbing stone on wood with sand between them; in Malaysia, by striking a bamboo splinter with flint. The taming of fire was a necessary result of the custom of making tools and weapons of wood and stone.⁴

SEC. 21. *Non-tilling Culture*.—Many eminent archæologists have followed Lubbock in dividing savages into the paleolithic and neolithic, those of the old or rough, and those of the new or polished stone. The former shaped their stone tools entirely by fracture; the latter rounded and polished off the fractured surface of certain tools. The distinction between savage tribes on this point has small influence on their manner of life, and little culture-historical importance. After taking a comprehen-

sive view of the savages known to civilized observation, we shall find that they properly belong to two main classes; those who do not and those who do till the ground.

If some civilized men were cast, without any product of art, on an uninhabited island similar in its geological, botanical, and zoölogical features to Great Britain, the tool for which they would first feel an urgent want would be a knife, and the material of which they would first make it would probably be the shell of a mollusk or the bone of a mammal, either of which they could find without long search. The bone would be better in its form, the shell in its hardness. As these materials would furnish the first knives to civilized men, under the circumstances supposed, so they presumably supplied the first to primitive men.

But after a time, those savages discovered that various kinds of stone could be shaped into knives with less labor, or would take a sharper or harder edge and a more convenient form, than shell or bone. Many centuries elapsed, perhaps, before it was found that from a rough cylinder of flint, chert or obsidian, eight inches long and six inches thick, a hundred knives as long as the block and an inch and a half wide, with a sharp edge on each side, could be split off in half an hour by one man. Some flakes were shaped into chisels, awls, borers, scrapers, arrowheads, and spear-heads; and when the lump was too small for splitting again, it was made into an axe.¹

Obsidian made the sharpest but least durable of the flake knives, the material being much more brittle than flint. Flake razors of obsidian were used by Aztec barbers, but a dozen were sometimes ruined in shaving one man. Flint and chert were at first obtained for knives

from loose lumps found on the surface of the ground or in the beds of streams; but at a later time were dug from quarries.² Flake knives were never polished, even after the custom of polishing stone chisels and axes was well established.

SEC. 22. *Tilling Savagism*.—The introduction of tillage had an immense influence on savage culture. It gave an increased stock, and a regular supply of food, and a permanent home; it led to an increased density of population; it accumulated property and furnished men to defend it; it made a demand for systematic and divided labor. It served as a foundation for many other industrial arts. If it did not give birth to canoe building, pottery, weaving, stone polishing, and the breeding of domestic animals, it at least furnished the means and motives under which they reached their highest development in savage culture.

Whether men tilled the ground before they polished stone is doubtful, but the two arts were not far apart in the time of their origin. The first stone tools to be polished were perhaps chisels, and after them may have come axe heads. Unlike knives, these could not be flaked off by a single blow or one movement of pressure, nor could a satisfactory edge be given to them by fracture; nor was the amount of stone so small that it could be thrown away with indifference. It was easier to make a new knife of obsidian or flint than to sharpen an old one; not so with an axe head or a large chisel. The flake knives were thin and at their edges brittle, and therefore soon worn out. But the axe was relatively thick and blunt, and could be made of hard, tough stone that would not flake off into knives. The stone axe head was a notable contribution to savage culture. On account of

its weight, it could be used in a blow with considerable momentum. Although a poor implement for cutting wood, it was through a long era the best obtainable, and in the process of making clubs, canoes, poles and spears, was especially serviceable in clearing away coal and half-burned wood.

The perforations in axe heads for the handles, were made by dropping water on the hot stone in some cases, in others by hammering and grinding. The battle-axes of the aborigines of New Britian were made in the former manner. By attaching a handle to it, the axe head was converted into an axe, with an important addition to its impetus and efficiency, and by turning the edge in another direction, it could be changed into an adze.

Many writers have accepted the idea that pasturage precedes tillage in the development of culture, but they produce no proof, and the best direct evidence, that of the Redmen, is against them. In the basin of the Mississippi we find great numbers of large indigenous ruminants—buffalo, elk, deer, antelope and goat—animals well fitted by nature for domestication, in the midst of tilling savages, who never domesticate them. An early Spanish writer, Gomara, asserts that the buffalo was tamed on the basin of the Rio Grande, and Alexander Humboldt mentioned his statement as perhaps correct; but it lacks confirmation and deserves no credence. Pastoral communities are usually lower in culture than those which depend for their support on tillage; but it does not follow that pasturage is the earlier occupation. In some countries, herds are considered preferable as property to tilled fields, because they can be driven away from marauding enemies or because they are better adapted to a dry climate or mountainous surface. In many extensive re-

gions tillage has preceded pasturage ; it cannot be proved that in any has pasturage preceded tillage. It seems that the habits of economy that grew up with the cultivation of the soil, were necessary to convert pet animals into herds.

SEC. 23. *Spear, Bow, etc.*—The savage tools of the chase and of war, distinctively classed as weapons, are the inventions of long experience and much ingenuity. The Kaffirs and many Negro and Polynesian tribes take no offensive weapon into battle save the spear, which on the other hand is not used by the Bushmen and had an inferior place among the American savages. In portions of Polynesia it was thrown so dexterously, that its aim was more accurate at fifty yards than that of the musket in the hands of Cook's sailors.

Some tribes have discovered that the whirling of a spear or arrow on its longitudinal axis corrects the deflecting influences of bends and unequal weights on the sides. The whirl is given by a twist in the shaft, in the head, or in feather attachments, or by an unwinding thong, which last serves also, as if it were a prolongation of the arm, to give additional impetus.¹ Instead of thongs, some tribes use a stick two feet long, or a stick and thong together, all of which devices are akin to slings in their influence on the missile.²

The common sling is little used by most savage tribes, but is a favorite with the Fuegians, New Caledonians and Hawaiians. The New Caledonians give an acorn shape to their sling stones as the ancient Greeks and Romans did to their leaden sling shots.³ Sling balls of burned clay were made by the tilling prehistoric Europeans, perhaps for the purpose of throwing them red-hot into the huts of their enemies.⁴

The thong-balls or bolas, stone balls two inches and a half in diameter, fastened together in couples or triplets, by a thong about six feet long attached to each ball, are used by the Patagonians, Araucans and some other South Americans with much effect in the chase of the guanaco, ostrich and horse, being thrown so as to tie up the animal's legs. The long sling and considerable weight of the balls make them effective at a distance of a hundred yards.⁵ The Eskimos have a similar implement called the birdsling, consisting of six or seven oval weights, an inch long and half an inch thick, each attached to a cord thirty inches long, all the cords being fastened together at the other end. These birdslings tie up the wings of geese and ducks as the bolas tie up the legs of South American game.

The combination of strength with elasticity required for the bow is not found in the timber of some regions, and there bows are not made, or the wood is brought from other places. Most of the savage bows are of the ordinary size and pattern, but some in the valley of the Paraná are so large that the Indian when he shoots lies down, and uses both feet and both hands in shooting heavy arrows headed with burning cotton to set fire to the enemy's huts. The Veddahs of Ceylon have bows which they stretch in the same way. The cross-bow is known to few savages, but the Fans have it. The Abipones have a bow with a cup in the cord to throw a bullet an inch and a half in diameter.⁶

The bow is not used by the Australians, Tasmanians, Kaffirs, Dinkas, aboriginal Cubans, Jamaicans or Pampas. In most of Polynesia, it is a plaything for boys, not a weapon for men. The Redmen, Bushmen and some negro tribes use it more than the spear.

Small arrows eight inches long are thrown through blow-tubes, ordinarily for killing game and on rare occasions for war, in Malaysia, Melanesia, Brazil, Paraguay, the valley of the Orinoco, Mexico, Central America, Chile and Peru. The tube is about eight feet long and has a caliber of a quarter of an inch. The utmost range is forty yards, and there is little accuracy of aim beyond twenty. The blow-tube arrow is tipped with virulent poison, so that a very small quantity of it will quickly prove fatal to a large quadruped.

Poisoned arrows are thrown from the bow by the Bushmen, Bechuanas, Congoese, Kordofanese, Fans, Andamanese, Ajitas, Melanesians, Malays, Floridians, Pimos, and Californians. Poisoned stakes and spears are set in paths for enemies and game of Bushmen and Hottentots.

Poison, on the point of the spear or arrow, though most frequently used in the chase, is also employed in war by many tribes. Creases in the head of the weapon protect the venom against loss by rubbing, without preventing its solution in the warm blood. The poisons are taken from many sources, including serpents, insects, and the seeds and juices of plants. One of the simplest methods of obtaining arrow poison is that of certain Californian tribes, which irritate rattlesnakes with a deer's liver until they bite it repeatedly, throwing their venom into it every time. This liver is allowed to putrefy, and then the arrowhead is thrust into it. All poisons used for killing game are of kinds fatal in the blood but not in the stomach; yet the part struck by the weapon is usually thrown away.

SEC. 24. *Clubs, etc.*—Clubs are of many kinds, heavy or light, long or short, to be kept in the hand or to be thrown, and made of wood, bone, or stone. Heavy

clubs are used mainly in war; the lighter ones in the chase. A long, heavy club is carried by many Polynesian nobles as a symbol of their rank, on all ceremonial occasions.

The characteristic weapon of New Zealand is the *merai* or *patoopatoo*, eighteen inches long, five inches wide in the blade which is shaped like a beaver's tail, and two inches thick in the handle, tapering to half an inch at the point of the blade. A cord at the end of the handle slips over the wrist to prevent loss. The preferred material is jade, though to shape and polish it without metal requires the labor of months.¹ Sometimes it is made of a bone of a whale. The Quichuans made a like weapon of brown jasper.

The *kerry*, the chief weapon of the Quaiquai Hottentot, with a stem about three feet long and a round knob, nearly three inches in diameter at the end,² is thrown with much effect in the chase. The *rackum*, a club a foot long with pointed ends, is used for the same purpose by the same tribe. A throw-club of the Paraná valley is two feet long and thicker at the ends than in the middle. The Fannese have stone throw-clubs, a foot long, pointed at both ends, and two inches wide and an inch thick in the middle.

Neither the sword nor any weapon similar to it in form and method of use, is known to the non-tilling savages. Its value in war does not become evident until warriors learn to charge in compact masses. Then long flat stones, and bones with sharp edges, and clubs into which sharks teeth and thin pieces of bone, stone or shell are fastened, become weapons similar to swords.

The boomerang is a flat or flattish crooked throw-club, about thirty inches long, with two arms of equal or un-

equal length, uniting at an angle varying from ninety to one hundred and seventy degrees. The width may be two inches and the thickness half or three-quarters of an inch. One side is usually flat, and the other curved or beveled to the edge. Held by the longer arm, if one be longer than the other, with the flat side down, and thrown with much force, it flies away whirling round on its corner, as a center of rotation, resembling in its motions the flight of a dodging bird, usually pursuing a curved course, now going nearly straight, then turning short corners, and sometimes coming back and falling to the ground very near the point from which it is thrown. The principles involved in the movement of this weapon are so abstruse that they have never been explained satisfactorily, and of course they were never understood by savages. No two boomerangs take exactly the same course, even when thrown at the same angle and with the same power; and it is impossible for anyone, unless familiar with the special implement, to know how to avoid it. The skillful thrower must often dodge quickly to escape a blow from its return. On account of its winged flight and the impossibility of calculating its course, it is an effective weapon for striking flocks of birds in the air. The boomerang is the characteristic throw-club of the Australians; and a crooked throw-club is also known to the Lower Californians,³ the Moquis,⁴ the Soudanese,⁵ and was used by the ancient Egyptians,⁶ and Assyrians.⁷

Shields are made of wood, or of wooden frames covered with hide. Lengths vary from two to six feet; and widths from five to twenty-four inches. Some long New Guinea shields have sharp points suitable for inflicting a fatal wound on a prostrate enemy. The very light shield

may be used either to stop the approaching weapon or to touch it and divert its course.

Generally savages wear no defensive armor fastened to the body, but the New Zealanders and some Africans have coats of thick matting or padding, and the Haidahs have breastplates of twigs interwoven with rawhide.

SEC. 25. *Omnivorous*.—Man is the distinctively omnivorous animal. His dentition, his palate, and his digestive organs prepare him to eat all those animals and plants which contain much starch, sugar or albumen, without poison. Lean meat, fat, gristle, skin, grain, fruit, legume, tuber, nut, bark and insects are all welcome to his stomach. The nitrogenous character of grain and lean meat make them indispensable to his high development; and on the other hand, his digestive organs have not the large size and peculiar form suitable to derive great activity from a diet consisting exclusively of fruit or grass. He must have grain or meat, and since the former could not be obtained in regular supply by savages, meat was necessary for them, and until population became dense, and game scarce, they always had it. In every clime, in every continent, and in every grade of culture his preferred food is supplied by the animal kingdom; and not satisfied with the meat of brutes, many savage tribes have delighted in feasts on the flesh of their own species. By his mental and physical capacities, man is impelled to attack and enabled to slay the most ferocious carnivores and the largest pachyderms. He strikes the bird in the air and the fish in the water; he takes the rabbit in its burrow, the seal on the ice, and the whale in the open sea. Against his attack neither the shell of the mollusk, the quill of the porcupine, nor the venom of the rattlesnake gives secure protection.

The excitement of the chase is one of his greatest pleasures, and it increases with the activity and defensive power of the game.

In many countries where there is little division of labor, and no systematic exchange of products between different regions, the people must derive their food from local and often from indigenous products, and may be limited for a considerable part of the year to a single article, such as the seal in arctic America, the salmon on the banks of the Columbia, the buffalo in the basin of the Missouri, the lichen in Iceland, taro, breadfruit, or pandanus fruit in portions of Polynesia and Micronesia, cassava in some, and yucca in other parts of South America, sago in Malaysia, shell-fish in many sea-coasts, reindeer in subarctic lands, cow's milk in some African, and mare's milk, or buffalo's milk, or camel's milk in some Asiatic districts. Uniformity of diet becomes offensive to palate and stomach, and makes a demand for many flavoring substances that are offensive to the civilized man who is accustomed to a considerable variety of food in every season. After having eaten nothing but blubber and oil for months, the Eskimo becomes hungry for meat, as the Gaucho, after an exclusive diet of lean meat, longs for fat, and the negro, who has tasted nothing save fruit for months, has an extreme craving for animal food.

SEC. 26. *Bread and Meat*.—Many savage tribes make bread of acorns or seeds, but none have made their loaves light by leaven, unless they had learned the art of bread-making from people in a higher stage of culture. Cakes are made from cassava by the aborigines of the Amazon and Orinoco, and from pine tree moss in seasons of scarcity, by those of the Upper Columbia.

East of the Mississippi, maize is eaten in the green ear,

roasted or boiled; in succotash, a mixture of the grain in the milk cut from the ear and boiled with beans; in mush, in hominy and in bread. Many different flavors are used, including maple syrup, walnut oil, hickory milk, and bear's fat. Hickory milk, made by mashing hickory nuts and mixing with water, is added to the dough intended for bread, and also to mush and hominy.¹ Maize meal is made either from the ripe grain or from that cooked in the milk, dried and pulverized in a mortar. Concha, a mixture of roasted maize and lime prepared by the Indians of the Amazon, is by Herndon praised as superior in flavor to green maize roasted. Mushrooms are a staple article of diet among the Fuegians, and the fern root among the Ahts of Vancouver Island and the Maoris. The Indians of California like to have their wild lettuce flavored by the acidulous secretion from the bodies of red ants. They lay the vegetable where the insect will run over it, or they pound an ant's nest, and when the irritated inmates come to the surface, hold the lettuce over them and the liquid is thrown upon it.

Meat and fish are often eaten raw. The liver of the deer and the antelope, and the marrow of the elephant, fresh from the carcase, and still warm with the heat of life, are delicacies to many white hunters, as to all savages familiar with them. In Abyssinia there are feasts in which the chief dish is raw beef, cut from a cow tied at the door.

By savages generally, blood as it flows from the living quadruped or bird is considered a delicious beverage. In many countries the preferred method of killing an animal is to cut its throat so that the blood shall flow about as fast as a man can drink, and then apply the

mouth to the wound. The Gallas and some other Africans open veins in the necks of their cows, and, after sucking as much blood as they wish, sew up the cut. Other tribes bleed their herds into buckets, at regular periods, and drink the blood mixed with milk.

After killing an ostrich, the Bushman turns the blood from its carotid artery into its crop, the contents of which are eaten while still warm, after they have been mixed by rolling the body from side to side. The Araucan hangs up a live sheep by its forelegs, cuts its carotid artery, which he turns into the windpipe, and after the lungs have thus been filled with blood, flavors them with salt and pepper, and eats them raw and warm with the heat of life.

SEC. 27. *Daintiness*.—The savage eats all the accessible kinds of food which are used on the tables of civilization, and many others. Being unable to command a constant supply of clean and fresh provisions, he has occasionally accepted filth and putridity, until, by custom and inheritance, they have become welcome to his eyes, nose and palate, and in some cases he has even learned to prefer them. Many of the Pacific islanders are in the habit of burying cooked breadfruit, taro, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables, and thus keeping them for months, to be eaten after passing the sour stage of fermentation. The Otomacs of South America keep their beans in a similar manner. A preparation made from the decomposed Afiti fruit, is a favorite sauce in Dahomey. In subarctic countries, in portions of Africa and in the Solomon Islands, meat enclosed in sealskins is kept for a year underground, and when far advanced in decomposition, is eaten with relish.¹ By many tribes, monkeys, opossums, ducks, pigeons and other birds and quadru-

peds are cooked and eaten with their entrails. A favorite chowder of the Philippine Islands is made by boiling the material from a goat's stomach with fish. The green matter found in the intestines of large ruminants below the stomach is used as a sauce, and the half digested herbage from the paunch of an ox is a delicacy to a Bongo, as that from a sheep's stomach is to an Abyssinian, and that from a reindeer's stomach to a Chook-chee or a Lapp.

By the savage, as by the carnivorous quadruped, the entrails are eaten in preference to the muscular fibre, and are the first to be consumed when, in hunger, he obtains possession of a carcass. The large intestine, just below the stomach, is to him the choice part of an herbivorous animal, and after it has been once pressed out rapidly between the fingers, is eaten without washing. A small portion of the green matter improves the flavor; and the same material with gall, is used by the Abyssinians as a sauce upon bits of the raw stomach and raw liver of the ox mixed together.

Earthworms, slugs, caterpillars, larvæ, dragonflies, beetles, moths, ants, parasitic insects from the human head and body, spiders and maggots all contribute to the savage bill of fare. Near Moorzuk, on the northern edge of the Sahara, a species of worm is prized as an appetizer; at Nyassa, gnats are pressed into cakes to be used as a relish; and in South Africa, the Waiyari eat cakes made of an insect similar in appearance to a tick. In Manyuema, swarming ants are cleansed of their wings and legs by fire and then eaten. White ants are a relish in East Africa; and the Monbuttoos make a fat for the table from the male termites.

SEC. 28. *Salt and Clay*.—A demand for salt, being a re-

sult of a vegetable diet, is not found among the Eskimos, Gauchos and many Malay, Papuan, African and North American tribes. In portions of Africa and Malaysia, the ashes of saline plants are used directly as a substitute for salt or are leached out and the salt obtained by evaporation. Many Polynesian and Melanesian tribes, when eating raw fish dip them into sea water, to get the saline flavor.

Clay, red ochre, pulverized soapstone and other kinds of earthy matter are eaten as part of their ordinary diet by savages in every quarter of the globe. Some tribes eat clay only when they have little or no nutritious food or when having none save meat, they need something else to distend the stomach. When going far to sea, the Dyaks take along red ochre to eat if they should catch no fish. Edible clay is sold in the markets of Java. The Otomacs mix an unctuous clay with other food;¹ in Gambia a clay, with a piquant odor, is eaten with rice; and in Brazil a saline clay serves as a substitute for salt. Quids of clay are chewed by the Wanyamwuezi, and quids of clay mixed with ashes by the Somali.

SEC. 29. *Cannibalism*.—Cannibalism prevails extensively among savages, so extensively that Andree calls it one of the characteristic diseases of the childhood of our race. There are four kinds: the starving, the military, the ecclesiastical and the gourmand. The cannibalism of starvation is found in the highest as well as in the lowest grade of culture. Military cannibalism is the eating of a small part of his slain enemy by the successful warrior, either as an expression of hatred, as a method of appropriating the victim's courage, or as a protection against the persecution of the victim's spirit which is forever destroyed when his heart, his eye or his brain is

eaten. In cases of great animosity, slices of flesh are cut from the body of the live prisoner and consumed raw and warm before his eyes, while he is taunted and his tribe cursed by the captors. We have accounts of such tortures by Fijians,¹ Tonkaways,² Apaches³ and Batta Malays.⁴

Ecclesiastical cannibalism requires priest or people to eat part of the human victim sacrificed to the gods, and induces the family to eat the body of their relative, whether parent or child, brother or sister, who has died naturally. The Tarianos and Tucanos of South America bury their dead friends, after several months dig them up, dry the decomposed flesh over a fire, pulverize it and mix it with their drink. The Australians near Carpenteria Bay eat the warriors of their own tribe slain in battle, but do not taste the corpses of their enemies.

Gourmand cannibalism, the eating of human flesh as an article of ordinary diet when other food is abundant, prevails among the Melanesians generally, the Maoris, the Marquesans, the Botocudos, the Tupis, the Caribs, the Fans, the Niamniams, the Monbuttoos, the Mandingoes and the Bonny negroes. Its existence in prehistoric Europe is proved by the finding of human bones cracked for their marrow in the caves of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Germany. The threat to "eat up" an enemy common in many African, American, and Polynesian tribes which have not been cannibals in modern times, is doubtless an inheritance from cannibal ancestors. Human sacrifices as a part of worship is a survival of gourmand cannibalism. That meat which was most palatable and most honorable in the feasts of men must also be given to the gods; and the wide prevalence of such sacrifices is one of the most striking proofs of

the equally wide existence of the custom out of which they grew.⁵ The name of the Atacapa tribe in Louisiana, of the Mohawk in New York, of the Puru in South America, and of the Windigo clan of the Chippeways near Lake Superior, all mean man-eater.

The Fijians carry gourmand cannibalism to its highest development. They call human flesh "long pig;" they use special and sacred forks for lifting it; and one chief among them had the credit of having eaten portions of nine hundred persons. At one Fijian feast, two hundred human victims were eaten; at another twenty-eight captives, after being stunned, were thrown into an oven to be roasted alive. At one New Zealand festival after a great battle, more than a thousand captives were cooked and eaten. The Tupis and some Congoese fatten prisoners before killing them; the Tupinamboos breed them for the shambles, and eat the children of male slaves by free women of their own tribe or village. Human fat and flesh are offered for sale in the Niamniam villages, and human flesh is dried for future use by the Caribs, Monbuttoos and some Melanesians.

All savage tribes, accustomed to cannibalism, consider human flesh a delicacy. The highest chiefs and most active warriors eat most of it; the very old men and boys get a little; the women none. In Equatorial Africa, as in New Caledonia, the palms of the hands are considered the most delicious morsels, and in the latter country are reserved for the priests who, there as elsewhere, demand and often obtain the best. The thigh of the man and the breast of the woman are preferred in New Britain;⁶ the arm above the elbow and the thigh, in Fiji.⁷ In New Ireland men are baked in covered pits for three days, and then to use a native expression, become as "tender as

grease." The brains are mixed with sago and cocoa-nut for the feast.⁸

A peculiar cannibal custom exists in parts of western Australia where the bunyabunya grows. About once in three years the trees bear an abundant crop of fruit, much more than the tribes occupying those districts can consume. They allow friendly tribes in the vicinity to share their fruit harvest, subject to the condition that every outside tribe while staying in their domain shall kill one of their own number, as proof that they are not destroying any of the quadrupeds, birds or insects of the district, and thus diminishing the local stock of animal food, which is not offered to the strangers, as there is not more than enough for home consumption.⁹

The tribes noted for cannibalism, generally bury their dead relatives with respectful ceremony, and depend for their supply of human flesh exclusively upon enemies, slaves or strangers. In some regions, however, any person not belonging to the same clan or village may be eaten. Thus the Fans and Wabembe sell the corpses of their friends who die a natural death to the people of the next village, where they may be eaten without offense. The Fans, Vateans, Fannese and Fijians, not content with eating fresh corpses of those who die a natural death, occasionally feast on bodies after they had been buried for several days.

Cannibalism when practiced extensively is an indication of superior activity and courage, and is most common in tribes which are far from the lowest phases of savagism. The Bushmen, Andamanese, Australians generally and aborigines of Lower California are not noted for fondness for human flesh, though some of them taste it occasionally. Among the islanders of the Pacific,

the Fijians and Maoris are distinguished as cannibals and warriors; so are the Fans, Niamniams and Monbuttoos in Africa. It would be impossible for poor fighters to obtain large supplies of human flesh. Habitual success in war implies energy in industrial occupations and compactness in political organization, and these are to be found among the most noted cannibal tribes as compared with their neighbors generally.

SEC. 30. *Cooking*.—Man is a cooking animal. Every tribe known to modern observers prepares some of its food with fire. Broiling, the simplest method of cooking processes, is rarely practiced in many countries and is impossible in the snow hut of the Eskimos, where the only artificial heat is that of a small, smoky lamp, which could not be used for any method of cooking save boiling. Tradition says that Mohammed prohibited the singeing of meat by fire, and perhaps for this reason, many Arabs and some negro tribes under Arab influence never broil or fry meat or bake it before an open fire.

Roasting in hot ashes or under coals, was perhaps the second cooking process in the order of its discovery. Before roasting their fish, the western Australians wrap it in aromatic bark which gives it a delicate flavor.¹ The Polynesians bake pigs, dogs, men, taro and other food in pits which on rare occasions may be eight feet deep and fifteen feet in diameter. Red-hot stones at bottom, sides and top supply the heat; which is retained by a covering of earth, and the baking may continue from two hours to three days.² The Patagonians cook the American ostrich in the open air by putting hot stones in the cavity of the body after the entrails have been taken out.³ The Danakils of Africa cover a hen, feathers entrails and all, with wet clay, and put the lump in the fire to cook.⁴

Among the Aleuts meat to be cooked is put between two concave and platter-like stones, the joint being covered with wet clay, before the vessel is put in the fire.⁵

Water is raised to the boiling point for cooking purposes with hot stones in cocoa-nut shells by the Kingsmill Islanders;⁶ in gourd shells by the Georgia Indians; in birch bark pots by some Missouri tribes;⁷ in wooden troughs by the Kamtschatkans, Columbia River and Vancouver Island tribes; in watertight baskets by the Haidahs, Yukons, Ostiaks and Californians; in skins with the hair side down resting in earth holes, by various North American tribes, including the Assiniboin, whose tribal name means skin-boiler, and in earth holes lined with clay by the Australians of the lower Murray valley.⁸ The Malays sometimes boil their food in a joint of bamboo, resting with its closed end on the ground, and leaning over the fire so that it does not burn through.

All the methods of preserving food known to civilized men are represented by similar processes among savages. The latter do not can provisions, but they cover them with mud, coat them with tallow or bury them in the earth. They smoke, salt, and freeze. They dry fruits in the sun and meat in the sun or over fire. They boil, dry and pulverize green corn, or they bake it in pits until it loses its moisture while preserving its flavor. The sap of the cocoa tree is boiled into a syrup by the Gilbert Islanders and by some Africans.

Fish are dried, beaten into a powder and packed away in sacks by Columbia River Indians, Kamtschatkans and various tribes of Africa and South America. It is said that in the valley of the Zambesi, fish is preserved for years without loss of its wholesome and nutritious qualities, by covering it with the poisonous juice of the mandioca.⁹

After drying the meat of the buffalo, the Redmen pack it in a bag of hide, which they fill with melted tallow. This pemmican keeps more than a year.¹⁰ In California grasshoppers and in parts of Africa grasshoppers and winged ants are singed, cleansed of wings and legs and mashed into cakes. Locusts are treated in a similar manner by Kaffirs.

The Redmen east of the Mississippi dry plums, persimmons, pumpkins, green corn, deer meat, muscles, oysters and eels. They boil the sap of the maple tree into a syrup, into a wax-like candy, and into crystallized sugar. Near Lake Superior, the pulp of wild plums is boiled with maple syrup until it will harden when cold, and is then called maple-plum-leather.¹¹ Plum leather is made by boiling the plum pulp without syrup. In the same region, wild cherries are boiled down to a cherry-butter which is buried in the earth for winter use.¹² Green maize is boiled, dried and pulverized by the Redmen east of the Mississippi. The Chippeways dry whortleberries and wild roots over a fire.¹³ The Californians soak their acorns in two waters to take out their bitterness and then dry them.¹⁴ Sweet potatoes are dried by the Maoris, and ombova leaves by the Damaras.

Many fruits and tubers which are poisonous in their natural condition are converted by savage art into wholesome food. The cassava root abounds in a strong poison, which comes out when the fibre has been rasped, and freed from its juice by pressing and boiling in two waters. Of all the tropical tubers it is the most extensively used for food. The discovery of the method of fitting it for the table, and the invention of the processes of rasping and pressing it, do much credit to the ingenuity of the South American Indians.¹⁵ Among the other poisonous

or acrid vegetables made nutritious by savage processes of cooking or soaking, are an African yam, the Tangare bean of South Africa,¹⁶ the karaka berry of New Zealand,¹⁷ the arisarum vulgare root of Morocco,¹⁸ a tuber of Virginia and another of Utah, the leaves of the taro;¹⁹ the root of the ti,²⁰ the soaproot and the horse chestnut of California, and the cycas fruits of New Guinea.²¹

SEC. 31. *Meals*.—In most savage tribes, it is the custom to have two formal meals in the day, the breakfast in the middle of the forenoon, and the dinner about sunset, but some tribes have only the latter, eating at other times as hunger and the food supply may suggest. Having no chairs, tables, tablecloths or plates, their manners at meals are unceremonious. The men eat by themselves; the women and children afterwards. If there is a cooking pot, it is usually left on the fire or near it, and around it the eaters squat or sit down. With unwashed hands they reach in, drag out the meat, and throw it back after cutting off a portion or tearing it off with their teeth. The pot and the cook are seldom washed. Forks are used with human flesh in Fiji, and spoons with porridge and soup by the Redmen, but are unknown to savages generally. Poi or taro porridge, a favorite dish in Polynesia, is taken from the bowl by a quick turn of the figures and then held over the open mouth which catches the drip. According to its thickness and the method used in getting a mouthful, the dish is called two-finger or three-finger poi.

SEC. 32. *Grinding*.—Seeds and nuts are crushed or ground for bread or porridge in mortars or on flat stones. The mortars are hollowed out in loose stones, in the bed-rock where it appears on the surface of the earth, or in the stumps of trees. The movable stone mortar has its

place by the domestic fire, and like the latter is under the charge of the woman, and adds to her social influence.¹ Numerous half oval stones, shaped by hand by prehistoric savages, were presumably used for crushing seeds.² In the Soudan, a woman grinds in one day as much grain as a man can eat in six days.³

SEC. 33. *Water and Milk*.—Although many tribes are in the habit of preparing fermented liquors, still the common beverage, at or rather after meals, for while eating they rarely drink, is water, which they get at some adjacent stream, lifting it to the mouth in the hollow of the hand, bringing the face down to its level, or wading in and flinging it into the mouth by a rapid motion of the fingers. The process last mentioned is common in New Caledonia and Kaffirland.¹ In some arid regions, savages show much ingenuity in finding and storing water. The Bushmen have learned that they can suck up water through a reed from sand several feet below the surface, where there is so little moisture that if a well were dug no water would collect in the hole. If water is wanted for future use, a woman fills her mouth, the contents of which are then allowed to trickle down a straw into a small hole in the empty shell of an ostrich egg. Such shells are buried at marked spots on a long journey in a desert, for use on the return.² Roots abounding with moisture are found by the Kaffirs with the help of thirsty tame apes, which, led about by a string, hunt for the scent of the water-root until they find it, and then begin to dig, whereupon the master unearths the prize and rewards the finder with a portion.³ Africa also has a water tree, which preserves the precious fluid in its cavities and yields it up to the experienced traveler. Among the Eskimos one of the occupations of the

women is the melting of snow over a lamp, to furnish water for drinking and cooking. Washing is a rarity, and when that operation is applied to the face another liquid is used.

Modern savages have no milk-yielding animals save those obtained from men in higher conditions of culture. The cows and goats of the Africans are not indigenous in their continent, or certainly not in the equatorial or southern portions of it, and were presumably obtained from Western Asia.

The wealth of the Kaffirs and of many other African tribes is mostly in their cows, and for them cow's milk is the staff of life, as camel's milk is for some Arabs; mare's milk for some Central Asiatics; and buffalo's milk for some tribes in Hindostan. All the milk-drinking African tribes milk into wooden buckets or water-tight baskets, which are never washed, and from which in a few minutes a sour fermentation is communicated to the liquid. When away from his milk buckets, the African may suck the sweet milk from the cow, but he prefers it sour.⁴ The Kalmucks do not drink their mare's milk until it has turned sour.

SEC. 34. *Beer, etc.*—In lands where the cocoa-nut grows, its juice is a favorite drink, equally palatable and nutritious. The fresh saps of the maple, birch, palm, and American aloe are used as beverages, but are too insipid to reach high favor, and are more prized for fermentation or for conversion into syrups by boiling. The Soudanese have a nutritious and acidulous drink called abrey, made by mixing doora (which has been ground, made into dough, allowed to turn sour and dried) with water.¹ In the valley of the Amazon, the nut of the guaraná tree is made into paste, dried, grated, and mixed with water

to make a common and much prized drink. The paste sometimes sells to civilized visitors for sixteen dollars a pound.² The Australians drink an infusion of the blossoms of a species of eucalyptus. Whether savages originated the use of any hot decoction as a beverage is doubtful. No hot drink was in use among the savage tribes of Africa, America, or Polynesia when they first became known in modern times to European travelers.

The natives of the arctic and subarctic climes drink the oil of fish and marine mammals, either fresh or rancid; and some tropical savages drink butter which after being well boiled and skimmed, is a liquid at a warm temperature and remains sweet for a long time.

Fermented drinks are unknown to the Australians, Fuegians, Patagonians, Eskimos, and most Redmen in their aboriginal condition, but are extensively used among most other savages. Beers, if that name may properly be given to such beverages, are made from the saps of the cocoa palm, date palm, sugar cane, and American aloe, from the milk of the cocoa-nut, from the juices of various berries and fruits, from infusions of honey, from various tubers and grains.³ Some African and South American savages make their beer from grain which, after sprouting, has been killed by heat, a process perhaps learned from civilized men. In Africa and South America maize and cassava cakes, and in Polynesia and the West Indies sweet potatoes are chewed and spit out into vessels in which the masticated material with some water is allowed to ferment. The beer thus made is considered much superior to that prepared from the same material without saliva.

The favorite and only stimulating drink of many Polynesian and other Pacific islands is made from the ava

root, by spitting the masticated material into bowls (the weight being doubled by the saliva)⁴ adding water and straining. The liquid without fermentation is then immediately ready for drinking. The flavor is compared by one European to soapsuds with a touch of essence of ginger;⁵ by another to a mixture of rhubarb and magnesia.⁶ In small quantities the effect is exhilarating; in large quantities, intoxicating. When much used for a long time it causes a skin disease suggestive of leprosy. It is a sacred beverage prohibited to women and slaves, prominent in religious festivals, and never prepared except with solemn ceremonies, including an invocation and libation to the gods.

SEC. 35. *Narcotics*.—Tobacco, now the leading narcotic of the world, was known in the time of Columbus from Patagonia to Hudson's Bay. The aboriginal Americans smoked it in pipes and cigars, chewed it, and snuffed its dry powder or its infusion into the nostrils. The use last named has been adopted as an original discovery in Ujiji, Africa.¹ The dried leaves and bark of many other plants were smoked by certain tribes of Northwestern America which did not possess tobacco.²

The favorite narcotic of the Malays and of various other races inhabiting the islands or mainland near the Malay archipelago is the betel nut, the name given to the quid prepared by sprinkling powdered lime on the pared nut of the areca palm, and wrapping it in the leaf of the betel pepper. Tennent, who studied its effects in Ceylon, thinks that "no medical prescription could be more judiciously compounded than this combination of the antacid, the tonic and the carminative" to supply the nitrogen lacking in the ordinary food of many rice-eating Asiatics.³ Lime is an important part of the betel-

nut quid, as it is also of the coca-leaf quid of Peru, of the gambier-leaf quid of Mandaheling,⁴ of the tobacco quid of South Africa,⁵ of narcotic-leaf quids of the Thlinkets,⁶ some Californians, and some South Americans,⁷ and of a narcotic snuff of the Otomacs.⁸ For chewing, tobacco is mixed with soda by the Wadai, and with ashes by the Somali.

In Central Africa, the bitter and astringent kola-nut is chewed for its stimulant influences. Among the Fulahs it is offered to male guests, as is a cigar in Europe.⁹ In the basin of the Amazon, paricá snuff, prepared from the ashes of three plants gives a brief but convulsive intoxication.¹⁰ Among the Hottentots, delirium and unconsciousness are produced by chewing the kanna root. Besides their fungus, the Kamtschatkans use the leaves of a willow-like bush to produce intoxication;¹¹ and the Oloochees eat a kind of hemlock for the same purpose.¹²

In South America, the stimulant effects of the cocoa leaf are obtained by chewing it or by drinking its hot decoction; and in Abyssinia and Arabia the leaf of the kaat (*Celastrus edulis*) is used in the same methods for the same purpose.¹³ The Chaymas chew a leaf which first exhilarates and then stupefies,¹⁴ and the Australians are similarly affected by eating pitcherie leaves.¹⁵

Opium, the strongest of the narcotics, is eaten or smoked by relatively few savages and those mostly in the Malay archipelago. The opium poppy was cultivated (probably for its seeds which are not narcotic) by the prehistoric lake-dwelling savages of Switzerland. Next to opium in strength, and to tobacco in extent of consumption, is hasheesh or bhang, which has spread from Hindostan over many islands near Asia, and over much of Africa. In a remote antiquity the Hindoos

chewed its leaves; and the Scythians intoxicated themselves with its fumes in their religious ceremonies. Another strong narcotic, a Kamtschatkan fungus, causes convulsions, and is used in a disgusting natural distillation.¹⁶ A similar distillation with delirious influences is familiar to the Cape Flattery Indians.¹⁷ The Angolese also have a narcotic fungus.¹⁸

SEC. 36. *Hunting*.—Many savage tribes are skillful hunters. Dependent on the chase for much of their food, they have carefully observed the habits of wild animals, and have mastered the arts of taking them by nooses for the neck or foot, catching in pitfalls, luring by decoys and imitation calls, surrounding, driving into pens, nets, or narrow ravines, or over precipices, and killing by poison, by fire, by set spears, by falling lances, and by spring bows. All the traps and weapons made without metals are known to them. They attack and kill the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the buffalo, the grizzly bear, the white bear and the crocodile without fire-arms. The largest beasts are slain by setting fire to the dry brush or high grass in which they are sometimes found; or by letting a heavy lance fall from a trap. For the white bear, a strong piece of whalebone with sharp ends is bent double, and tied together, wrapped with strips of meat or blubber, and exposed to freezing cold. The meat when frozen being strong enough to hold the whalebone in its bent shape, the string is cut, then the bait is set for the bear, and soon after he swallows it, the meat loosens and the whalebone straightens, cuts through the stomach and kills the game.

The elk, the deer, the moose, the African and American buffalo, and many other quadrupeds, and the ostrich,

allow hunters disguised in the skins of their respective kinds to come near enough for fatal shots. Many tricks are used to attract game into places where it can be killed. When a buffalo calf is attacked by a wolf it utters a distressful bawl which calls to its aid all the herd within hearing. The Indians take advantage of this habit. One Redman dressed as a buffalo calf, attacked by another dressed as a wolf, bawls and draws a herd into an ambush or pen.¹ The savage hunter, knowing the curiosity of the antelope, lies on his back in sight of his game and waves a stick with a colored rag at the end until one of the herd comes near enough to be shot.² The Aleut lies among rocks, showing only his head covered with a seal-head mask and, by the call of the female seal, attracts the male within killing distance.³

Converging fences of brush or net several miles long⁴ are built leading to narrow ravines, pits, precipices or inclosures, and a whole tribe with hundreds of men assemble on an appointed day to drive the game to the fatal place. The Shoshone Indians have no material for high fences, and they undertake drives only when a soft, deep snow or deep mud, makes the antelope averse to high jumps. The game in the inclosure is chased until tired out and then killed with clubs.⁵

The Derr negro gets fresh meat by catching a poisonous serpent, punching its tail, passing a cord through the hole and tying the serpent in a trail frequented by antelopes on their way to water.⁶

SEC. 37. *Birds*.—On the coast of Northwestern America, a net is stretched across a narrow opening in a forest, on a route of ducks and geese, flying from one body of water to another. The fowl scared in the twilight, fly against the net, which is hidden from them by the smoke

from a smouldering fire. When they fall to the ground, they are immediately captured by the watchful savages.¹ Similar nets are used in Polynesia.² In California, a net thrown across a stream is supported by high poles, to one of which it is fastened, while the other end is allowed to slide down till the net lies in the water. When game worthy of the trouble comes, a quick pull on the loose rope raises the net, and the bird striking it, falls into the water and is there caught by the hunter.³

The Tungoos sets a net in shallow water over fish roe, and the duck diving for his food, is caught in the mesh. At a place frequented by birds, the Eskimo builds a snow hut with a small opening through which he can thrust out his hand to catch and pull in his game.⁴ The Australian lies as if dead with a fish in his hand, and thus catches the hungry bird.⁵ At Lake Winnipeg, it was observed that ducks approached a shore on which a dog ran backward and forward; so dogs are trained to make such movements, while the master is hidden near enough to shoot his birds.⁶ The Tongan ties a male bird near a light cage containing a hen, in a place where they will be seen and heard by wild birds of the same species, and where from a concealed position he can shoot the game attracted by the calls and movements of the captives.⁷ The Lower Californian catches a pelican, ties it fast to the beach, and then issues from concealment when compassionate pelicans bring pouch loads of fish to the struggling captive.⁸ The Hawaiians and Veddahs catch small birds with birdlime.⁹

SEC. 38. *Fishing, etc.*—In spearing large fish and aquatic mammals, the savage observed that if the point of the weapon were firmly fastened to the shaft, the weapon would often be thrown out of the wound or broken; and he de-

vised a loose point attached to the shaft by a cord in such a manner that so soon as the pull is felt, the point turns crosswise in the flesh.¹ The game is not only held more securely but the shaft becomes a buoy to exhaust the strength of the game and to indicate its place. Seal arrows are attached to the point by two strings, one running to each end, so that the swimming animal has the heavy drag of the arrow crosswise in the water. Bladders full of air are attached as floats to the harpoons used in killing whales, seals and other aquatic animals.

Fish can be seen at a depth of forty feet in clear water through holes cut in ice, and at that depth sturgeon are speared in Lake Superior. The game is attracted by the bait of imitation fish to the best place.² Spears seventy feet long are used on Puget Sound to strike fish felt and not seen.³ The Haidahs have a lath fifteen feet long with barbed nails for striking the water in a shoal of oolakans, and catch a dozen at a blow.⁴

The Andamanese shoot fish with loose-point arrows. Many tribes spear fish at night from a boat carrying a torch. In Georgia, after the fish approach the light, the river is beaten with a bush, and many of the frightened fish jump out of the water, to fall into the boat. The turtle of the Amazon is killed by an arrow which having been shot up into the air, falls vertically on the animal's back and thus can pierce his hard shell.⁵ In some of the Australian waters, a sucking fish, fond of attaching himself to the turtle, is tied to a long cord and allowed to swim off to a turtle, which is then drawn to the fisherman's canoe and dispatched.⁶ Savages have dip nets and seines, some of the latter several hundred yards long. In casting his seine, the Kanembo of Lake Chad sits on a pole attached at each end to a gourd buoy.

This allows him to sink to his waist in the water, leaving his arms out, so that he can use them freely.⁷ The seine knot of the Maoris is the same as that of the modern Europeans.⁸ In Georgia and portions of South America an Indian dives with a net, and comes to the surface with a fish in it.⁹ In Australia and California, the native dives with a spear and brings up a fish on its point.¹⁰ The Patagonian, Carib, Brazilian, Maori and Andamanese dive and catch the finny game in their hands.

Savage fish traps are of many kinds. One of the most curious is found in New Britain. Made of rattan, conical in shape, and a little heavier than water, it has at the sharp end a string and a wooden float. A stone a little heavier than the float is laid on the string, and when a fish is caught its movement throws off the stone, and the float announces the capture.¹¹

The hook is so simple in construction and so effective in catching fish, that it is known to most savage tribes, but not to the Tasmanians, the Lower Californians and the Chippeways.¹² The savage hook made of bone, shell, wood or stone is necessarily clumsier than the metallic hook. The barb is sometimes lacking and sometimes is attached to the shaft, not to the point. In several Pacific Islands the native hook is considered superior to any other for catching fish.¹³ In South America artificial flies, and in many Pacific Islands, imitation fish of lustrous shell, are used for bait.

Catching the shark with a noose is a favorite amusement in many parts of Polynesia and Micronesia. When gorged with food, he likes to sleep or doze in a coral cave, where he may frequently be seen from a canoe. If out searching for something to eat, the savages throw packages of food, consisting of a mixture of fish and

vegetables, sometimes with an addition of the narcotic *ava*, which stupefies brute as well as man. When gorged and perhaps partially intoxicated, the shark lies on the sand or goes into a cave ten or twenty feet below the surface. A diver slips a noose over the projecting tail of the game, and if the head instead of the tail be at the mouth of the cave, the diver taps him on the nose with a stick, whereupon the drowsy monster, to escape from the annoyance, turns round and presents his tail to his enemy.¹⁴ When the noose has been fixed, the diver rises, gets into a canoe, and then several canoes drag the game to the shore where it is killed. The gorging is sometimes done at night, and then the game is not dragged ashore until daylight, as the few intervening hours tend to render the shark more helpless. If the shark be large, the death scene on the beach is an occasion of great enjoyment for all the people in the vicinity.

The Gilbert Islanders catch the gorged shark with a tail noose, and also take the hungry shark with a head noose. In the latter case a baited hook attached to a small line drags behind a boat, and when it has attracted the attention of the game it is pulled forward until it passes through a noose of strong cord. The greedy shark follows, without observing the noose, which is suddenly tightened when his head has passed through. His career then soon comes to an end.¹⁵

The aborigines of New Britain rub cups of cocoa-nut shell together in imitation of the sound of the bonito fish, and when the shark is attracted by the noise, the fishermen slip a noose over his head and drag him up within reach of their clubs.¹⁶ The same fishermen sneak up to the large turtle in the sea and catch him by throwing a lasso over his head and one fin.¹⁷

Captive turtles are kept in lagoons for meat and eggs by the Cubans, Fijians, and Amazon valley tribes.¹⁸ Crocodile eggs are gathered, and allowed to hatch on the shore of a pond, in which the young reptiles stay until their masters, the Congoese negroes, see fit to eat them.¹⁹ Fish taken with the hook are carried to ponds where they can be caught easily whenever needed,²⁰ in Hawaii and Georgia.

The female herring likes to deposit her roe in shallow water on fir boughs, and on the coast of Northwestern America, the Indians put such boughs in the water, and from them get large quantities of the herring roe.²¹ In every quarter of the globe fish are stupefied by throwing vegetable narcotics or poisons into the water and are then easily caught.²²

SEC. 39. *Bees*.—For the purpose of finding the tree in which bees have their stores, the North American Indian puts honey on a small flat stone with white gum on the edge, to which the bee goes to get a start for his flight. Some of the gum sticks to him, distinguishes him from other bees, and shows his course direct to the hive. At the same time another Indian has done the same thing several hundred yards away. The two courses show the situation of the tree. The Australian bee hunter stuns a bee by squirting water on it, catches it, touches it with gum and white down, and follows it thus burdened to its home.¹

SEC. 40. *Villages*.—The non-tilling savages generally have no permanent villages. Without a stock of food for the next week, or in some instances even for the next day, they move about frequently in search of something to eat. In portions of Australia, Tasmania, and Lower California, there is not more than one inhabitant for sixty

square miles and a tribe or group of thirty persons occupy a district sixty miles long and thirty wide. Every year they make a circuit of their district, exhausting birds, quadrupeds, reptiles, vermin, insects, roots, fruits, seeds, and nuts in their round as they go, stopping a week or a day at a place. In other countries the natives might go to the rivers in the spring for fish; to the valleys in the summer for grass seeds; to the swamps in the early autumn for roots and aquatic birds; and to the hills in the late autumn for nuts, nut-eating birds and quadrupeds. Tribes which live on large game are in many cases nomadic because the animals on which they depend migrate or have different haunts at different seasons. The Dakotas, Crows and Blackfeet have stationary villages in the winter, but move half a dozen times in the remainder of the year, so as to be near the buffalo. At three hours' notice, their village can be on the road.¹ The only Indians with permanent villages in the basin of the Missouri river are the Mandans, and they are also the only tribe in that basin with tillage and with fortifications.

Many of the littoral tribes of Australia and Lower California, depending mostly or wholly on shell-fish for food, move as often as once in three months.

A village of non-tilling savages rarely has more than fifty inhabitants; one of tilling savages has usually at least three times as many, sometimes far more. Some of the Iroquois villages had each several thousand people. Hochelaga in Canada was laid out systematically with a well-constructed palisade wall.² The Maoris and many Africans have carefully-built fortifications. The Pelew Islanders, when first found by white men, had paved streets.³

SEC. 41. *Huts, etc.*—The Tasmanians,¹ Andamanese,² Bushmen, Lower Californians, Hill Veddahs, Fuegians, and some Piutes,³ Australians and Papuans never erect huts or tents, and have no better protection against wind and rain than mere shelters open on at least one side. The Bushman digs a hole at the side of a bush, or sets up a small mat, supported by sticks. The Australian makes a little shed with bark or bushes. The Fuegian shelter is a little better, but partly open. The Alforese of the interior of Ceram often spends his night in a tree-top, where he makes a little roof to keep him dry when it rains.⁴ The low savage in the interior of Sumatra, Borneo, and Luzon sleeps in the top or hollow trunk of a tree.

A structure too rude to be called a house, and too good to be styled a shelter, is the dwelling of most savages. Its covering is usually thatch or bark; its floor is always the ground. There is a hole in the roof but no chimney; and no window. The doorways in Central and Southern Africa are not more than two feet high, and to enter them the man must go down on his hands and knees. A Kaffir hut thatched with coarse grass on a frame of light poles, can be built by three persons in two hours; and such a structure can be given to the flames at the end of three months for the sake of getting rid of its insect occupants.

In extensive regions of Africa, every tribe has a peculiar hut pattern which may be recognized from a distance, so that a glance at a village informs the traveler whether he has crossed a tribal boundary. The shapes most common are those of hemispheres, half ovals, cones, and acorns. Each wife has a hut for herself and her children; the husband has none for himself; except at night and at

meals, he expects to find shelter in the assembly hut of the village.⁵

The Polynesian hut has a bamboo frame, a thatch of pandanus leaves, and open sides which can be closed with mats in chilly weather. In those North American regions where the birch tree is abundant, its bark furnishes a convenient covering for huts.⁶ The Pimas and some Australians make winter huts by covering their thatch or wattle with a thick coat of clay. The Mandan has a hut forty or even sixty feet in diameter, with a thick clay roof supported by heavy poles.⁷ Some Siberians have similar huts but smaller. The Central Californian has a pit-hut fifteen or twenty feet in diameter for his winter home.⁸ Stanley found pit-huts in Africa;⁹ and the Britons,¹⁰ while tilling savages, and the barbarous ancient Teutons¹¹ had such dwellings, and the Lapps have them now. Some Shoshone Indians go into burrows in the winter.¹²

The winter huts of the Eskimos are made of cakes of hard snow shaped with the knife, and laid up in the form of a low dome or section of a sphere. At the joints loose snow is pressed in and water poured on slowly in freezing weather until ice fills the space that was open. When the dome has received its shape, a piece is cut out to allow the insertion of a slab of clear ice as a window. The entrance is through a long, low passage which excludes the intensely cold outer air. The temperature of the interior must never exceed thirty-two degrees; so soon as it does the structure begins to melt. The only artificial heat used is that of a lamp.

Tents made of skin or felt, supported on poles are used extensively by savages. In North America the tent skins are obtained from buffalo, elk, moose and deer; in

Patagonia from the horse; in Eskimo regions from the seal, sea lion and walrus; in Siberia and Lapland from the reindeer. Felt made of hair is used for tents in Central Asia, the Sahara and some wooded districts of Africa. The covering is sometimes double or triple for protection against intense cold.¹³ The Kirghiz have matting under their felt.¹⁴

Dwellings supported over the water on piles exist now in Malaysia, Melanesia, Central Africa, the Aino district of Japan and the Kuki district of Hindostan. They were found in Venezuela and Vancouver Island by early European navigators. As early as 5,000 B. C., there were two hundred pile villages, occupied by tilling savages, in the Swiss lakes; and Herodotus mentions such villages as existing in his time in Southeastern Europe and in Western Asia.

In the valley of the Niger, the floor of the hut should be three feet above the ground to give protection against snakes, ants and moisture. On the southern shore of the Caspian and in portions of Africa and Melanesia, a height of at least ten feet is necessary to keep the sleeper above the range of certain troublesome insects. In Kimireland, the huts have floors twelve feet above the ground with space on them for goats, dogs and chickens. The Caribs have huts in trees forty feet up to escape the floods of the Orinoco; and the Murray Islanders have their homes fifty feet above the earth.

Houses each large enough to hold from five to twenty families, were common among most of the American tribes east of the Mississippi, and are found now among the Dyaks of Malaysia.¹⁵

In certain tribes of Africa, North America, Polynesia and Malaysia, custom requires every village to have a

large building for political, religious, social or hygienic purposes. Among the Mandans, this structure is exclusively ecclesiastical; among the Pueblos, it is ecclesiastical, social and hygienic, being used as a sweat or bath house at times; among the Mundrucus, it is the place where the warriors usually sleep; and among the Malays it is the repository for the scalp, jawbones, dried heads or other trophies of the village. In many tribes, it is used for entertaining friendly strangers. A hut built for the use of unmarried women and their lovers is one of the institutions of many African villages.

SEC. 42. *Furniture, etc.*—In ordinary savage life, the household furniture is scanty. The Australian, Tasmanian, Bushman and Californian sleep on the bare ground, with little or no covering in the coolest weather. Tribes a little higher in their culture have mats, bark, cloth and furs. The hammock, invented by South Americans as a protection against insects and moisture, is simple and serviceable, and it has the distinction of being the only piece of furniture adopted by civilization from savagism in modern times. The Polynesians, Malays and some Africans have a little wooden trestle for supporting the head or neck while sleeping.

The savage woman, in the migratory tribes, has a basket or bag for carrying tools, ornaments and food, and a flat stone or a mortar for crushing seeds. In the higher grades of savage culture, she has several earthen pots for cooking. She keeps oil in a skin, gourd, jar or hollow sea weed. In the Haoussa country jars for fat and honey are made by covering a lump of moist clay with rawhide, and sewing the seams tightly;¹ and in Kaffirland bottles for similar purposes are made by plastering a mixture of rawhide scrapings and blood

with a little clay over a clay mould.² Drinking cups of gourds, cocoa-nut shells and marine shells are found in a few tribes.

Spoons of buffalo horn or wood are used with soups and stews by many North American tribes. Boxes or baskets to protect grain from insects, mice and monkeys are made of a bitter bark by the Badema negroes; and grain sacks are made by other tribes from the bark of a tree. A trunk six inches thick is cut to a length of fourteen feet, the bark is beaten for a distance of eleven feet from the larger end, so as to loosen, and stretch it sidewise; it is then stripped back, and the eleven feet of bare pole cut off, leaving a sack about six feet long, and a foot and a half in diameter, on a pedestal three feet high.³ A considerable part of the furniture of the Bushman consists of the mats behind which or under which he sleeps, and of the ostrich egg shells in which he keeps water. The non-tilling tribes generally have no cooking utensils. Some savages of South America knew the peculiar properties of caoutchouc, and made it into rings and bottles;⁴ and tool handles of gutta-percha were in use among Malays before it was known to civilized men.

Savages generally have no artificial light save that from a fire. The pine knot is however used for a torch in hunting and fishing at night by the Redmen. The Malay torch for similar purposes is made with a lump of pitch or combustible gum in the end of a piece of bamboo. Oleaginous nuts on a wooden skewer serve as a substitute for a candle in Polynesia,⁵ and with a piece of dry bark through it as a wick, the oolakan or candlefish gives light at night to the Haidahs. A hollow stone, a wick of moss, and oil, obtained by chewing blubber, make up the Eskimo's lamp.

SEC. 43. *Baskets and Mats*.—Except in regions where the materials are lacking, no tribe is without baskets and mats. The aborigines of Central California are among the lowest of savages, and yet they make beautiful water-tight baskets in which they can boil porridge, throwing in red-hot stones for heat. The New Zealanders possess superior skill in making mats, for which an excellent material is furnished by their indigenous flax, and for which they have much need on account of the coolness of their climate, their ignorance of weaving, their lack of a tree from which they could make bark cloth, and the scarcity of large skins. Their only quadruped larger than a rat is the dog, and they have few dogs. They make mats for clothing, bedding, hut walls, hut partitions, sails and platters. Of their clothing mats some are waterproof, others are very light and a third kind thick and fur like. When the season for mat plaiting comes, the Maoris like to collect in parties, and while engaged in their work, listen to some bard who recites the legends and poems of their race. It is perhaps largely to these mat-plaiting parties, that they owe the wealth of their legendary lore. The tropical Polynesians having an abundance of bark suitable for cloth and no wild flax and, needing no warm dress, made mats for bedding but not for clothing. In America and Africa, where large quadrupeds furnish skins for leather, there is relatively little need for mats and few are made.

The Chippeway Indians, however, make handsome mats of reeds growing in the waters of Lake Superior. These reeds are cut at a certain season of the year, and are boiled for three-quarters of an hour to make them tough, then bleached, and dyed, and are plaited only in rainy weather or in the morning while the air is damp.¹

SEC. 44. *Dogs*.—Many species of mammals and birds are caught so easily; they attach themselves to man so readily; and he takes such pleasure in their companionship, that he must have begun, in a very early condition of his culture, to make pets of them. Such pets are found in most savage tribes. By the aboriginal North Americans the buffalo, the moose, the bear, the wolf,¹ the deer, the eagle, the crane, the crow;² the squirrel and the raccoon were tamed occasionally; by the negro tribes, the lion, the panther, the wild cat, the jackal, the antelope, the ostrich and the monkey;³ by the South Americans, the tapir, the peccary, the agouti, the monkey, the opossum,⁴ the parrot, the woodhen and the tortoise; the seal, and the kite by some Australians;⁶ and the cassowary in part of Melanesia.⁷ But in all these cases the object was to get a pet and nothing more. Such tame animals were kept without companions of their own species, and were not used to breed a stock of descendants, inheriting the habits and tastes of domesticity.

After the petting of individual brutes, the next step in the domestication of animals was the breeding of the dog, which on account of his keen scent and hearing, his vigilance, swiftness, intelligence, courage, and fidelity is valuable as a sentinel, as an aid in hunting and as a playmate for children. He requires less attention and labor in guarding and feeding than any other brute; he is more serviceable in the chase, and he is more prompt and efficient in defending man against other animals. In many countries, he not only supplies himself with food but brings some to his master. He learns to catch fish in the water; he scares fish into the net of the Fuegian; he serves as a beast of burden dragging the tent poles of the Missouri Indian, and as a beast of draught

when hitched to the sled of the Eskimo, traveling fifty miles or more in a day.

The dog is the most widespread of the domestic animals; he is found among the savages in every climate, in every continent, and on every large island. Where he is missing, man has no brute companion. The Andamanese, Tasmanians,⁸ some Micronesians, Aleuts,⁹ Bushmen and Californian tribes have no tame dogs. Among the tribes which have the dog and no other domestic animal are the New Zealanders,¹¹ the Niamniam, some Micronesians, and the savages generally of North and South America; and all these occasionally eat dog meat.

SEC. 45. *Pigs, etc.*—The pig was presumably the second animal in point of time to be domesticated by man, and was certainly the second in the breadth of area over which he was bred by savages. In most of the Pacific islands, he was the only tame quadruped besides the dog; in Asia and Africa he was common; in the Swiss pile villages of the stone age he was at home; but he was not known to the New Zealanders before Cook's time.¹ His stupidity, his sluggishness when well fed, and his ability to find food where many other herbivorous animals would starve, make him valuable. He was unknown in America, and the peccary, a kindred animal, found wild in the basin of the Amazon, would not breed except in its wild condition.

In many regions, the sheep, goat, cow and horse were not tamed until after the pig had been man's companion for centuries. The relative dates of the domestication of the chicken, the goose, the duck and the pigeon are unknown, but all were domesticated before men came into possession of metallic tools. The natives of Funafate, a Polynesian island, have tame frigate-birds which

when the winds are favorable, visit other parts of the group, and by tying things to the necks of these birds, at such times, presents are sent to distant friends.

SEC. 46. *Tillage*.—Tillage is the characteristic feature of higher savagism. Its introduction into culture was more important than that of stone-polishing, canoe-building, weaving or pottery, and was earlier in time and more fruitful in great results than the domestication of the ruminant animals. It gives to man a steady supply of food, a habit of providing for the distant future, the idea of accumulation, fixed residence, dense population, and higher political and military organization. It teaches him to live by the toil not of the day but of the year. It prepares the savage for a life of peaceful labor and constant industry.¹

The chief articles of cultivation are maize in North America and Peru; cassava and the plantain in the hot districts of South America; the banana in tropical Africa; the doora in South Africa; rice and the sago palm in Malaysia; taro in tropical Polynesia, and the sweet potato in New Zealand. In the time of Columbus, the Indians east of the Mississippi planted maize, beans, peas, melons, pumpkins, gourds, sunflowers and tobacco;² and though they did not plant the black walnut, the butternut, the shellbark hickory, the persimmon, the black mulberry and the wild plum, these trees were saved in fields where other trees were killed. Some tropical South Americans had cultivated the papunha, a fruit resembling an egg plum, so long before the time of Columbus that when white men first saw it, it was occasionally seedless.³ Long cultivation is also implied by the lack of seeds in the Brazilian breadfruit⁴ and in the Brazilian manioc.⁵

The Polynesians plant bananas, breadfruit, cocoa-nut, taro, sweet potato, ginger ava, and the paper mulberry. The Maoris make fences, dig up the soil with pointed sticks hardened in fire, and put sand on heavy soils. The taro in tropical Polynesia requires careful and liberal flooding. The Wanyikas cultivate a cucumber for its seeds from which they make a salad oil. As the North Americans have their fields of tobacco, so have the Africans theirs for Indian hemp, the Malagasies theirs for betel pepper,⁶ and the South Americans theirs for cocoa.⁷ Wheat, barley, flax, apples, pears and poppies, all brought from Asia, were cultivated by the Swiss lake dwellers in the stone age.

After it had been proved by experience that edible fruits, seeds and tubers could be obtained by cultivation, the spread of tillage was obstructed by nomadic habits, the difficulty of protecting fields against marauding animals, the disgrace attached to the man engaged in agricultural labor, the custom of treating all large stocks of food as common property, the dislike of steady toil, the general disposition to strive for nothing save immediate results. Although many tribes till the ground, the field work is done by women, serfs or slaves. It would dishonor the noble or freeman. The Creek warrior may gather the maize when it is ripe, but he must not plant it or hoe it. The Kaffir warrior drives the cows to and from the pasture, puts them in the pen at nightfall, lets them out in the morning, and milks them, but he must not touch the digging stick.

Many of the obstacles to the spread of tillage were removed by a strong political organization, in which chiefs defended property rights; by a strong ecclesiastical organization which sanctified slavery; and by a

strong military organization which repelled alien enemies, and kept a large stock of slaves in subjection. Protected by such institutions, slavery repaid them by giving them greater strength. It accustomed the masters to study and the slaves to practice steady toil; taught many distinct occupations; gave density of population; and made men familiar with the accumulation of large stores of provision and other property. It was especially prosperous in temperate climes where energy is not oppressed by enervating heat, and where the struggle of agriculture against the luxuriance of wild vegetation, is less difficult than in torrid regions. The temperate zone also yields most abundantly the nitrogenous cereals, containing a large amount of food for the muscles, in the smallest space, and in forms that can be preserved for a long time without change, and that can be transported over long distances with relatively little expense. As nutriment for men of high physical and intellectual energy, the typical cereals of the temperate zone—wheat, barley, rye, oats and maize—are far superior to the banana, plantain, breadfruit, cocoa-nut, taro, yam, cassava, sago and rice of the tropics, to the date of the subtropical lands and to the blubber of the polar regions. With the aid of tillage, culture began to move away from the equator, and its march in that direction has been continuous ever since.

Among the tilling tribes of the Redmen it was the custom that there should be one field near each village, and in that field every family should have a patch as large as it could cultivate. The record of DeSoto's expedition says he traveled for two Spanish leagues or more than five English miles in one field, the magnitude of which implied a dense population and general confidence in the security of property. Irrigation was not

used in America by savages ; it was applied in Polynesia, especially in the fields of taro, which without it would not thrive. The Maoris fertilized their fields and carried sand to mix with clay soils.

The cultivation of maize and tobacco did not arise simultaneously in all parts of America, but each must have started in a small district from which it was spread by savage enterprise over extensive regions ; as in modern times those plants and cassava have been carried by savages over much of Africa. The cocoa-nut, banana and various palms owe their introduction in many districts to the same influence.

Most hill tribes of Hindostan move their villages once in three years, and after tilling a field for a season or two, desert it for another. The abandoned tract is soon covered with bushes, which, after a good rest, are burned to enrich the soil and prepare it for another crop. Many negro tribes have a similar rotation of fields.⁸

SEC. 47. *Implements, etc.*—The simplest and probably the earliest implement, used in loosening the soil and preparing it for the reception of seeds, is the digging stick, a sharp pole, six feet long. Four or five of these are driven aslant into the ground round a circle a foot and a half in diameter, the points directed towards a common center, and the enclosed circle is pried up by concert of action. Such digging sticks are used in Africa. A great improvement upon this is made by using a flat pole or wooden spade with a cross piece near the point for the foot, such as was observed by Cook in the Tongan group and also in New Zealand.¹ Hoes are made in Africa, Polynesia and North America with blades of stone, shell, wood and bone ; and the shoulder blade of the deer was in common use for a hoe blade in

Georgia. Stone adzes were also much used as substitutes for hoes.

SEC. 48. *Milk-yielders*.—The pile-dwelling Swiss of the stone culturestep had the cow and sheep, and therefore the domestication of those ruminants belongs perhaps to savagism. The sheep was not indigenous in Europe and must have come from Asia, as perhaps did the cow. Whether, in other regions, the goat, ass, horse and camel were domesticated as early as the cow and sheep, is uncertain. The cow of the savage is a very different animal from that of the highly civilized man. To the Damara she yields three pints of milk a day;¹ to the European thirteen times as much.

The tame milk-yielding animal increased the stock of food and of property, contributed to maintain a denser population, provided a medium of exchange, and supplied nourishment to infants, which had previously depended exclusively on the mother's breast for three or four years.² When half of the previous period of lactation was cut off for the woman, and the drain for the other half much diminished, her social value rose. Her life was rendered easier. She became more attractive to her husband. She could rear more children. One of the chief excuses for polygamy was destroyed, and the domestic circle was strengthened.

The only use for butter among many African tribes is to anoint their bodies, and the ancient Teutons and Slavonians applied it to a similar purpose.³ In Kaffra-ria and other regions of South Africa, the dairy work and herding are done by the men.⁴ The cow, which was a common domestic animal of Egypt in 4,000 B. C., is superior to all the other ruminants as a milk-yielder, is unsurpassed for meat and for leather, and is

equaled by few animals in docility of disposition. The dromedary of Arabia, the camel of Bactria, the horse of Turkestan or Persia—called by the early Assyrians “the pack animal of the East”⁵—and the goat of Western Asia were presumably each first domesticated in their indigenous regions.

Our sheep has lost, more than any other domestic animal, its fitness for a wild life. Its dependence on man for food and protection, and the excellence of its meat and wool, secure favor for it among savages as well as among civilized nations. In low culture, its wool is not shorn but is plucked out as it was by the Romans in Pliny's time.⁶ The goat is better adapted than the sheep to bush-covered and steep mountains, and in portions of Africa uninhabitable for the cow or horse on account of the tsetse fly, and too warm for the sheep, the goat is the only milk-yielder.

The cow, horse, camel and buffalo are used for burden but not for draught among savages, but their chief value to them is for milk and meat. A small herd of either of these animals is sufficient to maintain a savage family, and its possession stimulates its owner to adopt habits of economizing and providing for the distant future. He studies the habits of his beasts, learns to treat their diseases, erects shelter and stores food for them, becomes skillful in training them, trades with them, makes them a source of accumulating wealth and rises more and more above the rude modes of life prevalent among the lowest savages.

SEC. 49. *Boats*.—The simplest form of the incipient boat is a floating log on which a man sits astride propelling himself with legs and arms. On such supports, Australians visited European ships in the last century.

The next step in the art of navigation was to fasten two or more logs side by side, or to tie a number of reeds or canes together in a raft. A great advance was made when some man hollowed out a log, to reduce its weight, increase its buoyancy, and make a dry place for himself, his food, his weapons, and his clothing. Such boats with square ends, and semicircular bottoms as if made from a tree trunk split through in the middle, have been found in European mounds. One such boat had two handles at each end, so that it could be carried conveniently on land.¹ The next improvement was to sharpen the end so that the boat would move easily through the water; and another was to change the shape of a cross section from a semicircle to the transverse section of a long oval.

Many modern tribes never learned to make anything better than a raft for navigation. Among them were the Californians on San Francisco Bay and its tributaries, the Tasmanians and many Australians, though all of them had easy access to large trees well suited for canoes.²

The boats of savages may be classified as dugouts, plank canoes, bark canoes, and skin boats. The dugouts are made from the trunk of a tree with the aid of fire, by the Andamanese, the Redmen east of the Rocky mountains south of latitude forty-two degrees, and many others. Pitch is put on the wood to be burned out and wet clay on that to be protected.³ Stone axes are used in cutting away the charred material, and several men work for months in making a small canoe.⁴ In recent years, dugout canoes sixty feet long and six feet wide have been made by the Haidahs,⁵ who after doing all the other work, use hot water to make the wood pliable, so that they can give the desirable width to the upper part of the sides.

Bark canoes are used on the St. Lawrence and its tributary waters, the upper Mississippi, the upper Missouri, the Yukon, and many other streams of Northern America; and also in Guiana,⁶ Ugogo,⁷ and parts of Australia.⁸ A tough and flexible bark, such as that of the birch—perhaps the best of all barks for canoe purposes—is peeled from the tree in a single piece, sewed together at the ends, covered with pitch at the seams, and stiffened with a light wooden frame.⁹ A birchbark boat carries ten times its own weight, will last for three or four years and can be made by one man in a week. The Maoris have canoes of wood and also of mats,¹⁰ and mat boats are made in California.¹¹

For the savage, without metallic tools, it was far more difficult to make a plank boat than a dugout. He could not saw out a board; he had no accurate scale of measurement; and he had no nails. Nevertheless he accomplished the task. He made planks by burning and chipping with a stone adze; he fitted the pieces together by his eye; he sewed them together with twine or rattan; and he covered the seams with pitch. Thus he made boats thirty yards long and two wide, with room for more than a hundred men. The largest plank boats of savages in stone culture were those of the Fijians and Polynesians. The Micronesians, Malays and Fuegians make their boats in the same manner, but the Fuegian boats are small.

Boats of skin stretched on wooden frames are made by the Missouri River Indians, by the Abipones of South America, and by the Eskimos. The boat used by the Eskimo for seal hunting is admirably adapted to its purpose, and is one of the wonders of marine architecture.¹² Although, so small that it cannot carry more

than one person, and that its upper surface is only six inches above the water, yet in it the Eskimo can venture far out to sea in rough weather. It has a close deck, with which the dress of the boatman is so connected, that the water can wash over him without getting into the boat. For propulsion, the chief dependence is the paddle. The oar and scull are known to few savages. A sail of matting or of skin is used by the Pacific Islanders, Malays, Caribs, Floridians, and some African tribes.

The outrigger, a substitute for ballast, peculiar to the aborigines of the Pacific and Indian oceans, is a log or bamboo stem resting in the water, parallel with the canoe, six, eight or even twelve feet from it, and attached to it by crosspieces above the level of the water. The outrigger is on the windward side, and in case of change in the wind or in the course of the boat, the sail and perhaps the mast is shifted. When the breeze becomes so strong that the outrigger is lifted nearly out of water, men go out on it or weights are placed on it to preserve the equilibrium. Alone among the Polyynesians, the Maoris had no outriggers.¹³ The Samoans considered it impossible for sail boats to live in a rough sea without them, and they wondered at the prediction of one of their priests in the last century, that a large boat, without an outrigger, would arrive with people different from any they had ever seen.¹⁴ A pole projecting out to windward serves instead of an outrigger in small canoes.¹⁵ The Solomon Islanders have a double outrigger, that is, one on each side of the canoe.

The Tahitians, New Caledonians, Malays,¹⁶ and some Congoes¹⁷ occasionally attach two canoes together, side by side, but from six to twelve feet apart, either with two cross-pieces or with an intervening deck.

Rude as are the Polynesian boats, many of them make voyages of more than a thousand miles, sailing from Tahiti to Hawaii and back with confidence based on experience, and trusting to the stars for guidance. The Micronesians and Malays make similar voyages. To such ventures much of the original settlement of the Pacific isles is due. The Indians of Florida sail in their boats to the Bahamas.

The sled, the only vehicle made by savages for land transportation, is used by them only on snow or ice. Constructed of wood or bone, and weighing perhaps not more than twenty pounds, it can carry a load of two hundred. It is drawn by reindeer or dogs, and the only harness is a single rope or trace for each animal; for the reindeer a cord is attached to his head. The cart wheel was unknown to the Americans and Polynesians when these people were discovered by the modern Europeans.

SEC. 50. *Pottery*.—Pottery was unknown to the Polynesians who had no potter's clay, to the Eskimos who had no fuel for kilns, and to the non-tilling savages generally. In shaping their clubs, spears, paddles and poles, as in making canoes, mud was used to protect portions of the wood from burning. Such applications suggested that wet clay should be plastered over a basket or a gourd that was to be set on a fire to heat water. In 1503, Capt. Gonneville found South Americans boiling water in wooden pots so protected.¹ Gourds and baskets for use on the fire were covered with clay in Australia.² Pots were moulded over gourds in Georgia,³ and others bearing the marks of the baskets on which they were moulded have been found in Illinois, Georgia, and Brazil.⁴ Indeed this method of shaping pots was not abandoned by the Cherokees when white men first

became familiar with them. Some of the pottery of the tilling Swiss lake dwellers was marked with the thumb-nail in imitation of basketwork, suggesting that pots had previously been made in or over baskets. A considerable advance was made; it was found that the clay could be shaped and burned as well without a wooden frame.

Many different materials were tried. Some clay cracked in drying; some broke very easily after being burned. Different kinds of clay were mixed together, or silicious or calcareous matter was added to the paste.⁵ The Kaffirs make pots of the hills of the white ants.⁶ The Redmen generally burn their pottery in the open air; among the tribes which understood the advantages of the oven were the Arowaks of South America.⁷

Out of burned clay the North American Indians made pipes, idols, cups, water bottles, jars, and cooking pots, including some holding ten gallons or more for boiling down maple-sap or salt water. Large pots to be used over a fire had holes in the sides for a suspending pole which was protected against the flames by wet clay.⁸ The Fijians made jugs with hollow handles for spouts.

Soapstone or steatite was fashioned into cooking pots in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, New England, in Catalina Island, and in the land of the Eskimos. The Eskimos also make pots of flat stones on which they build up a rim of other stones fastened together with a cement compounded with grease and lampblack. The Aleuts make pots with rims of clay on a bottom of stone.⁹

SEC. 51. *Thread, Cloth, etc.*—The art of spinning is known to all savages. The Australians practice it in its rudest form; they twist the fibers by rolling them on the knee under the hand.¹ The Redmen and the more

advanced tribes use a spindle with a weight or whorl attached to save labor. The sinews of large mammals are split up into fine threads, but they are not well suited for use in garments or weapons often exposed to the water, and for these, thread of vegetable fibre is preferred.

Sewed clothing is unknown to savages generally, but is found among the American Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, who wear sewed leggins, moccasins, and cloaks. It exists also among the Eskimos who use the needle in preparing all their garments. Some of the Eskimo thread made of whole sinew is as delicate in fibre as fine sewing silk. The prehistoric European cave dwellers lived in a subfrigid climate and had bone needles suggestive of sewed clothing.

In Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, and portions of Central Africa and South America, cloth made of bark is used for clothing and bedding. In Polynesia it is made from paper mulberry saplings about two inches in diameter. Each sapling supplies a piece of bark about six inches wide and six feet long. After the hard outer coat has been scraped off, the bark is beaten till it spreads out to a width of two feet; several pieces are glued together at the sides; the joints are beaten till they are invisible; and the manufacture ends with printing in colors and varnishing. Such cloth, though easily torn and soon spoiled when exposed to the rain, is produced with little labor and is well suited to the wants of a tropical climate.

In its origin, weaving was much later than spinning. It was unknown to the non-tilling savages generally, and also to the Polynesians, Melanesians, Fuegians, Kafirs and many other Africans, and though known to

many North American tribes, was little practiced among them. The simplest weaving known was done by the Nootka Indians with unspun fibres of fir bark. The same process was known to the various other Redmen, and also to the tilling savages of the Swiss pile villages. The Haidah Indians beat the inner bark of the cedar tree, spin it and weave it. They, and many other tribes, pluck or shear their dogs every spring for the wool. Cloth is made of buffalo hair in the basin of the Mississippi.

The cloth of the savages is usually made by hand weaving or stick weaving—that is, the tram is passed under and over alternate warp threads by the fingers or by a stick. The Chippeways had an upright frame with horizontal rollers about five feet long and four feet apart. A single thread wrapped over these rollers formed the warp, and after the tram had been woven in, a cut through the warp made a piece of cloth five feet wide and eight feet long. The device of raising all the alternate threads at one movement and lowering them at another, so that the tram could be passed rapidly from side to side, was known to very few savages, and the shuttle to none.

In portions of America, a mat-like cloth is made by cutting the skins of rabbits or wild geese into strips,¹ and then plaiting these strips together. In Tahiti and Hawaii beautiful feather mantles, to be worn by the high chiefs, are woven. A thin flexible mat serves as a basis and, on the outside, is hidden by the feathers.

SEC. 52. *Leather*.—The process of tanning with astringent substances is certainly unknown to most and perhaps to all savages save those tribes which have learned it from nations in a higher culturestep; but

many tribes are familiar with other modes of dressing hides so as to make them soft, pliable and warm for purposes of clothing. Stretching, scraping, rubbing, chewing, smoking and soaking with various liquid or semi-liquid substances, are among the methods employed. The skins are rubbed with brains of buffalo or deer by the North American Indians;¹ with chewed liver by the Patagonians;² with clotted milk and flaxseed by the Abyssinians;³ and with willow bark and a fetid liquid by the Chookchees.⁴ The seal skins of the Eskimos are rendered pliable by soaking in household lye followed by chewing. In the Soudan, hides are made waterproof with milk.⁵ The Monbuttoo Africans are distinguished by their ignorance of all methods of dressing hides into leather. Out of salmon skin, the Chookchees make a leather for woman's clothing.⁶

SEC. 53. *Traffic*.—The aboriginal Californians generally, the Australians, the Tasmanians, the Andamanese, the Bushmen, the Fuegians, and other non-tilling savages have no medium of exchange, no professional trader, no habit of depending on traffic for acquiring any necessary of life, no custom of assembling for commercial purposes, no accumulation of articles intended for barter or sale, and no such division of labor that any man could consider himself secure from the toil of hunting up food for himself. The first separate occupation seems to have been that of the priest; next, perhaps that of the knife maker, and then of the chief.

Unless brought into contact with people in a higher culturestep, there is very little traffic among non-tilling savages. The mounds of Central California contain few articles brought from distant regions. But the tribes in New York had obsidian knives from Mexico; those in

Ohio had redstone pipes from Minnesota, and copper from Michigan; those in Tennessee had marine shells and shark's teeth from the Atlantic; and those in many districts east of the Mississippi had greenstone axe-heads and chert arrowheads brought from distant regions.

As mediums of exchange, we find cowries in Western Africa¹ and New Britain;² shell beads or wampum east of the Mississippi and in Northern California,³ salt in portions of Africa, various ornaments of shell or crystal in other parts of the world, and domestic animals wherever they exist. Coin is not a product of savagism.

Fairs, for purposes of traffic, are common in many tribes of the Pacific, of Africa, and of Malaysia, and are held at regular intervals. Such gatherings in the Hawaiian and Fijian groups attract visitors from distant islands. In some portions of Polynesia, the privilege of trading with people from a distance belongs exclusively to the nobles; in others to the chiefs.

SEC. 54. *Metals*.—The Australians, Tasmanians, Pacific Islanders, Californians and many other savages, when first observed by civilized travelers, had no metal. Some American tribes east of the Mississippi had pieces of native copper which they had pounded into knives, chisels, arrowheads, spear heads, awls, daggers, and ornaments. They know nothing of the arts of smelting or casting metals.

Gold has been used for ornament by several tribes which could not melt it, but could shape it by hammering. Meteoric iron, though known to savages, was unmanageable for them. From barbarous or civilized visitors, many African tribes have learned the arts of smelting and forging iron, but its possession has not sufficed to raise them out of the general customs of savagism.

SEC. 55. *Industrial Achievements.*—Having thus considered the industry of savages in its details, let us look back for a comprehensive idea of their contributions to the useful arts. They made themselves familiar with the habits of animals and the qualities of plants and minerals. They tried every kind of stone to see whether it would make good knives, and every kind of wood to find whether it would do for kindling sticks, bows, spears and canoes; and every kind of fibre to make twine. They discovered the palatable and nutritious character of all the products now used as food. By cooking, soaking, or grating and pressing, they converted many vegetables, naturally poisonous, into wholesome food. They invented all the main processes of cooking. They grilled, baked, boiled, and stewed. They preserved food by drying, smoking, salting, freezing, covering with melted fat, and by burying in the ground. They prepared hard seeds for food by grinding in mortars, and by soaking. We owe the idea but not the modern pattern of mill, oven and cooking pot to our savage ancestors.

They observed the stimulant or sedative quality in every narcotic plant now in use. They are possibly and in most cases certainly entitled to the credit or discredit of first making use of tobacco, betel, opium, hasheesh, coca, kola-nut, ava, Kamtschatkan fungus, maté, cocoa, coffee, and tea. One of the latest of these narcotics to come into use was coffee, which began to attract attention in the Middle Ages among the Arabians, who heard of it from the Abyssinians, and they were induced to try it by a traveler from Central or Western Africa, who while there had tasted a decoction made from a similar bean but of different species. The Swiss pile dwellers in the stone age drank warm decoctions,

and it is possible, though not proved, that the Paraguayans did so too before the time of Columbus. Savages extracted, by chewing from raw leaves and seeds, a little of those stimulating alkaloids which we obtain, in greater quantity and more palatable form, by steeping in hot water.

They learned how to make and to polish edge tools of stone, and in every region they used the stone that combined in the highest degree, the qualities of desirable fracture with toughness. They perceived the value of missile weapons which should strike at a distance, and they devised unsurpassed patterns for the arrow, the spear, the throw-club, and the sling-stone. They preserved the aim of the spear and the arrow by giving them a whirling motion. They attached a loose point to the spear for fish and aquatic mammals, so that the shaft should not be broken, and that it should offer the greatest possible resistance to the escape of the wounded animal. They gave greater impetus to the spear by using a sling or throw-stick, and to the axe by fastening it on a handle, thus gaining an advantage similar to that from a prolongation of the arm. They poisoned the head of the arrow and spear, and thus got game which would have escaped with an unpoisoned wound.

They were skillful hunters and fishermen. They invented pit-falls, nooses, box-traps, fences, decoys and disguises. They imitated the calls of the game animals with wonderful fidelity. They stalked quadrupeds by day and dazzled them with fire by night. They attacked and killed the lion, tiger, grizzly bear, hippopotamus, rhinoceros and elephant. They took fish with hooks, seines, hand nets, traps, nooses, harpoons, and poison. They baited their hooks with worms, meat, and genuine

and imitation flies and fish. They practiced deception on brutes as well as on their fellow-men. Civilization has added much to the implements of the hunter but nothing to his skill.

From cold and heat, from rain and wind, they sought shelter in caves and hollow trees and under projecting ledges of rock. Then they dug holes in cliffs and steep banks of hard earth or soft stone; made shelters of branches or mats; and afterward advanced to the construction of huts. They covered a frame of light poles with thatch, bark, clay-smeared wattle, or of heavy poles plastered with a thick layer of clay. They built dome-shaped huts of clay or hardened snow. They drove piles in shallow water as a support for villages relatively secure against the attacks of enemies.

They acquired high skill in making mats. They tried the bark of many plants, and different layers of the bark so that they might reject all save that which would yield the largest and toughest fibre. They used matting for clothing, bedding, sacks, shelter and sails. They made it thick like fur, and thin like light muslin. They also produced somewhat similar fabrics from the inner bark of certain trees by beating it until it became soft, flexible and suitable for clothing.

The art of making baskets arose with that of making mats. Both were carried to high excellence by rude savages. A little later was the discovery that a long and strong cord could be made by twisting together many short pieces of animal or vegetable fibres. The vegetable fibres, having been previously known in matting, were the first used in spinning, and were found to be the best for nets and cords to be used in the water. It was for fishing that there was the most demand for

twine among savages. After twine had been made, it was woven into cloth, by a process similar to that in the plaiting of mats.

As it may be said that cloth was developed out of the mat, so pottery grew out of the basket. A basket covered with clay set on the fire to heat water, turned into a piece of burned pottery which proved to be more valuable than the original basket, and other pots were made on baskets until it was discovered that the pot could be made better without the help of the basket.

They learned to dress skins so that they should be pliable, soft, warm, and valuable for clothing and bedding and also for tent covering. Whether they discovered the tanning qualities of the bark of the oak and of various other trees is doubtful; perhaps they found that they could dress skins with less labor by other processes. Certain it is that, for many purposes, they prefer the leather prepared by their methods to that from the civilized tanyards.

The lowest phase of navigation is that of the Australian who sits, astride, on a log, and propels it by paddling with hands and feet. A better conveyance is the raft of reeds on which the aboriginal Californian crosses San Francisco Bay or some of its tributary waters. A step higher is the log canoe with square ends, and a great improvement is made on that conveyance by sharpening the ends. In about the same stage of development with this form, are the canoes made of bark, mats or skins, stiffened with a wooden frame. Much higher are the large canoes made of planks sewed together, provided with outriggers, masts and sails, and capable of carrying fifty or a hundred persons on long voyages.

Savages tilled the soil. They loosened it with a dig-

ging stick, a hoe, or a rudimentary spade. They cultivated cereals, legumes, tubers, and fruit trees. They introduced valuable plants into regions far from their indigenous habitats. They observed the superior fitness of certain soils for certain plants and by putting manure, sand, ashes, or muck on their fields, they got better crops. They irrigated and flooded their land. They allowed their fields to rest, and thus in a certain sense rotated their crops.

They domesticated all the animals of much value to man. They began with pets of many kinds; then domesticated the dog, then the pig, and finally the sheep, goat, cow, horse, camel, buffalo, reindeer, ass, duck, goose, and chicken. They taught the dog and reindeer to draw sleds, the horse, ass, cow, buffalo and camel to carry burdens, and the sheep, goat, cow, camel, reindeer and buffalo to stand still to be milked.

They differentiated occupations. They had classes of men who devoted their time exclusively to boat building, knife making, fishing, and tilling the soil. They had a traffic of barter, and used domestic animals as a medium of exchange. They had periodical fairs and made long voyages to attend them.

When we take into account the circumstances in which they lived, the frequent famines, the bitter wars, and the other dangers to which they were frequently exposed; when we keep in mind their lack of metal, of letters and of scientific knowledge; when we think of all these drawbacks, it seems wonderful that they should have achieved so much. If all the inhabitants of an English village containing a thousand adult men were, in our time, set down without tools or books in an island such as England was before men occupied it, and had no

communication with other men, many years would elapse before they or their descendants would live as securely and comfortably as many savages did.

SEC. 56. *Industrial Development*.—Archæology is a witness that culture has steadily advanced. Wherever the remains of the habitations, implements and food of man have been found in the strata deposited in a remote age, whether in the drift, gravel or caves, or in village mounds, there the earlier the date of deposit, the ruder and simpler the life. In no continent have the products of the modern inhabitants generally been ruder than those of its occupants in the remote past. The aboriginal Australians of the last century had no tillage or polished stone, and there is no reason to believe that either was known to the Australians of preceding ages. Bronze and iron were not known to the Redmen east of the Mississippi in the last century nor at any earlier time. When Columbus discovered the New World, the Aztecs and Quichuans had no iron, nor was it known to their ancestors or predecessors. The Gauls and Britons who submitted to Cæsar were as far advanced in culture as any people who had occupied the same regions before them. No remains of a printing press, steam engine, railroad or magnetic telegraph has been found in the excavations of ancient cities or mounds in any part of the globe.¹

If the tunnels, the embankments, the deep cuts, the roads cut into the sides of cliffs, the mine excavations, the canals, the sea-walls, and the walls of brick, and stone, and mortar, made within the last eighty years,—if all these should be abandoned to-morrow to the corroding and eroding and other destructive forces of nature for two thousand years, after the lapse of so long a period,

they would still be plainly visible, and then would far surpass in magnitude and significance everything that we now know as prehistoric remains

Etymology is another witness against retrogression. Her evidence is complex and weighty. She has word lists in hundreds of tongues all indicating the advance of man from a simple to a complex life, from concrete to abstract ideas, from low to high industry. The English word "pecuniary" takes us back to the time when not metallic coin but the cow was the chief medium of commercial exchange. The English word "estimate" is the survival of a period when a thing was worth so much in "aes" or bronze. The Basque word for knife is a remnant of a period when the common edge tools were of stone. Philosophy is full of such traces of lower culture, and contains no evidence of retrogression. If we had no other proof, a comparison of the French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Roumanian tongues, all daughters of the Latin, would suffice to convince us that the ancient Romans had no printing press, no steam engine, no railroad, no steamboat, no sawmill, no rolling mill, no chemical analysis. As the modern romance tongues came from the Latin, so the Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic, and Teutonic tongues come from an early Aryan language, which was lacking, as we know from a comparison of the derivative tongues, in many of the ideas and comforts of Greek civilization. Even our alphabet contains survivals of a period when men not having yet devised letters, wrote with hieroglyphics. Our A was once the picture of an ox; and if we extend its cross-piece on each side and turn it upside down we have the rudely drawn head of the ox with ears and horns.

The oldest records, including the papyrus rolls and monumental inscriptions of Egypt, the clay tablets of Assyria and Babylonia, the Vedas, the Avesta and the Pentateuch abound with evidence, that in the times when they were written, culture was much ruder than at present in all the main departments of life. There was no coined money; traffic was unimportant; bronze was the most common metal; crime was punished by retaliation; adult males captured in battle were slain; women and children captives were enslaved; and in religion, sacrifices, idolatry and polytheism were prominent.

A few cases of retrogression in human society are known, but they are so few, so relatively small, so unimportant in the general history of culture, and so plainly traceable to causes of limited influence, that they may be considered as illustrations of the general principle of advancement. The Bakalahari tribe in South Africa lost their cattle in war and are now poorer and lower in culture than were their ancestors, several generations since.² Some Tungoos communities of Northeastern Asia having lost their herds of reindeer, and some Kalmucks having lost their's of cows, have been compelled to live with less comfort, by fishing.³ Some Snake Indians west of the Rocky Mountains have been driven by stronger tribes from hunting grounds which their forefathers occupied, and so have been compelled to depend on smaller game for subsistence.⁴ In Mesopotamia, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Syria, Central America, Cambodia and Java the buildings of several later centuries are decidedly inferior, in magnitude, durability and architectural skill, to those erected there in the remote past. The overthrow of the Roman empire was accompanied by a great decline in literature and ornamental art over a large part of Europe.

But in all these cases, the decay in one place, or in some departments of life, is insufficient to prove a general retrogression for even a brief period. Even in the Dark Ages, culture continued her general onward march.

SEC. 57. *Natural Progress.*—By a large accumulation of evidence from many different sources, history shows that savage industry was originated and developed through its whole course by man's innate capacity; and that this development was governed by natural and uniform laws, which were the same as those which have been observed in barbarous and civilized life

In preceding sections we considered the different phases in the arts of tillage, spinning, pottery, navigation and the domestication of animals. We found that these phases have every appearance of being the successive steps in the slow and gradual development of skill, under influences similar to those which we observe at work in the industrial progress of our own time. Many of the products of human labor are intelligible with and not without the theory of natural growth.

Let us now consider the origin of one of the most ingenious and important products of civilized industry, the steam engine. It drives other machines; unlike them generally, it is power-producing rather than a labor-saving invention. If there be any possession of man that by the mightiness of its power, by the magnitude of its size, the complexity of its construction, the abstruseness (to the savage mind) of the principles on which it is constructed, the precision with which its parts are adapted to one another, and the vastness of its influence on life;—if there be any industrial possession of man that would deserve to be considered a supernatural production, it would assuredly be a steam engine of 1889.

And such the Australian or the Arab has often believed it to be; but not so the civilized man, who knows the history of the invention and of its inventors, of the experiments, disappointments, trials, toils and numerous improvements, many small and some great, made by those men who have contributed to produce this great machine. The record of the development of this marvel of industrial genius is within reach of all; it shows an unbroken series of natural steps, without any commencement, or subsequent interruption, by a supernatural jump. The steam engine is natural not only in its origin but also in its method of working. It demands food or fuel, and fresh air, and these must be combined in active combustion, with a development of heat which is converted into mechanical power in strict proportion to the amount of fuel consumed and heat evolved, in accordance with physical laws.

Other great products of human genius, inferior to the steam engine in some respects, but nevertheless marvelous, are the puddling furnace, the rolling mill, the Bessemer converter, the steam spinning jenny, the steam loom, the steamboat, the railway, and the electric telegraph, each of which was the result of long studies and numerous experiments. If we be convinced that all these are the natural products of the human mind, consistency will require us to believe that the simpler, smaller, and less efficient implements of our prehistoric ancestors had a like natural origin. Besides, it does not agree with our ideas of divine dignity that the gift of the gods should be superseded by the superior device of man. If Neptune had given the pattern and rig of the ancient galley to the Greeks, he would have kept up his credit by building the modern schooner, ship and steamship.

If Ceres had made the first hoe, she would also have made the first iron plough. If she had made the flail, she would also have invented the threshing machine. The gods do not give such gifts to us, nor did they give inferior ones to our ancestors.

By his wants and his surroundings, man is compelled to work; and by his intellectual constitution he is stimulated and enabled to devise methods of making his labor more convenient and efficient. There is no end to his improvements, and every one in its turn is prized, copied, and made the base of new improvement. The ingenuity of one becomes the treasure of all. An art of value to the multitude, and once widely known among them, has never been lost. No large branch of industry became perfect or reached its present stage of development among savages.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL LIFE.

SEC. 58. *Promiscuous Group*.—Among savages generally, life is made insecure by frequent warfare; and as a rule, the lower the culture, the greater the insecurity. It was unsafe for the primitive man to dwell at a distance from friends. Regard for his own safety, compelled him to make his home with others in a group, bound together by the obligation of mutual defense. All the non-tilling and most of the tilling tribes known to civilized observation consist of small defensive groups, which we may presume are the successors of groups organized, for the purpose of protecting their members, in the beginning of human society.

There is reason to believe that for thousands of years and over a large part of the earth, in the primitive defensive groups, all the men were common husbands and all the women common wives. There was no idea of the relationship of uncle, nephew, father-in-law, son-in-law or brother-in-law, or of their feminine equivalents, and of course, without the ideas, there were no words to express them. The child gave the name of father to every man in the group or village; and in return, the man called every boy, son. The maternal relation was

of course as well known then as at any later time, but it did not find so distinct a recognition in common speech. Every woman was called mother by all the children, and every child was called son or daughter by all the mothers. There was no word to describe a collateral relationship or to convey the idea of exclusive sexual possession. The only relationships recognized in common speech were fraternal and parental, including brother, sister, parent, grandparent, great-grandparent, child, grandchild and great-grandchild. In all these cases the blood was traced exclusively through the mother. Paternity was considered too uncertain to be taken into account in the pedigree. There was no word for husband, save man; none for wife, save woman.¹

In the course of time, the promiscuous or consanguine group was overthrown by influences ascertainable only by inference. Bachofen believes that the main cause was the sentiment of the women against intercourse with brothers;² but this explanation is improbable when we remember that no such feeling prevented the marriage of full brother and sister in the royal families of the Quichuans, and ancient Egyptians and Persians, in barbarous culture; nor of the half brother and sister, children of the same father, in many countries, including some in civilized culture.

Peschel attributes the reform to the conviction that long interbreeding has a pernicious effect on the physical and mental constitution of humanity, and even prevents continuous fertilization;³ but this explanation, like the preceding one, is not in harmony with customs that have been long maintained over extensive areas. According to Lubbock, the promiscuous group was overthrown by the men who wanted wives as exclusive

possessions and as trophies of their military prowess; and having got these by capturing women from other groups, they gradually adopted the opinion that it was discreditable to take wives among the women of their own villages.⁴ This theory is however unsatisfactory on many points, and especially in these that after the overthrow of the consanguine group, the husband did not take his wife into his village but he went into hers, and that he went for his wife not to a hostile tribe but to a friendly clan.

The promiscuous group was a scene of continuous quarreling between brothers and sisters in the presence of fathers and mothers who were called upon and could not refuse to interfere. There was only one remedy for this evil and that was that the man should marry, in another village; and as the idea of sexual exclusiveness had not obtained a strong foothold, and was perhaps without any influence on the majority of the community, the only safe plan for the man was to leave his native village and make his home in another where all the women belonged to a different stock.

The first change from the consanguine group was a prohibition of matrimonial relationship between all persons descended from a common mother in the female line. This was the basis of the feminine clan, to be considered hereafter. The second change was that the head chief required his wife or wives to be true to him, as among some Polynesians and troglodytes,⁵ while the other women were subject to little restriction. The third reform was that nobody but a relative or guest of the husband was entitled to the wife's favor, as in many Arab tribes.⁶ Many other customs relating to the wedding day,⁷ and to the collection of a dowry, found in Egypt,

Libya, Quichuan Peru and Hindostan,⁸ must be considered survivals of the consanguine group. In Babylon, every woman before marriage was required to make a sacrifice in the grove of the temple of Astarte.⁹ Of the Britons, Cæsar wrote: "By tens and twelves, husbands possessed their wives in common, and especially brothers with brothers, and parents with children."¹⁰

SEC. 59. *Relationship Nomenclature*.—In terms of kinship, the most primitive language known, is that of the Polynesian island of Rotuma. It recognizes no collateral relation, such as uncle, nephew or cousin, and no relation by affinity save brother-in-law and sister-in-law. To his mother's brother, the Rotuman gives the title of father; to his father's sister, that of mother; to her son that of brother; to his sister's son, that of son. To us, who have frequent and important use for the distinctive titles of uncle, aunt, nephew, niece and cousin, it seems strange that people could have done without words for those relations. In many other respects the language of Rotuma is not meager, and its extreme poverty in relationship of affinity and its lack of all terms of collateral kin, is inexplicable upon any theory save that of the promiscuous group.

One grade higher than the tongue of Rotuma is that of Hawaii, which has no terms for collateral relation, but in addition to those of brother-in-law and sister-in-law has those of father-in-law and son-in-law, with their feminine equivalents. One grade higher is that of the Mohawks, who besides having brother-in-law, father-in-law and son-in-law, and their feminine equivalents, have the word uncle to designate the mother's brother. This term is not given to the father's brother; for he is still called a father, as in the consanguine group, and his rela-

tion to the woman is very similar to that in the earlier social condition. After Rotuman, Hawaiian and Mohawk nomenclature, we come to a fourth stage of development in the Micmacs, a tribe whose remnant is now found in Eastern Canada. To the distinctive terms in the lower forms of speech, they have added uncle for father's brother as well as for the mother's, and nephew and niece for some, but not for all, children of brothers and sisters. Thus to the man his brother's sons, and to the woman, her sister's sons are her only nephews; while to the man, his sister's sons, and to the woman her brother's sons are not nephews but sons. The Burmese go a step further and use the word nephew in the same sense as we do. The sixth step is that of the Wyandots who use the word cousin, unknown to Rotuma, Hawaii, Mohawk, Micmac, and Burma, but apply it not as we do, but only among males to the mother's brother's son and to the father's sister's son, while the father's brother's son and the mother's sister's son continue to be brothers, as in the earlier phases of speech. The Karens in the seventh step above the promiscuous group give the title of cousins to the children of all those whom we call uncles and aunts.

The Kingsmill Islanders have the same nomenclature as the Hawaiians; the Oneidas the same as the Mohawks; the Japanese the same as the Burmese; the Senecas the same as the Wyandots; and the Eskimos the same as the Karens. All these tribes give the title of grandfather to the grandfather's brother; of grandmother to the grandfather's sister; of grandson to the brother's son's son, and to the sister's son's son. Since in the consanguine group, our first cousin was their brother, and retained that title among the Hawaiians and Mohawks; so in

those tribes, the son of the first cousin was called a son, and the cousin's grandson was called a grandson.

According to the development of speech in the matter of relationship nomenclature, a man may have a dozen fathers and no uncle; a dozen mothers and no aunt; a dozen grandfathers and no grand uncle; several uncles who have sisters, wives and children, but no aunt or cousin; and several brothers and sisters with children, but no nephew or niece.

In certain tribes the same title is given to a cousin's son and to a grandson; and in Latin as in some romance languages of modern Europe, the same word may mean either nephew or grandson, as it did in England three centuries ago.

The appendix contains several tables presenting, in tabular form, some of the information already given here about relationship nomenclature, with additional evidences in favor of the theory that, at one time, the promiscuous group was widely prevalent, if not universal in human society.

By comparing as to certain tribes, the titles of uncles and aunts with those of their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, Lubbock found that out of two hundred and eleven points in Morgan's tables of consanguinity, two hundred and seven contain evidence of progress from the promiscuous group to the modern family; as against four on the other side. The evidences are as fifty to one. Comparing other relationships, such as uncle with father, aunt with mother, granduncle with grandfather, grandaunt with grandmother, nephew and cousin with second cousin, and grandnephew with grandchild, the evidences are a thousand to one.

SEC. 60. *Feminine Clan*.—From the promiscuous

group, the matrimonial system advanced to the next higher step, the feminine clan, which traces descent exclusively through the mother, forbids the man to have any intimacy with a woman who has inherited the same blood in the female line, and requires the husband to transfer his residence to the village, and his allegiance to the clan, of his wife. It retains all its daughters and drives away all its sons. The women are its only permanent element. They own the territory, the dwellings, the furniture and the food; and the privilege of divorce belongs to them and to them exclusively. The husband may abscond but he cannot drive the woman from the common home. A clan is a division of a tribe; and in a North American tribe there are at least three clans. While all the women of the clan are born in it, all their husbands must have come from other clans, perhaps six or eight others. The tribe is never exogamous; it never compels its young men to seek wives in other tribes. The feminine clan prevails among the Iroquois, the Creeks and their related tribes, the Delawares, the Muncies, the Mohicans, most other tribes east of the Mississippi, the Mandans, the Otoes, the Minitarees,¹ and among most of the Australians. In every quarter of the globe it has left traces of its former prevalence.

Wherever the feminine clan exists, it is the main feature of the social and political organization. It claims the highest allegiance, gives the most efficient protection, and is the basis of the only common worship. In the feminine clan, the family or group of a man with his wife or wives and children has not attained prominence and influence. So far as there is an inheritance, the clan is the chief heir of its dead member, taking precedence of brother, nephew, or son. Generally in the feminine clan

the man is supposed to have only one wife, but the relations are very loose for both man and woman. No marriages or sexual intercourse between children of the clan is possible without incest; no robbery or murder without sacrilege. No homicide by an outsider can be left unavenged without disgrace. A man owes to his fellow clansmen, and to them alone, fraternal affection, cordiality, fidelity, and mutual helpfulness. All others are beyond the protection of any strong obligations of morality. There being no pedigree in the male line, a man can marry his half-sister on the father's side without offense to public opinion; and the maternal uncle has more authority over his nephew than has the boy's father whose claim to the paternity cannot be proved and, according to the general custom of the clan, may be very doubtful.

SEC. 61. *Totem*.—The feminine clan comprises the female descendants, in the direct female line, from a common ancestress, and also all those male descendants, in the same line, who have not yet married into another clan. The ancestress called the totem, is divine, and the worship of her, though not prominent, is one of the bonds of clan union. In most cases she was a brute; in some a plant, a mineral object, or a meteorological phenomenon. The savages did not undertake to explain how a bear, a plum or a flash of lightning could be the mother of men. They accepted the assertion as a matter of tradition, to be accepted without question. The members of the clan venerate not only their mythical ancestress but all natural objects or phenomena of her class, and treat all of them as totems of the clan. Thus not only the mythical mother black bear of the black bear clan is sacred to all its members, but so are all black bears. No

animal of that species must be killed or hurt or eaten, nor approached without a show of reverence. The name of the totem is the name of every member of the clan. Thus in the black bear clan, every boy is called a black bear, and he has besides a personal name, but no name inherited from his father. He draws the figure of his totem on his club, canoe, deerskin, shield or tent, or wears it tattooed on his breast. In the totem clans of America and Australia, one of the first questions to be asked when strangers meet is "What is your totem?"; and from their replies, they know their relationship. If of the same totem, they are brothers.

At Mt. Gambier and presumably in other parts of Australia, many animals, plants, heavenly bodies and meteorological phenomena, not recognized as totems, are yet recognized by the aborigines as belonging to certain totems and sharing their sacredness in a minor degree. Thus the dog, the blackwood tree, fire, and frost belong to the pelican totem; the duck, the wallaby, the owl and crayfish to the tea tree totem; the bustard, the quail, and the dolvich to the murna (a plant) totem.

The average number of clans in the tribes east of the Mississippi is perhaps eight. The Chippeways have twenty-three; the Creeks twenty-two; the Pottawatomies fifteen; the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Choctas each, eight, the Oneidas and Mohawks each three. Among the totems of the Creeks are wolf, alligator, cougar, bear, deer, fox, skunk, raccoon, wild-cat, toad, hickory-nut and maize.¹ The Chippeways have five kinds of fish, three kinds of tortoise, eight kinds of bird, eight kinds of quadruped and one of snake. The Pawnees west of the Mississippi, have buffalo, beaver, deer, eagle, and owl.²

In many tribes, besides the clan there is a grand-clan or association of clans, reminding us of the "curia" or grand-clan of the Romans and the "phratia" or grand-clan of the Greeks. It seems to have been formed out of a clan which grew so large that convenience demanded a subdivision. The Mohicans have wolf, turtle, and turkey, grand-clans; the first comprising the wolf, bear, dog and opossum clans; the second comprising the little turtle, mud turtle, great turtle and yellow eel; and the last the turkey, crane and grouse clans. The functions of the grand-clan are mainly ceremonial, including the preservation of peace among its subordinate clans.

SEC. 62. *Australian Exogamy*.—A large part of Australia is occupied by feminine clans with sacred totems, supreme allegiance and the obligation of mutual defense, as in North America; and besides with peculiar subdivisions, limiting the right of marriage. These subdivisions extend through many tribes, some of them separated by a thousand miles of distance, as well as by ignorance of each other's speech. By gestures however they can ascertain their relationship in the clan and subdivision of the clan, the first points of inquiry among them when they meet as strangers. These Australian classes are the highest development of the exogamic principle, but under their influence there is less approach towards monogamous life than in North America.¹

Some tribes have two and some four of these classes. A tribe at Mt. Gambier has two clans each of which has two classes, the Kumite and the Kroki. In the former the man is Kumite and the woman Kumitegor; in the latter the man is Kroki and the woman Krokigor. The final "gor" is a feminine termination. The Kumite must mate with a Krokigor of the other clan and all her

children are Krokis and Krokigors. Her son Kroki must mate with a Kumitegor of the other clan.

The Kamilaroi tribe has six clans, of which three (Iguana, Kangaroo and Opossum) have the Muri (female Matha) and Kubi (female Kubitha) classes; and the other three (Emu, Blacksnake and Bandicoot) have the Kumbu (female Butha) and the Ipai (female Ipatha) classes. There are thus six clans and four classes in the tribe. The name of the feminine class is derived from that of the masculine class, with or without other change, by adding the feminine termination "tha."

In the widely separated regions of Queensland, West Australia, Central Australia and Herbert River Valley, various tribes have the same four classes; but perhaps, in the whole continent, a greater number of tribes have only two classes. In the four-class tribes, the man is limited in the choice of a wife to a single class. Thus Muri must mate with Butha; Kubi with Ipatha; Kumbu with Matha; and Ipai with Kubitha. The child never belongs to the class of either father or mother, but always to her clan. The sons and daughters of Kubitha are Muris and Mathas; those of Matha are Kubis and Kubithas; those of Butha are Ipais and Ipathas; those of Ipatha are Kumbus and Buthas. Ipatha is the mother of Butha and Butha of Ipatha. A similar alternation appears in the classes of father and son. The system is so arranged that the blood of the tribe shall flow continuously and evenly through all the classes. Thus, Kumbu's children are Kubis; his grandchildren, through his daughter, are Muris; and his great-grandchildren, through his daughter's son, are Ipais. In four generations, each of the four classes is represented.

The class has no distinctive totem nor duties of a

political or religious character ; it is exclusively a limitation, with correlative privilege, in the sexual relations.²

SEC. 63. *Feminine Clan Survivals*.—Many countries which have not had the feminine clan in historical times, yet have traces of it in their customs or traditions. The totem, one of its peculiar features, is found in many African¹ and Dyak tribes;² and it reminds us of the brute deities of the districts of ancient Egypt, where the sister's son inherited the office of district prefect, in accordance with a rule inherited from very early times.³ Inheritance in the female line prevailed in the chieftainship of the ancient Picts,⁴ as it does now in that of the Batta Malays,⁵ Tongans,⁶ Ashantees, Mandingoes and Loangoes,⁷ and in the transmission of property among the Berbers, the Malagasies, the Bantars of Hindostan, the Wamoima, some Nubians, the Angolese,⁸ the Island Malays,⁹ the Marquesans, the Tahitians and the Fijians. Both rank and property descend to the sister's son among the Bangalas and many Micronesian tribes. Relationship is traced mainly in the feminine line among the Kasias, Kocchs, Nairs, Malabars and Padang Malays. The Banyars have elective chiefs, the choice usually falling on the sister's son of the predecessor,¹⁰ and a similar rule prevailed in electing the emperor of the Aztecs.¹¹ The Kasia husband moves to the house of the wife ; and among the Scandinavian Lapps in the last century, the newly-married man had to live for a year with his father-in-law. The modern Chinaman who has migrated to a remote country sends his savings to his mother, rather than to his wife. In ancient Spain, the Iberian daughters inherited all the property of the family and provided for the sons.

In Fiji, the eldest son of the eldest sister can go to the

village of the chief who is his maternal uncle and there take anything save the wives, and house of the chief. He is the heir of the whole village and, when he pays a visit, must be received with great festivity.¹² Among the Kaffirs and many tribes of Eastern Africa, the maternal uncle has more authority over the child than the father; and among the Bondas¹³ and Kimbondas¹⁴ he has exclusive power to sell his maternal nephew or niece. On the other hand, the Bondas hold the nephew responsible for the crimes and debts of his maternal uncle.¹⁵ Various traces of feminine descent are found among the Senegal Moors and the Guajuro Indians of South America.¹⁶ In the Egyptian and Etruscan tombs, the name of the dead man's mother, not of his father, is given;¹⁷ and in the Hebrew book of Chronicles, the name of the king's mother is associated with his, as if she were the second person in authority. The king's mother is prominent in Burma, Ashantee, Magira, Bagirmi and Madai.

Aristotle remarked that the most warlike tribes were under the rule of women, and among them he included, presumably, the Celts, the Scythians and the Thracians, who had survivals of the feminine clan, and had women noted for courage. In the time of Tacitus, the Teutonic Sithones had women chiefs; and among the Teutons generally, the best hostage, for the good conduct of a ruler, was not his son, but the son of his sister. The Lycians of Asia Minor derived their pedigree and took their name from the mother exclusively. Among the Southern Slavonians of this century, the chief obligation of avenging a murder rests not on the father, but on the brother or maternal uncle.¹⁸ Among the Arabs and the Gonds, the young man has a prior right to marry the daughter of his paternal uncle; whereas it would be

improper for him to solicit the hand of a cousin on his mother's side. The greater sacredness of the maternal relationship is a survival of exclusive feminine descent. So also is the rule requiring the monarch in ancient Egypt and Persia, in modern Quichuan Peru, Madagascar and various African countries, to marry his sister, so that his son should inherit through both parents.

Many Arab tribes are named after brutes such as lion, wolf, dog, gazelle, calf, dove or eagle, or as tradition says, after founders who bore the names of those animals. The dove tribe does not eat the dove; the other tribes attach no sacredness to the animals after which they are named. As we find many other traces of the feminine clan in Arabia, we may presume that all the tribes had their respective totems in remote times. Speaking of some Arabs at the beginning of the Christian era, Strabo said: "All have one wife in common. . . Adultery is punished with death, but it can be committed only with a woman of another tribe." There is here no definition of the tribe within which intercourse was permissible; and the language is not inconsistent with the supposition that all the husbands were, by birth, members of a clan different from that of the wives.

The word for tribe in the language of the Arabs, and that for fellow-clansman in the tongues of the Malays and Alfuras of Celebes are survivals of a condition in which descent was traced in the female line only. Some Arab tribes are named after women. Thus the Banu-Chindif, the Banu-Ocda, and Banu-Mozaina are the descendants of the women Chindif, Ocda and Mozaina. The Bedouins of Southern Arabia accept sons-in-law, who are to settle in the wife's village or group, a custom that has survived from the time of the feminine clan.

In the opinion of the Arabs the character of the man bears more resemblance to that of his chahl or maternal uncle, than to that of his father; and for his good or bad deeds, the people bless or curse his chahl, even if the latter died twenty years before. A proverb says, "When a mule was asked 'Who is your father?' he answered, 'The horse is my chahl.'" When Mohammed wanted to honor Wakkaz he took his hand and said to his friends "Behold my chahl!" An Arab chief describing another chief to Mohammed said, "He has little capacity and less generosity; his children are stupid and his chahl is bad." An Arab chief of the Taglib tribe offered his wife to the Calif Al-Mansur, who excused himself and explained to his servant that his only reason for rejecting the match was the passage in a poem by Jarir who wrote, "Seek no chahl among the Taglib. The negroes are nobler chahls." The importance thus attributed to the chahl, as Wilken remarks, can be well explained as a survival of exclusive maternal relationship.

Among the Hebrews, who are akin to the Arabs, we find traces of feminine descent. Abraham married his half-sister, daughter of his father, and so did Moses. Amnon violated his half-sister, also a child of David, and could have married her, but neglecting to do so, was slain. Such marriages were permitted in the time of Ezekiel.¹⁹ The purchase money for Rebecca went not to her father but to her brother and her mother,²⁰ and the duty of blood revenge belonged to the relatives on the mother's side.²¹ Robertson Smith has made the remark that "the use of a participle [in the Hebrew tongue] to mean a physical father must, beyond all doubt, have been developed in a condition of life in which physical fatherhood was not the basis of any important social relation."²²

Marriages between brothers and sisters of the half blood by different mothers were reputable among the Athenians in the time of Solon, and were tolerated as late as Pericles. Before Cecrops the Athenians took their names from their mothers as did also the Lycians in 450 B. C., and the early Cretans and Etruscans, and the Locrians of Italy. In Madagascar now the Hovas permit the marriage of brother and sister by different mothers.

The feminine clan did not permit the father to sell the daughter. She belonged more to her mother and maternal uncle than to her father; and if there was any article of purchase in the matrimonial bargain, it was rather the husband than the wife. He, not she, changed residence. His title in her was not permanent enough nor exclusive enough to induce him to pay for her.

SEC. 64. *Masculine Clan*.—The feminine clan was probably universal or nearly universal at one time among the non-tilling tribes; but it became less and less suited to the wants of society. The warrior sometimes found himself compelled to fight with the clan of his wife and daughters against that of his mother and sisters. His companions in the field had not the same blood as he, nor the same early training, nor the same traditions, nor the same sympathies, nor the same life-long interests. They had not been bred in the clan; they had no secure place in it. They might be divorced and driven to seek homes elsewhere.

All the improvements in the useful arts in government, in the military art, and in religion tended to weaken the feminine clan. The advance of cultivation, the establishment of slavery, nobility, powerful chieftainship, and hereditary priesthood, and the introduction of new tactics

were adverse influences. Some of them could not gain a foothold until the rule of maternal descent was overthrown. The successful military leader saw the importance of having soldiers educated from boyhood in the same drill, accustomed to trust one another, with the same life-long allegiance, and the same general permanent interests. The men wanted to be masters, not slaves of their wives; owners, not tenants at will of their homes.

By such influences, the feminine clan was overthrown over a large part of the globe, but precisely how or where the change was first made we do not know. So soon as one tribe had been well organized on the basis of masculine pedigree, the advantages of its social system were proved by its superior military strength,—the chief test of human institutions, in the early grades of culture.

When the wife became faithful to a single husband, when paternity became comparatively certain, and when degrees of relationship were traceable as distinctly on the side of the father as on that of the mother, there was no longer social need of the clan. Now, for the first time, the idea of the family began to be conceived as an association of a man with a wife or several wives and his children, under his control, all the members of the association being related to others in the community by definite grades of affinity or of lineal or collateral consanguinity, on both sides of the parentage. The recognition of these degrees suggested better limitations, than those of clan exogamy, in the choice of spouses. There was much more reason to be governed by regard for descent from a common grandparent or great-grandparent, than for that from a very remote and perhaps mythical ancestor on only one side.

If the clan had been exclusively social in its character it would have disappeared with feminine descent. But it was also political and religious, and its influences in these respects had not diminished. It was still the sovereign political organization, with the only power of giving efficient protection to individuals; and in many places it was indispensable for that purpose. Besides, its importance had been increased by the development of a system of public worship of which it became the chief custodian. Such influences in favor of the clan were sufficient to maintain it long after the abandonment of feminine descent on which it was originally founded.

Thus the masculine clan succeeded to the feminine clan, preserving the same principle of exogamy. It took possession of most of North America west of the Mississippi, of part of Australia, and of part of Asia. It existed in Ancient Greece and Italy. Remains of it are found in Hindostan and China, where persons of the same family name are not permitted to marry. In all China there are only four hundred family names, with five hundred thousand persons to each on an average.

SEC 65. *Capture*.—The rule of male descent may have been recognized first in the children of women taken from hostile tribes by chiefs or distinguished warriors. Such captives became the exclusive property of their captors, and their children, distinguished by a known posterity, became the favorites of their fathers. As such wives were desirable, and yet were not obtainable in war by the majority of men, a custom of obtaining women by simulation of capture from friendly clans or tribes arose, and spread over many countries.¹

In parts of Australia, all wives are obtained by capture. The man who wants a wife, watches the young

women of the suitable clan and class until he finds a favorable opportunity to seize the one he chooses; he knocks her senseless with his club, and then, perhaps with the assistance of some friends drags her away. This is the only wedding ceremony. The assent of the woman is not asked, and if asked could not be granted without gross violation of the proprieties. She expects and desires to be treated in this way, because it is the only respectable method of matrimony. Brides are taken by force or with show of force among the Eskimos at Cape York, the Armenians, the Kaffirs, the Mandingoes, the Tungoses, the Kamtschatkans, some Bedouins, and some tribes in the Amazon valleys.

The pretense of force is a survival of the custom of real capture; which latter, however, was, in most cases, a custom recognized by the comity of clans or tribes. It was not like murder, something to be avenged to the death. No tribe depended for wives exclusively on women taken in real warfare; and the masculine clan could never have been organized, if it had waited until it could take all its women by hostile force.

The polyandrous and polygynous habits of the feminine clan were not in harmony with the spirit of the masculine clan, under the influence of which they gradually diminished. Society advanced towards the idea of the family, but for long ages the idea remained vague, and its adoption in general practice was subjected to many limitations. The modern family has risen on the ruins of the clan; so long as the latter was potent, the former was weak.

SEC. 66. *Polyandry*.—Although abandoned in many tribes when the feminine clan was overthrown, in others polyandry continued to maintain its existence. It is

now the dominant matrimonial system among the Cashmerians, the Thibetans, the Nairs, the Todas,¹ and the Coorgs, and it is tolerated among the Kalmucks, Aleuts, Eskimos, Orinocos, Maypures, and Hottentots. It was found occasionally among the Maoris, Marquesans and many North American tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, as well as among the nobles of ancient Sparta and mediæval Venice.

Among the Nairs, Thibetans, and Cashmerians all the husbands of one wife are usually brothers. After the eldest brother marries, the younger ones live in his house. When polyandry is the general rule of the community, it is accompanied by the habit of exposing many of the female infants, as among the Todas and Marquesans; when it is the rule only of a dominant class, as among the Spartans and Venetian nobles, it grows out of the inability of some men to maintain separate families in the style demanded of their rank. The communities in which polyandry now exists contain about seven million people in the aggregate.

Most of the Toda families are polyandrous, but polygyny is also found among them. As the man, who marries the eldest of several sisters, is entitled to all the younger ones, so under some circumstances, the woman who marries the eldest of several brothers, can take the others. In the Paraná valley, South America, marriage contracts frequently stipulate that the husband may have several wives or that the wife may have several husbands.²

Among the Maoris, Marquesans, Bafiotés and Natchez, the privilege of having several husbands belongs only to the women of noble rank. In Congo, and the Mariana Islands, the noble women can divorce husbands

of inferior rank at pleasure, and for this reason prefer inferiors. The daughter of a Bechuana head chief cannot marry an inferior, but while unmarried, she can have as many lovers as she wishes.³

In Ashantee, Congo, Loango, and Akka, many daughters of high chiefs refuse to marry but make frequent changes in their lovers so that no one shall presume on the favor shown to him. Custom in Dahomey permits the king's daughter to invite any man to her chamber.

SEC. 67. *Polygyny*.—The masculine clan soon checked and finally suppressed the polyandrous customs inherited from the feminine clan, and established the polygynous family in which the wives were required, under ordinary circumstances, to be faithful to the husband. This polygynous family prevailed so extensively and so long, down to our own time, that it may be considered one of the ordinary features of savage and barbarous life. Out of hundreds of tribes, not half a dozen are monogamous. Indeed, to many savages, polygyny seems equally necessary to the women and to the men; to the former because of the excess of their number, many of the men being killed in war; and to the latter because there must be an interval of four years after the expectation of a birth before the child shall be deprived of a mother's milk by another child.¹ On this point public opinion is strict in some savage regions of Africa and Polynesia; as it is in various modern, and was in many ancient barbarous, countries. The Congoese husband must keep away from his wife until her child can carry a calabash of water without spilling. In Fiji, if a woman has a child before its predecessor is four years old—the age for weaning—her relatives take great, and sometimes mortal offense at the husband. Even in the tribes possessing

milk-yielding animals, monogamy would be considered discreditable to a chief.²

The red warrior, who buys the eldest in a group of several sisters, has a recognized claim to buy the younger ones when they arrive at womanhood. For the sake of domestic harmony, he prefers that all his wives should be sisters. The Cherokee man must add his mother-in-law to his list of wives when she becomes a widow.

SEC. 68. *Girl's Position*.—In most tribes of Africa, Polynesia, and America, custom places no restriction save those of rank and blood relationship, on unmarried women. Every village of the Tongans¹ and Wanyamwuezi² has a large hut with a single room for the exclusive use of the girls and their lovers. In eastern Equatorial Africa, the Foosa girl has a hut for herself and her visitors.³ Among the Kamtschatkans the girl boasts of the number of her lovers, and so in certain cases does the woman among the Dakotas.⁴ The Santals, Gonds and Wanikas have festivals for the unmarried women and their favored adorers. Among the exceptional tribes, which demand strict conduct from their unmarried women, are the Cheyennes, Apaches, Abipones, Fans, and some Patagonians.

SEC. 69. *Wife's Position*.—The overthrow of the feminine clan led to the custom of buying wives. Youth, beauty, noble blood, membership in a powerful clan, and skill in fishing or diving for mollusks, are among the elements of a girl's marketable value. In many tribes, the possession of a number of daughters is a source of wealth. The purchaser is entitled to a return of his money if the woman should be sterile, if she should elope, or if she should die before having a child. Some customs permit her to leave her husband, whenever she

finds a preferred lover who will pay her original price. Her relatives by blood retain an interest in her, avenge her murder by anybody but her husband, and in some tribes can demand payment from him when he kills her.

Generally in savage tribes, not organized on the basis of feminine descent, the husband is the absolute owner of the wife. He can divorce, sell, mutilate, or kill her without the least responsibility to anyone. He has the same ownership and control of his children. If his wife be entitled by local customs to a divorce and she wishes one, she cannot leave him while she expects or suckles a child; for the children belong to the father and must be delivered to him in such condition that they can live without further assistance from the mother.

In countries where a comfortable hut can be erected by the labor of one person in a few hours, each wife has her separate dwelling, and the husband makes his home for alternate days or weeks in each. Jealousy is perhaps not more frequent in polygynous than in monogamous families, and the first wife is pleased when her husband marries again. The possession of several is a mark of the man's dignity. He is subject to no penalty for paying attention to women not in his family. A Kaffir proverb expresses the idea accepted in some of the more advanced tribes, "Man is for all women; woman is for her husband alone." Among the Redmen, the man lives with all his wives and children in one room.

The husband does not converse with his wife before company; he does not eat with her; he treats her as an inferior being, or slave. When she goes with him, she must walk at a distance behind him. If there be a burden for one, she carries it; if a horse for one, he rides it. In many tribes, even in seasons of superabundance,

she is forbidden to eat certain delicacies. To her, ava, turtle, pork, and cocoa-nut are prohibited in parts of Polynesia; chicken and goat in Ishogoland; pork among the Khonds; certain fish in some parts of Australia; human flesh and various other delicacies in Melanesia, and in the Mbaya region, monkey and capibara to the married woman; and all quadrupeds, birds and large fish to the girls. In the countries where these prohibitions respectively prevail, they belong to the local ecclesiastical systems and the priests threaten violators with the terrors of divine wrath.

In Dahomey and Cueva where the woman are efficient soldiers, in Balondaland where they own and till the fields, and in those regions where they get food supplies of shell-fish by diving, or fish by angling, or roots by digging, they are treated by the men as social equals.

In those tribes which require the husband to capture his wife or to elope with her, he must nevertheless pay for her; and if he cannot pay at once, he may be bound, so long as he lives, to give to her father part of every large animal killed by him. Among the Garos and Bhinyas of Hindostan, some peninsular Malays, and the Ahitas of the Philippine Islands, some liberty of choice is allowed to the girl, but after she has accepted the suitor, he must nevertheless pay for her.

In Casemanche, the girl may be betrothed in infancy, and married when she becomes a young woman. On her wedding day she receives a chemise which she must wear with the obligation of fidelity, the obligation expiring when the garment is worn out. As beating with a club or stone is part of the process of washing in that country, the young married woman may often be seen pounding part of her wardrobe very industriously be-

tween two rough stones.¹ In certain Malagasy tribes while the husband is absent from his village, his wife must be true to him.² In Dahomey, Japan, and parts of Hindostan and Malaysia, the occupation of the public woman is not disreputable, and many poor girls adopt it for a time for the purpose of learning the habits of polite society, and collecting money for a dowry. A hospitality more generous than that of civilized communities is common among savages in all the continents.

SEC. 70. *Marriage, etc.*—Savage tribes generally have no wedding ceremony, the importance of which, in civilized society grows out of the permanence of the matrimonial relation, the chastity or supposed chastity of the average bride, and the husband's promise to love and cherish her. The unrestricted or extensive promiscuousness in the early culturesteps, and the capture, purchase and enslavement of the women, tended to prevent display on the occasion of a marriage. In very few savage tribes is there any serious ceremony; among the exceptions are the weddings of chiefs and nobles before priests in Tahiti,¹ and of warriors before chiefs in New England.²

The Andamanese man and women may treat each other as husband and wife through a season or two, but after the birth of a child, they separate and select other partners.³ Marriages for a few days are permitted among the Piutes;⁴ for a week or month among the Hurons;⁵ without obligations of fidelity on either side among the Akkas,⁶ and on probation among the Todas, Congoese, Greenlanders, and many North Americans. In some Polynesian groups there is no permanence in the sexual relation until the couple have a child which they agree to rear.⁷

The Hassaniyeh Arab marriage contract binds the wife

to conjugal fidelity for a certain number of days—usually four—in every week. In making the bargain the husband haggles for five or six; the father for two or three days.⁸

The man's privilege of divorce is often used, especially by the poor man who can have only one wife at a time. When he sends her back to her father, he cannot reclaim the price paid, and the father does not object, as he can sell her again. The matrimonial relation is usually brief among the Damaras, Kasias and Aleuts. The Guaycurus and Chiriguanas of South America and the Eskimos often trade wives. Among the Chippewyans and the Bushmen, the strongest man is allowed by custom to take the wife of the weaker. The question of relative strength is solved by wrestling.

Divorce costs a camel in Arabia, and many men there have paid the price over and over again. Burckhardt saw a man forty-five years old who had had fifty wives, and only one at a time.⁹ Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed, had two hundred wives in all, at different times; and a dyer of Bagdad, is famous for having wedded nine hundred different women.¹⁰

In those regions where the wife is bought, there is no limitation to the age at which she may be delivered to her husband. Often she is paid for when not more than six or eight years old, and sometimes at such a tender age she is taken to the home of the purchaser. Some travelers attribute the early fading and common sterility of savage women to the abuses accompanying their premature marriage.¹¹ As there are child wives, so there are child husbands. The latter are found now among some hill tribes of Hindostan,¹² and among the Kirghiz,¹³ as they were in the last century among the Russians. By

marrying his child son to a young woman, the Russian farmer obtained a cheap servant and concubine.

SEC. 71. *Brother Adoption*.—The custom of adopting a brother by a mixture of blood prevails over much of Africa, Polynesia and Malaysia, and is found in North and South America and Western Asia. It existed also in ancient Europe. The methods of making the mixture are numerous, including simultaneous sucking of the blood from cuts in the upper right arms of the two who adopt each other, and the smearing of the blood of both on bread which is eaten by both; and putting it in beer which is drunk, and mixing it with tobacco which is smoked. Among the Wanyamwuezi, powder is rubbed into the cuts so they shall remain visible reminders of the relationship. The Syrians smear some of the blood on paper which is enclosed in a little case and carried on the neck as a sacred amulet. The brothers adopted by a mixture of blood, owe the highest devotion to each other; must defend each other at the risk of their lives; must regard each other as having almost equal rights in their property and wives; must avenge the wrongs done to each other; and in some tribes must exchange names, so that each abandons his own former name and assumes that of the other.

SEC. 72. *Couvade*.—The couvade, a custom requiring the father to lie abed for a week or two after the birth of his child, prevails or prevailed extensively among many savage tribes, including the Lower Californians, the Shoshones, some New Mexicans, the Arowaks, the Abipones, the Coroados, the Caribs, the Greenlanders, the Kamtschatkans, and some Congoes, and Dyaks, as well as among some barbarous peoples of Asia Minor in the time of Xenophon, among some people in modern China,

and among the civilized Corsicans and Basques of the XIXth century.¹ A kindred custom limiting the diet of the father for a few weeks exists in Fiji, Borneo, Madagascar and Kaffirland.² While in bed during the couvade, the Abipone father is carefully protected against cold breezes, so that he shall not take a catarrh; he is restricted in his diet, and his eyebrows are pulled out. A neglect of these precautions exposes the child to great danger of early death or life-long misfortune. Even after rising from his bed, the father must not exert himself much. During the first three weeks after the birth, he must not cut down a tree, nor catch a large fish nor kill a large quadruped nor even shoot off a gun.³ Similar restrictions rest on the father of the newly-born child among the Land Dyaks.⁴ If a man disregards the rules of the couvade, among the Mundrucus, he is not considered the father of the child.⁵

This custom had its origin presumably in the idea that the father must do penance to appease the spirits or gods who are trying to take the life of the infant; and it perhaps did not begin until after the overthrow of the feminine clan, when the father by laying claim to the child, became, to a certain extent, responsible for the preservation of its life. We do not find the couvade in any of the tribes organized in feminine clans. In the Bible we read that "the Lord struck the child, that Uriah's wife bare unto David, and it was very sick. David therefore besought God for the child; and David fasted, and went in and lay all night upon the earth."⁶ The motive of the Jewish monarch in this penance was to induce Yahveh to spare the life of the child,⁷ and as the procedure in the couvade is analogous to that of David, so we may presume that the custom had its origin in a

similar motive. The father does not wait until his infant falls sick, but performs his penance partly for the purpose of protecting it, in its first days, against the attacks of the evil spirits. In some tribes both the mother and her new-born child are unclean, and it is sacrilegious for the villagers generally to touch them or go near them until they are purified, the *couvade* of the father being part of the ceremony of purification.⁸

SEC. 73. *Infancy, etc.*—To the savage woman, parturition is seldom prolonged, painful, or debilitating.¹ She does not take to her bed, nor make an outcry, nor need assistance. Among the Dakotas, a child is disgraced by the mother who shrieks or even groans in giving it birth. In many regions, the woman, who expects to have a child, goes away alone and in an hour comes back with it in her arms.

In Tasmania and parts of New Guinea, the new-born infant is buried to its neck in warm ashes or sand. In most North American tribes, it is tied on a board covered with a layer of moss, and there it is kept for more than a year, though taken off every day for the purpose of washing.² A string at the top of the board serves to hang up the baby, and when this is attached to the flexible limb of a tree and also to the big toe of the mother, she can rock the cradle while sitting at her household work.

Savage population is nearly stationary in number. A large increase cannot be continuous because there is no rapid development of industry to supply an increased stock of food. Children are not numerous. A mother with five living children is rare; with eight, very rare. Among the causes of the paucity of offspring in tribes which have not begun to die out, are the frequency of

famines and of seasons with scanty supplies of nutritious food; the excessive toil imposed on the women, and the customs of early marriages, of abortion and of suckling three or four years.

Infanticide is not prohibited by any savage government. It is rare in Africa, common in Australia and America, frequent in Melanesia, and very frequent in Micronesia and Polynesia. In the Hawaiian group, two children out of three, on an average, were abandoned at birth;³ and the proportion was equally large in some other Polynesian groups. In Ratak, no woman, unless a chief's wife, was permitted to rear more than three children.⁴ In the Kingsmill Islands, after a woman had two living children, she usually prevented the birth of others.⁵ The Tukopians did not allow more than two boys to grow up in a family.⁶ A child of cross-blood, that is one whose parents were of different ranks, was dispatched in Polynesia and Micronesia, as was one of half white blood in Australia.⁷ Many Abipone women abandon their new-born infants for fear that otherwise their husbands will take additional wives or run after other women.⁸

Experience has shown that the milk of the mother is insufficient for the maintenance of two children until they are old enough to depend on other food; and therefore in many tribes the birth of twins is considered unlucky; and one at least is sacrificed. Among the Arebos both are dispatched.⁹ The cutting of the upper teeth before the lower ones is a cause for condemning children to death among some African tribes; and turning from side to side in sleep, among some Americans. Deformed children and motherless infants are abandoned everywhere. In the Kingsmill group, poor parents often

expose girls because they would need dowries at marriage.

The frequency of infanticide among savages must not be attributed to a lack of affection on the part of the women. They are generally kind mothers, and when they have once suckled a child, they rarely consent to its death. In many Polynesian islands, they had to choose between infanticide and the starvation of the adults.

SEC. 74. *Son-in-law Shyness*.—A custom almost as wonderful as couvade, to high civilization, is that of son-in-law shyness, which forbids certain persons related by marriage to see or speak to each other. Among the North American savages generally, the Arowaks, the Caribs, and the Arabs, the son-in-law must not look the mother-in-law in the face; and if he has anything to say to her, even in her presence, he must tell a third person to tell it to her; and if there be no third person to serve as a medium of communication, he must look away from her, and talk as if addressing himself to another. When a Kaffir mother meets her daughter's husband she must turn aside and sit with her back to the road until he has passed. The Kaffir wife is not permitted to see the father or uncle of her husband or to pronounce their names. In some tribes of central Africa, the affianced man must not see the parents of his prospective wife. The Mongol or Kalmuck wife must not speak to her husband's father; and the Chinaman must not see his daughter-in-law. In one of the Gilbert Islands, years elapse after marriage before the wife dares to speak to any man save her husband.¹ The rules of son-in-law shyness vary greatly in the persons to whom they apply and the method of their application in different tribes, and are found extending

over a large part of the savage world; but not in any of the tribes composed of feminine clans. They are parts of the system of masculine descent, devised to give to the husband control over his wife, and may have been influenced also by the animosities resulting from the capture of wives.

SEC. 75. *Womanhood*.—Among the tribes which have outgrown the feminine clan, the appearance of womanhood in the young girl, instead of being reserved as a modest secret, is treated as a proper matter for general notoriety or as an occasion of public festivity. She is regarded as a piece of merchandise to be sold at the first opportunity. Her marketable condition is announced by a distinctive girdle or headdress in part of Pennsylvania;¹ by tattoo among the Polynesians, Fijians, Pimas and Gonds; by cicatrices among the Australians; by filing the teeth among the Batta Malays; by breaking out a tooth or several teeth among the Tasmanians, Batokas, and many other tribes; by pulling out the eyebrows and eyelashes among the Apaches; by inserting an ornament in the lip or nose in certain tribes; by an invitation to all acquaintances to call at the tent and congratulate the family among the Dakotas; by procession and a feast among the Mandingoes, Fans, Akkas and Cape Palmas negroes;² by a dance among the Marutse³ and some Californians;⁴ by subjecting the girl to a three days' fast among the Yumas; by flogging her among the Campas of South America;⁵ by burying to the neck in sand for twenty-four hours near San Diego,⁶ and by imprisoning her for months in Alaska and Central America.⁷

SEC. 76. *Modesty*.—Modesty is a conventional standard of propriety, harmonizing with customs adapted to the

climate, dwellings, customs, laws and superstitions of the country. It varies with time and place and general culture. Those tribes which are ordinarily nude, which have only one small sleeping apartment for a family of six or eight persons, and which attach no value to virginity in the girl or to conjugal chastity in the wife, cannot have the same rules of modesty as other tribes with different customs and ideas. In the valley of the Orinoco, the woman is immodest who appears among strangers without a coat of paint. An aboriginal girl there, to please a European visitor, put on a gown, but when some of her tribe appeared she was much abashed and threw off the garment hastily.

The scantier the ordinary clothing of the Zulus, the greater their shame when surprised without any. It has been observed that some nude African tribes are less unchaste, and by civilized standards less immodest than other tribes which are habitually clothed. Fashionable styles of dress in certain parts of South America and the Pacific islands are more immodest than absolute nudity.

The conversation of savages is often very gross, and the same remarks may be made of many of their amusements and customs. From their earliest infancy, children see sights and hear expressions which are carefully hidden in civilized countries. At the most fashionable entertainments of Polynesia and Micronesia, the highly-honored Areoi nobles sing the coarsest songs and act most indecent scenes.¹

SEC. 77. *Nudity*.—Among savages generally the sentiment that nudity is immodest, if not absolutely lacking, is very weak. In tropical climates throughout the year, and in temperate regions, in the hot season, the children who have not arrived at puberty are nearly all naked,

and so are the adults in Tasmania, parts of Australia, the Pelew, Mariana and Torres islands, and among the Ovambos, Batokas, Obongos, Bubes, Lufiras, Wakambas, Kaironoos, Goldas, Botocudos, Orinocos, Arowaks, Tapajos, Puris, and Coroados of both sexes. To distinguish himself from his subjects, the chief of the Musgus wears clothes. The men of Shir, Nuehr, Bari, Mahenge, New Caledonia, and California and the Maori warriors, on military expeditions, are nude and so are the married women of Ganguella, Watusi, Uape, Congo, and parts of Australia and Melanesia, and the unmarried women of Fan, Dor, Nuehr, Dinka, Shillook, Ashira, Obbo, Tupi, Guaype, and parts of Australia and South America. The Mandombe bride, without any clothing save a coat of whitewash, calls on her friends to announce her approaching marriage.¹

The general rule of savage life is that as the wife must be stricter in her conduct than the girl, so also she shall be more careful to clothe herself. In Fiji, the only dress of the marriageable girl is a girdle with fringe three inches long; of the childless wife a foot long; of the wife with a child, a foot and a half long.

The savage woman usually wears no clothing above the waist in warm weather, and a small motive induces her to throw off that below the waist. Thus if she has to walk across a stream where she will be splashed, she takes it off. A Kaffir girl in a mixed company received a present of a new dress, and immediately took off the old one, so that she could put on the new one. In many tribes the women are dressed while away from home or at home entertaining visitors, and nude at other times.

SEC. 78. *Clothing*.—The most common feminine garment is a fringe girdle, the fringe, from three to eighteen

inches long, consisting of flags, reeds, strips of bark, twine, or leather thongs. If beads are procurable, they are much prized for decorating this simple but important article of apparel. Loin-cloths, aprons, short skirts and cloaks are also fashionable, the preferred materials for them, on account of solidity of texture and fitness for ornamentation, being woven cloth or leather; but for lack of these bark cloth is much used.

The Wahehe woman wears a string of beads round her waist with a tail hanging down behind; and it would be highly unbecoming for her to go into company without the tail. The Watuta, Wanyuema, Shillook and Vaté women have string girdles with an apron or fringe in front and a tail behind, and the tail should be longer than the appendage in front. The dress of the obscurely fair sex in the Apono and Ishogo tribes consists of two pieces of cloth, one on each side of the body from the armpits to the knees. These pieces must meet behind; whether they meet in front or not is less important. The Dor women comply with the requirements of modesty, as they understand it, by wearing a little twig hanging down in front from a string girdle. An apron six inches square attached to a similar girdle suffices for the married women of Fan, Shir, Bari, Monbuttoo, Mundrucu and some New Guinea tribes.

The savage in the temperate zone bears with comparative indifference a degree of cold which would cause great discomfort to the civilized man. He not only seems comfortable when nearly naked in a freezing temperature, but when he receives a piece of cloth, he will wear it in cold weather not on the chest or abdomen, which we consider the most sensitive parts to chills, but on the shoulders. Thus are worn the small and

solitary deerskin of the aboriginal Californian,¹ the seal-skin of the Fuegian, and the cloak of the Abipone² and Mbaya women.³

The Eskimos and many North American tribes make leggings, trousers; coats and coverings for the feet with the aid of the needle, but savages generally use no sewed garments. In Polynesia, Australia and Africa, there is no attempt to fit bark cloth, woven cloth, matting or skins, to the body or limbs. The prehistoric Europeans in tilling culture before the discovery of bronze, wore sewed clothing of skins and linen. Nearly all savages go bareheaded; and few wear a covering for the feet.

SEC. 79. *Ornaments*.—For the sake of ornament, the savage loads his nose, lips, ears, wrists and ankles with rings, and his arms, legs, neck and waist with heavy coils of wire. He sacrifices his comfort to his vanity. He invests a considerable part of his wealth in the purchase of an oppressive burden.

A Mittoo man struts about with a chain of half-inch iron welded on his neck, that is if he cannot afford copper or brass, which are more stylish, but are not within reach of people of scanty or moderate means. A Wanyamwuezi girl, to be in the height of fashion, should have a girdle of half-inch hemp rope hidden under a wrapping of fine brass or copper wire. The Bongo covers both arms from wrist to elbow with brass rings, a quarter of an inch thick.¹ The Chumberi woman, if in moderate station, wears a brass collar, weighing at least twenty pounds, soldered on her neck; if rich, the weight should be thirty pounds.² Among the Dinkas, it is not a rare occurrence to see a person carrying forty pounds of copper ornaments.³ If fashionable, a Santal woman should carry thirty-four pounds of metallic ornaments, including

four in each of her bracelets and anklets, and eighteen in her collar.⁴ She would doubtless feel miserable if she should meet a Congo belle with a load of seventy-five pounds, including more than sixty in her collar alone.⁵ The Wanika woman wears a quarter-inch brass wire closely coiled around her leg from ankle to knee; and the Masai girl, besides having such wrappings on her legs, has others of like material on her arms from wrist to elbow. These coils put on tightly when the girl is young, and never taken off, prevent the growth of the muscles, obstruct ablution, cause troublesome sores and hinder all movements. But then it is the fashion. The Taveta girl is content with wire coils from wrist to elbow. The M-teita girl carries twenty or thirty pounds of beads. Such ornaments as are worn in ears, nose, lips and teeth will be mentioned in other sections.

SEC. 80. *Hair Dressing*.—In many savage tribes the hair is dressed elaborately. It is shaved wholly or partly, bleached, dyed, smeared with grease, stiffened with clay or glutinous material, or plaited with its own strands or with twine, in patterns which may be uniform in family, clan or tribe, so as to advertise the wearer's nationality, rank or pedigree. The Andamanese, and some Fijians, Wagogos, Waswahilis and Tasmanians, shave the head clean. Many Redmen shave off or pull out the hair of the head save a spot on the vertex, where a scalp lock is preserved. Much of the head is shaved by the Ovambos, Batokas, Wagandos, Watusi, Watutas, Wisigas, Zulus, Marquesans, Fijians and Hawaiians, leaving crests, coronets, ridges, or spots of hair, or bare spots amidst the hair.

The most elaborate hair dressing is that of the La-tookas, whose hair is interwoven with twine and covered

with beads so elaborately, that years are required to complete the work. In one instance the task was not finished until after a lapse of eight years.¹ Next to the Latookas, in such extravagance, are the Ishogos, Ashangos, Bornus and Fijians, all of which tribes have large mop-like head-dresses which they cannot comb out nor rest on when lying down. They sleep, not with the head on a pillow, but with the neck on a little trestle. The Fijian head-dress is frequently a foot, and occasionally twenty inches in diameter. The Ishogo wears his hair in a cylinder interwoven with vegetable fibre rising ten inches above the skull; and all the hair below the base of the cylinder is shaved off.² The Ashango man and the Monbuttoo woman wear a tower of hair similar to that of the Ishogo, but not quite so elaborate. The Bornu woman divides her hair from forehead to the base of the occiput into three parallel sections, each of which is worked up into a high roll and kept in place with a stiffening of wax.³ The wearers of these mops and baskets cannot comb or wash their hair, and for scratching, must use long bodkins. The Banyai⁴ of South Africa and the Tannese⁵ divide the hair into hundreds of little parcels, and wrap each from end to end with thread, so that the head seems to be covered with twine, six inches long and a sixteenth of an inch thick. The Edeeyah, on the western coast of Africa, makes his hair into curly tufts stiffened with grease and clay, so that his head looks as if covered with a hundred short cigars fastened to the scalp. The Fulah woman has similar tufts colored deep blue. Some Africans shave off part of the hair, and plaster the remainder into clumps, with the shape and size of buffalo horns.

Nearly all savages dress their hair with some unguent. In Abyssinia the preferred material is mutton suet which

has been chewed for two hours. Bear's grease is used by the Redmen, palm oil by the negroes, and cocoa-nut oil by the Polynesians. By the help of washes, dyes and paints, the natural black color of the hair is changed to white, gray, yellow, orange, red, brown, purple or blue, according to the custom of the tribe or the caprice of the individual.

A fashion, that perhaps had its origin in the effort to get rid of troublesome insects,⁶ requires men and women, in many tribes, to carefully pull out or shave off all the hair on body or face, even the eyebrows and eyelashes.

SEC. 81. *Oil and Paint*.—Unable to obtain handsome cloth with which to hide his body, the savage covers it with grease, paint, tattoo and scar. Besides being a protection against cold, insects, sun and rain, a coat of unguent, in most hot countries inhabited by savages, is necessary for full dress. It may indicate the rank of the wearer. Nearly every kind of grease is used for such purposes, including human marrow and kidney fat. The last gives to the Australian the strength and courage of his slain enemy, as well as protection against insects. The Polynesians and Africans perfume their oil, but whether perfumed or not, it soon turns rancid and then, if the man can afford the expense, must be replaced with a new coat.

In the Pacific Islands, turmeric is mixed with the anointing oil, to give a rich brownish yellow color to the body. Black is preferred by the Haidahs, soot by the Thlinkets, black or blue by the Maoris, red by the Indians of the Mississippi basin, red and white by the Australians, Congoese, and Andamanese; and red by the men and blue by the women of Bonny. For festival occasions, the Areoi nobles of Polynesia had scarlet faces

and black bodies. The Ganguellas paint their faces green. The Gain negroes, cover the front of the body with diamond-shaped blocks of alternating hues. The military uniform of Obbo is a combination of white, yellow and vermillion patches or stripes.

In some tribes, the skin, whether greased or not, must be stained. Among the Arabs and many African tribes, the palms, soles and finger-nails are dyed brownish red with henna. The body is stained orange and black by the Botocudos, blood red by the Caribs, and blue by the Bornuese, some Brazilians and some Zinder women. The legs are stained red with blue spots by the Guiana Indians; the backs blue by Tahitian women; the faces yellow by the Aheer women; the lips blue by the Fans, and blue or black by the Maoris; and the gums black by the Watusi and yellow by some of the people of Sind.

SEC. 82. *Tattoo*.—In ornamentation of the savage person, tattoo comes next to oil and paint. It is used with the greatest liberality in the tropics where the general nudity allows it to be seen at all seasons, but is also found in very cold climates, where it is ordinarily restricted to the face. However, it is not always intended for the inspection of strangers. The most complete tattoo is that of the Marquesans, whose bodies, face, scalp, neck and limbs to the tips of the fingers and toes, are covered, the scalp being shaved for the purpose. The Maoris and Mundrucus also indulge in elaborate tattoo. Most of the tattoo of the Fiji woman is between the waist and mid-thigh, where, after she has children, it is concealed by the fringed girdle. The Kayan Dyak woman has a similar decoration, but to exhibit it, she wears a skirt open at the sides. In many tribes, the tattoo is in beautiful lace-like patterns. An imitation stocking

covers the legs of the Pelew and Tahitian women. The tattoo of the Bari negro is like a covering of the fish scales; that of the Kanowit Dyak like chain armor.

The tattoo of the Red Karen is limited to the back; that of the Tongataboo woman to the palm; that of the Ratak woman to the neck and bosom; that of the Nonomea woman to the shoulder and abdomen; that of the Fan woman to the breast and abdomen; that of the Tahitian man to the breast, leg, arm and hand; that of the Tahitian woman to the leg below the knee and to the arm; that of the Micronesian man to the body and limbs; that of the Toda woman to the chest, leg and arm; that of the Nuehr chief to horizontal wrinkle-like lines on the forehead; and that of the Eskimos, Aleuts, Chookchees and Tungoosees to the face.

Besides its purpose of decoration, tattoo serves in various tribes to designate blood or rank,¹ to give a ferocious expression to the warrior,² to make a record of some brave exploit or notable experience; to consecrate the wearer to a fetish³; to mark the ownership of a slave; to announce the arrival of a girl or boy at puberty, or the admission of a young man into the warrior class; or, as is supposed, to protect the persons against chills.⁴

In Polynesia the process of tattooing is a religious ceremony, and is performed by priests, while the subject is under a taboo or ecclesiastical consecration. Without tattoo the man has no favor with the gods; and he cannot enter a temple; in Pelew the girl cannot marry.⁵ Among the Redmen, the warrior is often seen with his totem tattooed on his breast. The tattoo of the totem of a hostile tribe under a tomahawk or knife shows that he has slain an enemy. A Tahitian had all the islands known to him tattooed on his body, and thus

he carried his map of the world with him. A Polynesian wife was tattooed with the emblems of the male ancestors of her husband; she was a heraldic record.⁶

Many tribes require their members to be marked with scars, usually made by rubbing a cut through the skin with some pigment or acrid mineral, or by searing it with red-hot stone or metal. The breast and shoulders are the parts on which the scars are placed by most of the scaring tribes; but the face, abdomen, shoulders, hips, arms and legs are also used. The patterns include straight lines, crescents, circles, and stars on a level with the adjacent skin, and lumps like peas, small and large beans, fingers, and eggs. They are produced in many different ways, one process being to thrust a needle through the skin, twist it and fasten it in the twisted position until the lump becomes permanent.⁷ The greatest number of scars habitually worn by the average man is perhaps in Bornu, where he has ninety-one, including twenty on each side of the face, between the mouth and the ear, six on each arm and leg, nine on each side above the hips, and one in the center of the forehead.⁸ The cicatrices of the Rubengas are compared in size to hen's eggs;⁹ those of the Kordofanese to pigeon's eggs;¹⁰ those of New Guinea to fingers.¹¹

SEC. 83. *Mutilations*.—In Africa, Australia and Micronesia, we find the habits of breaking out, chipping and filing the teeth. Among the reasons given for these customs are the desire for a fashionable lisp,¹ the disgrace of having mouths like those of apes,² or of eating with all one's teeth like a horse,³ and the duty of making one's mouth resemble that of a cow.⁴ Some of the tribes which draw their reasons from cows do not possess those animals; as they break out teeth in both jaws, so they do

not imitate their pretended models closely. Among the causes that may have led to the origin of these customs are the marking of captives, mutilation in mourning, or the subjection of young people to tests of endurance.

The canine teeth are taken out by the Penangs; the two upper middle incisors by the Micronesians, Batokos, Aponos, Ambriz, Missurongos, Ishogos, Wagogos, Matongas, Marutse men and Ashango women; the two lower middle incisors by the Bongos, Dinkas, Shirs, Wanyamwuezi, and many other tribes of Equatorial Africa; the four lower incisors by the Shillooks, Wanyoros, Latookas, and Bari men; the four upper incisors by the Mushukulumbos, and the four incisors and two canine teeth of the lower jaw by the Karagwahs.

By the Fans, Mushukungus, Apongos, Ashiras, Bushingas, some Congoese, and various tribes of New Guinea, all the front teeth, not broken out, are filed to points, "making their smile like that of a crocodile," as Livingstone says. The corners of the lower incisors are chipped off, and those of the upper incisors are filed off by the Niamniams, for the purpose, as they explain it, of catching secure hold of their enemies in battle. In several tribes of the Congo basin, a diamond-shaped opening is broken out between the middle upper and lower incisors, perhaps, as Burton thinks, to make a place for a pipe. Triangular openings are broken in the incisors by the Damaras and the Ganguellas.

Among the Eskimos, Greenlanders, Fuegians and many North American savages who have reached middle life, the teeth are worn nearly to the level of the gums, probably in consequence of the sand and dirt in their food. The custom of filing down the teeth however is practiced by the women of Timorlaut⁵ and Suma-

tra⁶, and by some Indians of California⁷. Teeth worn to the level of the gums have been found in the skulls of the prehistoric inhabitants of France, Belgium and Denmark, and of the ancient Egyptians.

Brass rivets in the teeth and little copper plates fastened, with rivets, on the teeth, are found among the Dyaks.⁸

The teeth are stained blue, yellow or purple by the Fulah women, the three colors being sometimes found in one mouth. The Dyaks stain theirs black in mourning; and teeth stained red or black are not rare in the Micronesian and Melanesian islands. The teeth of Malays are prepared for taking dye, by filing off the enamel, and are generally discolored by the betel quid.⁹

The custom of flattening the infantile skull, between boards, has prevailed among the Samoans, Hawaiians, Nicobarese, Caribs, Araucans, Quichuans, and many Redmen of modern times as well as among the ancient Scythians, and the prehistoric inhabitants of France, Belgium, Wales, Hungary, Silesia, Southern Russia and Northern Africa. This distortion of the skull, or unmistakable traces of it, have been found in all the continents save Australia. It may have had its origin in the habit of tying the head as well as the body to a board. Such fastening is convenient when infants are to be carried on horseback,¹⁰ and might be useful as a precaution for sudden attack, when the mother wants to escape leading a child of five or six with one hand while, with the other, she carries a suckling.

For the purpose of flattening its skull, the infant is tied with its back on a board on the upper end of which is tied a shorter board which presses on the forehead. The head takes the shape of a wedge with the edge at

the vertex. Though this pressure continues for a year, the shape thus given is not permanent, as the skull gradually reverts towards the natural type, which however it never reaches. After having been accustomed to the pressure, the child cries when it is taken off.¹¹

In the head-flattening tribes, a head of natural shape is considered ugly; and the privilege of beautification by the flattening process is denied to slaves.

The Greenlanders, Hottentots, Tahitians and Sumatrans admire breadth in the nose, and press it flat, and the Botocudos mash down the nasal bones.¹²

Besides gashing themselves in mourning, many savages cut off a finger joint until they have lost as many as they can spare. Some Australians tie a string tightly round the little finger of the left hand of the newly-born girl infant, and in a few days it is severed. The reason given for this mutilation is that that finger is in the way when the woman winds up a fish line.

The women of the Congo,¹³ and Loando desire to have pendent breasts, and pull them and tie bands over them so as to make them a foot long. The Wasagara, Sanda and Siamese women wrap cloths tightly round the body just below the armpit, so as to prevent the natural shape of the breast from being seen.¹⁴ The Samoan women are nude above the waist and carefully train the nipple so that it shall turn up.¹⁵ Singular mutilations about which our information is not very full are the amputations of the mammæ of male Zingeros in Shoa,¹⁶ and of the Akalunga and Kasangulowa women,¹⁷ the boring of the nipples of warriors in Georgia for the insertion of pieces of cane¹⁸; and the piercing of holes in the chest by the Bongos for the purpose of wearing wooden skewers there.¹⁹

Some Sumatrans pull their ears to make them stand out from the head; and various South American tribes stretch their ears so that it is said in exaggeration that a man can use one ear for a mattress and another for a covering while he sleeps. The Melanesians, the Indians of Georgia, and the Kukis cut out the interior lobe of the ear to make a hole for inserting ornaments. Some tribes pierce a dozen holes for rings round the border of the ear, or cut slits and wrap the separated edge with wire. The weight of the ornaments is so great in many cases that it is necessary to support the ear by strings or chains over the tops of the head.²⁰

Among the articles carried in the ear holes are hollow cylinders three inches in diameter and four inches long by the Caroline Islanders; tobacco pipes by the Kusaye Melanesians; pin-cushions by the Arowaks; nosegays by some Amazon Indians; fish-bladders, live snakes and feathers by the Indians of Georgia; shell disks attached to stems four inches long and a quarter of an inch thick by the Marquesans; pegs like a cigar in size and shape by the Monbuttoos; brass studs by the Waswahili; large brass disks by the Tavetas; and gourd-necks full of tobacco by the M'sagara.

These methods of ornamenting the ears are not limited to the women, but are practiced as extensively by the men, and are found in nearly all savage tribes. Alone among the Polynesians, the Hawaiians did not punch their ears. The ears of the people in the frigid zone are usually hidden on account of the cold, and therefore are not used as vehicles for ornaments.

The savage nose carries ornaments thrust through the septum or the wings, and in some few tribes through the bridge. A hole in the septum is decorated with a por-

cupine quill, a feather or a stick eight inches long obstructing the nostrils, so that the wearer is compelled to breathe through his mouth;²¹ or it supports a ring two inches in diameter, and then he cannot eat or drink without lifting up the ring; or it offers a passage for a string which is tied at the back of the head.²² The lower part of the septum is cut out by the Klickatats.²³ The only ornaments worn in the nostrils are rings. In New Zealand, feathers and sticks decorate a hole in the bridge of the nose,² and in Mallicollo, Cook saw a cylinder of quartz an inch and a half long carried in the same place.

Both lips and the cheek, near the corner of the mouth, are pierced for studs, pegs, blocks, rings or bead strings. Double-headed bone studs decorate the mouth corners of the Eskimos, and when the studs are out, the saliva escapes. The lower lip supports a bone stud among the Unalaskans and the Caribs; a piece of cane among the Georgian Indians; a cylinder of quartz four inches long among the Latookas; a cylinder of the same material, three inches long and three quarters of an inch thick among the Mittoos; a string of beads among the Kodiaks; a bung two inches in diameter among the Botocudos (so named from "botoque" Portuguese for bung); and block labrets three inches long and two wide among the Ahts. Dall mentions one such labret five inches long and two inches wide. This block drags the lip out of place, exposes the teeth and gums to view, and presses the teeth out of place; and when taken out, the upper portion of the lip hangs down like a string. The Batoka women wear pulley-like rings three inches in diameter in both lips which then stick out horizontally like the bill of a bird; but when the wearer laughs, the upper ring assumes a vertical position, partly hiding the eyes and

allowing the end of the nose to be seen through the ring.

Circumcision was common in the valley of the Nile as early as 3000 B. C.,²⁵ and was practiced by the Arabs, Libyans and other oriental peoples at the earliest date known to history or tradition. By Spencer, its origin is attributed to the policy of taking trophies from male captives without diminishing their value for slave labor. Lippert thinks the sacrifice of blood in worship may have been the main motive. Similar mutilations, some of them more painful and more remarkable, were practiced in Australia and the Pacific Islands.²⁶

SEC. 84. *Social Development*.—In social life, as in industry, we are not able to trace much development within the limits of any savage tribe. In some few countries we find traditions of customs ruder than those prevalent in modern times, but these traditions are too vague or too doubtful, in the date of origin, to be trustworthy. In this as in other developments of savage culture, we must find the main traces of progress not in the advance of one tribe, but in the comparison of the various conditions of different tribes. The higher have grown out of the lower phases.

We have seen that the family, in the modern sense of the word—that is, the man with his wife or wives and children—as a distinct component part of the State, either does not exist in the lowest known tribes, or occupies a very unimportant place as compared with its position in civilized countries. The earliest social organization, known to us by inference and not by direct observation, was the promiscuous group, which gave way by a small change to the feminine clan. The latter retained the group as the main feature of the social organ-

ization, preserved the rule of maternal descent, and permitted half of the previous promiscuousness. The modification was the least possible to be a substantial modification; it was a great reform in the direction of the least resistance.

In the course of progress, the feminine clan, having become unsatisfactory, gave way to another institution, a little higher on the scale of social development. Its successor, the masculine clan, retained the rule of tracing descent from one parent exclusively, but transferred it from the maternal to the paternal side. It restricted the polyandrous habits of the women in the earlier condition, but permitted the men to enjoy most of their previous polygynous privilege. It was another great reform in the direction of the least resistance. It gave the wife as an exclusive possession to the husband, made her chastity precious, and converted her and her virtue into articles of marketable value. It founded the family which, though long subordinate to the masculine clan, finally supplanted it.

Monogamy, as the only legal sexual relation, is unknown in the large savage families—including Redmen, Negroes, and Australians,—and also in those families uninfluenced by contact with a higher culture. Among other tribes it is rare. Although we may say in general terms, that it does not belong to the domain of savage life, still, attention may here be called to the fact that it continues the policy adopted in savagism, of placing more and more restriction on primitive promiscuousness. The feminine clan, the masculine clan, the polygynous family and the monogamous family form a series of increasing checks upon the sexual relation.

CHAPTER V

INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

SECTION 85. *Capacity*.—The influence of advanced culture shows itself in many points, including the size of skull, which in the modern Euraryan has an average internal capacity of ninety-one cubic inches ; in the African eighty-five, and in the Australian seventy-nine.¹ The first has five and a half per cent. more brain than the second, and twelve per cent. more than the last. Such a cerebral superiority in favor of the white man, and the advantages of his geographical position, accumulating their influences for thousands of years, account for his higher mental development.

The gratification of the physical wants, and the exercise of the coarser passions in war and the chase, occupy a much larger place relatively in the life of the savage than in that of the civilized man. The former has no occupations or amusements of a refined, intellectual character, no art, no science, no literature, no theater, no book, no philanthropic institution. He lives in a small world.² Such few pleasures as he has are much weakened by the dominant conditions of insecurity, distrust, and animosity.

As compared with the civilized man, the savage spends much of his time in a condition of mental torpor.

He has little continuity of thought, little depth of sympathetic feeling. His mental condition is half-way between that of the civilized man and that of the brute. So soon as a few physical wants are gratified, he becomes listless. Dr. Pickering who, as ethnologist of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, had become familiar with many tribes, said the Fijians were the only savages, within the range of his observation, "who could give reasons and with whom it was possible to hold a connected conversation."³ The average savage mind soon tires when led into new subjects of conversation; and for this reason, the attempts of scholars to investigate the languages, religion, and customs of low tribes often yield very meagre results. The informants are worried and confused by inquiries about the causes of their customs about which they have never reasoned. The East Africans lose their patience within ten minutes, when questioned so long about their system of numeration.⁴ The Abipones soon grow weary of examining any confused subject.⁵ The Aht of British Columbia, after a few minutes of questioning about matters requiring any effort of thought or memory, appears to rock to and fro out of mere weakness.⁶ The savage finds great difficulty in keeping up any steady intellectual effort, especially in unfamiliar lines of thought. His digestive system is better suited than that of the civilized man for alternations of excessive repletion and prolonged hunger, but this physical irregularity is less potent, than mental instability, in rendering him averse to constant toil. He must be exposed to civilizing influences for generations, before he acquires the intellectual energy needed to fit him for high industrial productiveness. The inheritance of such energy by the mass of the people is a distin-

guishing characteristic and most valuable possession of civilized life; the lack of it in the savages, is a leading cause of their gradual extinction.

On account of the weakness and unsteadiness of their reason, men in a low condition of culture are unable to form distinct conceptions of the remote future consequences of their conduct, or to organize extensive and durable political or industrial combinations. They care little about logical consistency; they make conflicting statements without perceiving that the conflict implies error; and they do not try to lay down fundamental principles with which their actions and words must harmonize. The Malagasy, who has a high place in savagism, prays to his ancestors,⁷ and yet says that he will cease to exist when he dies.

The Damara who is exceptionally stupid, though perfectly familiar with "an infinity of local details" about the geography of his country, has no map of it in his mind. He may know the road from A to B, and from B to C, which last is equally distant from the other two points, and yet he has no idea of a straight line from A to C.⁸ However, such stupidity in regard to travel is rare among savages; most tribes are acute not only in their perceptions and memories, but also in their general ideas and reasonings about the topography of the regions in which they live.

His keen senses, his open air life, and his habit of watching his game and spending much time in hunting and warfare, train the savage, notwithstanding his usual mental torpidity, to observe the face of nature very closely, and to correctly interpret signs that would not be observed by civilized men, or would have no meaning for them. He recognizes individual men, horses, and cows by their

tracks; he can follow each along a dusty road over which many others passed afterwards; can tell whether they were alone or in company, and how long a time approximately has elapsed since the track was made. Every pebble knocked from its natural resting place, every twig broken, and every plant stem crushed, has something to tell him. Civilized men never learn to equal the savage in such perceptions and indications; they cannot give all their attention to the observation of such phases of nature. Because of a lack of training for his reason, the savage is impulsive. In him, the emotions are relatively stronger than in the civilized man. It has been said of him that "He has the passions of a man and the reason of a child;" and that he "has the incapacity of infancy, and the unliancy of old age."

Although the Malays and aboriginal North Americans are stolid in their manner, the lower races generally are often controlled by inconsiderate impulse. They are ready to give way to the passion of the moment. They can be readily influenced by any person who understands how to turn their attention to some minor prejudice, connected with the main question under consideration. They laugh and cry easily, and can suddenly turn from the hilarious to the lachrymose mood and back again, under the influence of suggestions that would have no effect on the average civilized mind. The most sincere lamentations at a Polynesian funeral are sometimes interrupted by a little incident such as the turning of a bug to escape at the sight of another bug, and there will be a general outbreak of the heartiest laughter, which will suddenly stop, to be followed by unanimous howling of the most lugubrious tone. It is not discreditable to the Maori or Fijian warrior to shed copious tears about

slight vexations; or to give way in the presence of strangers, to the most furious anger when he has stumbled over a stone. The negroes, negritoës, and Polyne-sians are boisterously merry; they laugh immoderately at trifles⁹ and are always frolicking. The Kamtschatkans are excitable and almost hysterical in temper;¹⁰ the Papuans are "impetuous;" the Fuegians are "loud and furious talkers;" the Andamanese are "frightfully passionate;" the Fijians are "extremely changeable in disposition;" the common conversation of the Arabs resembles a continual quarrel; and angry disputes ending in violence are common among the Bushmen.¹¹

Many tribes are wonderfully dull in their arithmetical conceptions. Of the Damaras, we are told that if one has several sheep to sell he will not take a round sum for the lot, but must be paid for each animal separately. Any other method of procedure confuses him and leaves him in doubt whether he has not been cheated. Thus when he has two sheep for sale and his price is two plugs of tobacco for one, he cannot comprehend that four plugs will pay for two. He insists on receiving payment for one, which he delivers, and then he is ready to accept the other two plugs for the other sheep.

In a similar manner the Redman sells his furs. At the close of the hunting season he takes his bundle of pelts to the trading-post, but he does not sell the whole lot at one bargain. Keeping his bundle in his tent he there unties it and takes one pelt at a time to the white trader and gets his pay for it, before exhibiting another. His main motive for this method of procedure is his distrust of his powers of keeping a complicated account either in his head, or by any system of marks. An Eskimo, when asked how many children he had, tried unsuccessfully to

count them on his fingers, and then asked his wife.¹² Savages generally do not know their ages. The Greenlanders keep count of the years till about twenty, but not afterwards. In Western Africa it is considered impious to number the years.¹³

SEC. 86. *Preponderant Present*.—Savages think much of to-day and little of to-morrow. They have a scanty regard for the remote future. They are the children of the moment. They want immediate gratification. Of the Brazilian Indian we are told that "he thinks of nothing except the matters that immediately concern his daily material wants;"¹ and of the East African that his mind "will not, apparently cannot, escape from the circle of sense, nor will it occupy itself with aught but the present."² The Bedouin "judges of things as he sees them present before him, not in their causes and consequences."³ Crantz tells us that the Greenlanders give no thought to anything except the occupations necessary to their existence.⁴ Baker observed that the Nyanza negroes had little care for anything beyond the gratification of their physical wants.⁵ Fritsch calls the Bushman "the unhappy child of the moment."⁶ The low savage's disregard of the future is a prominent feature of his mental condition, and a necessary result of his mode of life. He has no facilities for accumulating property, nor any mode of protecting it after accumulation. There are regions in both Americas, in Australia and Africa where the aborigines seldom have a supply of food sufficient for a day in advance. He who obtains a supply is required by public opinion, to divide with his neighbors. It is accumulation that gives importance to the future, and stimulates man to weigh the relative values of the gratifications of to-day and to-morrow. Such calculation

gives to civilized communities a thoughtful seriousness very different from the childlike playfulness of savages. The remark has been made that after the aborigines of South Africa have lived for a time in the service of white masters, and have learned the advantages of preparing for the future, they lose their previous jovial manner, which had been the outgrowth of their early blindness and indifference to all save immediate results.⁷

SEC. 87. *Early Maturity*.—In many tribes the children, and especially the boys, when eight and ten years old, must begin to hunt berries, roots, seeds, and small birds and quadrupeds, for portion of their food ; and it is expected that before fifteen they shall acquire much expertness in catching and killing small game. By this practice, and perhaps also by a peculiarity of their nature, they are relatively more mature than civilized children of the same age, and their observant faculties are specially acute. Before they are old enough to walk, Australian children are taught to dig for worms which they eat.¹ In the basin of the Gazelle River, Africa, boys eight years of age often wander away from home because they can supply themselves with food.²

As Spencer says, "The primitive intellect is relatively simple, develops more rapidly and earlier reaches its limit" than that of the civilized man.³ The children are more precocious mentally and physically. The Equatorial African children are, according to Winwood Reade, "absurdly precocious ;"⁴ of the West African, we are told that they are remarkably sharp before puberty, and of the Australian, that their mental vigor begins to decline when they have reached the age of twenty.⁵

SEC. 88. *Jollity*.—When in company, savages generally are noisy chatterers, fond of gossip, ready to find

amusement in any trifle, and easily diverted from one feeling or train of ideas to another entirely different. They are highly excitable; they talk about trifles with a vehemence of manner that would not be called out among civilized people unless the subject were one of great importance. They shout with amusement in the course of their ordinary conversation, and when seen from a little distance, they seem to be the happiest of mankind; but the enlightened spectator who approaches and listens to their talk, wonders at its insipidity.

Of the Polynesians, Gerland tells us that "the general cheerfulness and jollity, the wish to please and to amuse one another, were general characteristics which attracted the most attention among the early European voyagers. While in company, they were always engaged in lively conversation. They expressed their feelings with so much animation; they seemed so innocent and amiable; they were so cordial, so sincere, so anxious to anticipate the wishes and thoughts of their companions, that the strangers were dazzled, and unable to see the weak side of their hosts. Among themselves, in times of peace, they were friendly; and their rare disputes were easily arranged. Their jovial animation was caused not by superior purity and harmony of the moral sentiments, but by an excitable disposition and an openness to new impressions. They were also susceptible to frequent attacks of melancholy; and their active imagination surrounded them with terrors, and even killed them when they were told that they had broken a taboo, or had been cursed by a noted sorcerer. Their feelings and purposes changed suddenly from one extreme to the other. Light-hearted joy was succeeded almost instantly by gloomy despair, extravagant hopefulness by torturing

fear, the warmest attachment by the bitterest aversion, and the meanest parsimony by the most senseless extravagance.”¹

The savage delights in a racket. A noisy toy is sure to please him. He wants rattles and fire-crackers. A North American Indian amused himself for an hour by striking matches and watching them ignite and burn out. In Polynesia, men and women play with dolls and toys made for civilized children of eight or ten years.² Writing of the Marquesans of Typee, Melville says, “I was more and more struck with the light-hearted joyousness that everywhere prevailed. The minds of these simple savages, unoccupied by matters of graver moment, were capable of deriving the utmost delight from circumstances which would have passed unnoticed in more intelligent communities. All their enjoyment indeed seemed to be made up of the little trifling incidents of the passing hour. What community, for instance, of refined and intellectual mortals would derive the least satisfaction from shooting popguns? The mere supposition of such a thing would excite their indignation, and yet the whole population of Typee [a valley in the island of Nukahiva] did little else for ten days [after Melville showed them how to make the plaything] but occupy themselves with that childish amusement, fairly screaming too, with the delight it afforded them.”³

SEC. 89. *Politeness*.—Among savages, the Polynesians are the most attentive to the forms of social intercourse, and, partly for that reason, charmed the early European navigators in the Pacific. The Tongans and Samoans are specially noted for “grace and dignity of deportment;”¹ on the other hand, the North American savages are distinguished for their stolidity of manner, and apparent

lack of sentiment in their social relations. They meet and part without demonstration of feeling, and this even when the separation is likely to be for months, or when a number of warriors are about to start on a highly dangerous expedition.²

Savages generally, and especially those of North America, seem to derive little pleasure from the matrimonial and parental relations.³ There is no show of tenderness between husband and wife; and relatively little between parent and child.⁴ Maternal affection of course exists, but many influences tend to weaken it towards the boy after he has reached the age of ten; and usually the children act as if they had little regard for the mother. It is worthy of note however that the most sentimental of all oaths is that of the stupid Damara, "By the tears of my mother."⁵ The Mandingo says "Strike me, but do not speak ill of my mother."

The Maoris have a custom called "tangi" (g hard) which requires intimate friends, when meeting after a long separation, to begin with lamentation and weeping, as if grieving over the relatives lost or the sufferings endured since they previously met. Then, by mutual consent, they suddenly turn to a merry mood and so continue until perhaps some misfortune is mentioned when they again have a lachrymose fit. A similar custom exists in Greenland and in Florida.⁶

Sec. 90. *Salutations*.—In many tribes, the subject kisses the hand of the chief, when admitted to his presence; in others, not being allowed to come near enough for that, he must kiss his own hand. The latter practice was common in ancient Rome, and suggested the word "adorare," to adore.¹ Where equals sought to kiss the hands of each other, and each refused to let the other

have his way, they would grasp and shake hands as a compromise. In welcoming a visitor, the Bafiote stretches out his arms and claps his hands together repeatedly; ² the Javan closes his hands and raises them to his forehead; ³ the Veddah bows and touches his forehead with his right hand. ⁴

When addressing a chief, the common Congoese kneels, turns his face half aside, stretches out his arms as if in supplication and, at the end of every sentence, strikes his hands together. ⁵ When approaching his ruler, the Dahoman crawls on hands and knees, as does the Siamese. The Batokas, Balondos, Kargué's and Watusis salute superiors by lying down on their backs and rolling from side to side, as a little dog does before a big one. Thus the idea of unconditional submission is conveyed to the savage as it is to the brute mind. ⁶ In Tongataboo and in Fundah, the common man meeting a chief lies down and puts the great man's foot on his neck. ⁷ In Tonga, he merely kneels or stoops and with his hand touches the sole of the chief's foot. When speaking to his chief the Hawaiian, the Khond, the Malagasy, the Chibcha, ⁸ and the Borghoo lie flat on the ground. The Polyne-sians and the Malays generally crouch down when addressing their superiors. ⁹ When equals meet in Ashantee, they squat down and rub their hands over the ground, as if in preparation for prostrating themselves. ¹⁰

In Congo, the warrior who meets his chief, kneels and kisses the earth, while his superior sprinkles dust over the head and arms of his kneeling subject. In Balondo and on the lower Niger, the common man kneels and rubs dust on his arms and chest, while the chief makes motions as if he were rubbing dust on his own arms and chest.

He who throws dust over himself, humiliates himself and relatively exalts the person before whom he does it; and in many countries honor is paid in that way or in motions suggestive of it. The Turkish army officers, at a military review, go through the motions of throwing dust on their heads before the commanding general; ¹¹ as Joshua and the elders of Israel "put dust on their heads" before the ark.¹² In Wasua, the inferior meeting a superior, rubs a ball of clay first on one arm and then on the other.

The inferior, meeting his superior in Fiji, steps out of the way and squats down with his back to the path, thus indicating submissiveness.¹³ On the Isthmus of Panama, the speaker turns his back to the person spoken to.¹⁴ In Polynesia, the inferior must never get on a higher level than his chief, nor let his shadow fall on him. As any covering might conceal a weapon, the inferior must appear naked before his superior in Polynesia and Africa.¹⁵

As a mode of salutation and an expression of affection, the kiss is unknown to the aboriginal Americans,¹⁶ Africans,¹⁷ Polynesians, Melanesians, Malays and Eskimos,¹⁸ as it is to the Chinese and Japanese.¹⁹ Instead of kissing his mistress, the Polynesian or Malay puts his nose at the side of hers and rubs it or smells her cheek. This process has been called the Malay kiss. In the Philippine Islands, New Caledonia and parts of Southeastern Asia, lovers exchange scarfs or handkerchiefs so that each has the perfume of the beloved.²⁰ On Brumer's Island and in parts of New Guinea, friends at meeting salute by pinching each other's noses, and scratching each other on the body.²¹

In the imagination of many tribes, one of the greatest dangers of human life is that some of a man's rubbish,

such as spittle, a clipping of hair or nails, a remnant of his food, or a piece of his clothing, may fall into the hands of a sorcerer, who, with its aid, can bewitch him into disease or death. To give one's rubbish to another is a mark of the greatest confidence and submission; and this idea is perhaps the basis of the custom of saluting a person by spitting on his hand or in his face, as in the upper part of the Nile valley²² and among the Payaguas,²³ or by spitting in one's own hand and rubbing it over the friend's face, as among the Eskimos.²⁴ In some Moslem tribes of Northern Africa, the chief honors his courtiers by squirting his saliva over them,²⁵ and the Berber, when he wishes to show special honor or affection to a child, spits in its face.²⁶ In Ashiro, the guest, when taking leave, spits some chewed sugar cane into the hand of his host.²⁷ In Alabama and in the Andaman Islands, friends, when meeting, salute by blowing into each other's faces, perhaps a remnant of the spitting process.

In many tribes the mode of address varies greatly according to the relative ranks of the persons meeting. The Samoans use the reverential plural to superiors, and give the title "chief" to equals. The aboriginal Javan has a common, a classic and a court dialect or set of phrases, the first being used to inferiors and the last to superiors. The Hottentots address one another as "brother."

SEC. 91. *Education*.—In the North American tribes, infants are taught to weep in silence, and the white visitor is surprised and amused by seeing a child shedding tears freely and expressing intense misery with its facial muscles, while not making the least sound. The process of instruction in silent weeping is simple. The child's "mouth is covered with the palm of the hand while its

nose is grasped between the thumb and forefinger, until the little one is nearly suffocated. It is then let go, to be seized and smothered again at its first attempt to cry. The baby very soon learns that silence is its best policy.”¹

Savage children are not trained at home in table manners, refinement of speech, kindness, honesty and magnanimity; and they get no systematic moral training elsewhere. In the conduct and language of the adults whom they observe, violence, treachery and falsehood, are honored; while mildness and regard for the feelings of others are treated with contempt. Their plays include robbery, battle and cruelty. In tribes which steal wives, the little boys club and drag away the little girls. Live animals are given by the parents to the children to be tortured. There is no religion that teaches virtue; there is no conception of virtue save getting all you can for yourself and your family, clan or tribe, and doing all possible injury to others.

When six or eight years old, the boy is emancipated from the control of the mother, who after that time must not strike or threaten him, nor in any way check his insolence or violence, which are applauded by the father and uncles, as evidences of spirit and courage.

In regard to the habits of the animals on which the savages depend for food, the boys receive thorough instruction, not by direct teaching, but by overhearing the common conversation among the men. The children have games in which they imitate the cries and calls of all the quadrupeds and birds known to them, until they acquire such skill that they can deceive the animals.

In savagism as in civilization, little girls are brought up to be the companions and assistants of their mothers and, even where more prized than boys on account of

their pecuniary value, are always treated as inferior beings, destined to render servile duty to the other sex. They inherit from nature modest impulses, confirmed by the example of their mothers and other women, but they are accustomed from their earliest years to hearing the coarsest speech from the men, and to seeing almost daily many actions that would be considered most gross offenses, if done publicly, in any civilized community.

SEC. 92. *Morality*.—In the lower culture steps high morality is neither inculcated by the priests nor attributed to the spirits or gods. To the savage, divine goodness means nothing save favoritism to a person. His god will aid him to rob and assassinate an unoffending stranger, and will protect him from punishment for the most unjustifiable and outrageous crime. A Bushman said it was good for him to steal another man's wife, and bad for another man to steal his wife.¹ A tribe of the Chibchas² and some savages of Hindostan³ consider no offering more acceptable to their divinity than a share of the spoil obtained in a murderous raid. A young Abyssinian who had not risen above savage ideas complained that "God must be angry with me for I have only twice attempted to rob and on both occasions have I been punished."⁴ The Tahitian religion, which in general character is the most advanced of all savage religions, has no moral teaching.⁵ No savage tribe has a definite belief in future reward for virtue or punishment for vice.

The ethical standard cannot be high among men who limit their idea of mutual fidelity to their own tribe, clan or village; who treat all persons outside of that limit as proper subjects for robbery and murder; who regard the possession of a scalp of any person outside of their tribe as a title to the highest honor; who despise the man

who has never killed a human being; who delight in torturing their captives; whose gods are detestable demons; and who expect to continue through a long future, the brutal ferocity they have exercised in this life. It is a great mistake to imagine that as "the primitive man had few duties, he was relatively pure."⁶ The more primitive the man the more impure; the less he knew of his duties to his fellows, the less he cared for them. Purity consists not in brutish ignorance of obligation to our fellow men, but in knowledge of it and careful regard for it.

While most of the low savages are bloodthirsty, violent, cruel, regardless of the rights of aliens, and tyrannical to their women, there are exceptions. The Eskimos generally know nothing of war, and usually live peacefully and happily among themselves. Of the Hill Dyaks, Low says, "Crime is so rare among them that its punishments are known only from tradition; and they live at present [1848] in a state of happiness and contentment which perhaps is at this time enjoyed in so high a degree by no other people upon earth."⁷

Schomberg, speaking of the aborigines of British Guiana, says that "though civilized men possess infinitely higher blessings, they lack the pure morality of these savages who have never come into contact with Europeans, and have not learned the vices of civilization. At home among these people, I have seen peace, quiet, and happiness, the simple love of husband for wife, of parents for children, of children for parents, sincere friendship, boundless gratitude, expressed not in empty words, but cherished in true hearts. They need no lesson from civilization in virtue; they live in it but do not speak of it. Their word is their deed; their promise is their conduct."⁸

SEC. 93. *Amusements*.—Music and dancing are found everywhere and in many tribes are the chief amusements. Savages are averse to much exertion either physical or mental. Such games as ball, wrestling, boxing, bowling, and racing afoot are not general among them.¹ They have no cards, checkers, chess or backgammon. We do not derive from savages any amusement requiring much intellectual exertion, nor, so far as known, have inherited from them any exercise requiring much skill, such as cricket, baseball or boxing. The Araucans² and Redmen east of the Mississippi³ have games of ball, and the Redmen west of the Mississippi have a game played with a hoop and spears. The Maoris have kites, skip ropes, swings, whip tops and cats' cradle. Among the tropical Polynesians we find wrestling matches, cock-fights, and surf bathing. Of the last, Moerenhout says, "Among the exercises of strength and skill, practiced by mankind in various countries, I know none more exciting or astonishing at first view than this. Usually they have a board three or four feet long with which they swim out beyond the line of the breaking surf, and then watching the waves, and diving under the smaller ones, they wait for one of the largest. Upon the summit of this one, announced to them by the shout of their friends on the beach, they come towards the land and it looks to the spectator as if they must be crushed, but before the wave breaks, they turn and go out to sea again, while the surf tumbles over and dashes with a great roar on the sand."⁴

The favorite swing of the Dyaks is a single cord with a loop at the lower end, supported by three long bamboo poles fastened together at the top. A strong man puts one foot in the loop; another man clings to him, and

others catch hold wherever they can, until there are a dozen or more; many of them uncomfortable with their burdens, and struggling to get rid of them, amidst general laughter and shouting of participants and bystanders.⁵ The swing of the Hervey Islanders, similar in pattern, is attached to a tall leaning cocoa tree, and has a similar cluster of persons for its load.⁶

The dance, often of a religious character, has a prominent place among the Indians of North America. The steps are stamps and rude hops; the common figure, movement in a circle. Music is furnished by a drum, rattle or monotonous chant. In some tribes men and women participate, in others men only. Every important expedition whether for war or the chase is preceded, and every successful one is celebrated, by a dance. Stupid as the Indian dance seems to the civilized observer, yet if one Redman starts with his stamping and bark-like chant, the rhythmical movement seems to impress the villagers greatly and soon most of them are at his heels imitating his example.⁷ Many of the savage dances are obscene in their character.

Savages are fond of gambling and risk much of their little property in betting on games of chance,⁸ on cock-fights,⁹ and where they have them, on games of ball and hoop. Among the Australians the favorite game for little boys is stealing wives; among the Redmen it is scalping enemies; in the Eskimo region, it is building snow huts; in Guiana, it is leading a large spider about by a string.

SEC. 94. *Poetry, etc.*—Savage tribes generally have few interesting legends, few notable traditions of tribal achievements, and no poems or samples of oratory transmitted from generation to generation. Indeed there are many

tribes without any of these intellectual productions, so far as is known. In poetry, perhaps New Zealand surpasses any other savage region. Waitz says, "Although rude and coarse in form, the mythical songs of the Maoris, given by Grey are, in substance, not inferior to those of ancient Greece or mediæval Germany. . . . In the songs of New Zealand, blood revenge in its fiercest form and even cannibalism appear, but on the other hand, we observe the warmest family affection. To find a beloved sister, mother or wife, the hero travels over the known world, goes down into hell and climbs up to heaven. Fancy, wit and descriptive talent are all found here."¹

Poetry occupies a prominent place in the life of the Tahitians and Hawaiians. Among them a song accompanies every important concerted movement, whether playing, dancing, rowing, marching, building a house, launching a boat, planting a field, carrying a load, cutting down a tree, attacking an enemy, or worshiping a god. They welcome the birth of a child and they accompany the burial of a man with a song. Their nursery rhymes are numerous, and their favorite poets are treated with much honor.

The Greenlanders "decide their quarrels by a match of singing and dancing which they call the singing combat. If a Greenlander thinks himself aggrieved by another, he discovers no symptom of revengeful design, anger or vexation ; but he composes a satirical poem which he recites with singing and dancing in the presence of his family, till they know it by rote. He then in the face of the whole country, challenges his antagonist to a satirical duel. . . . He who has the last word wins the trial. . . . It serves a higher purpose than a mere

diversion. Nothing so effectually restrains a Greenlander from vice as the dread of a public disgrace."²

Savage eloquence reached its highest development among the Iroquois, the Algonkins, the Cherokees, the Tongans, the Kaffirs, the Maoris and the Samoans, all of whom were in the habit of discussing and deciding their most important public questions in assemblies of the warriors or councils of the nobles; but of their orations, delivered before they had been long in contact with civilized men, no samples have been preserved.³

Proverbs containing wit and close observation of human life are found in many savage tribes. Among those of the Tahitians are the following:⁴—

Women and war are man's perils.
 At planting, friends are few; at harvest, many.
 The reward of bravery in battle is uncertain; that
 of toil in tillage is sure.
 The net conceals its spider and the heart its thought.
 The gift, with much love, is never small.

Notches in sticks and knots in strings are used to aid the savage memory. Knotted cords for such purposes are familiar among the Araucans, Ostyaks, Sumatrans, Javans, Polynesians and the aborigines of New Britain. The payment of taxes was recorded in Hawaii on strings,⁵ and in New Britain count was kept on them of days passed, of cocoa-nuts delivered and of other statistics. The Zuni Indians have a tradition that their ancestors had knotted-cord records. The wampum of the tribes east of the Mississippi, consisting of bead belts, was used to remind their possessors of treaties and traditions. Rude pictures are drawn by many tribes to convey information, and some of them can be easily understood.

SEC. 95. *Music*.—Every savage tribe has its music, but

none has many striking airs, nor one air that commands the admiration of enlightened nations. All their tunes are in the minor key, which does not give scope to varied and powerful effects. In many of their airs, the rhythm is a large part and though not strongly accentuated, it has a decided influence on the savage temperaments at times. The range of tones is small; in Samoa and Tahiti only three notes, from e to g.¹ Referring to the Polynesians, Foster says, "the whole music both vocal and instrumental, consists of three or four notes, which are between half and quarter notes, being neither whole nor semitones. The effect of these notes, without variety or order, is only a kind of drowsy hum."²

Writing of the music of the Bushmen, Dr. Lichtenstein says, "We were by degrees so accustomed to the monotonous sound that our sleep was never disturbed by it; nay, it rather lulled us to sleep. Heard at a distance, there was nothing unpleasant, but something plaintive and soothing. Although no more than six tones can be produced from it, which do not, besides, belong to our gamut, but form intervals quite foreign to it, yet the kind of vocal sound of these tones, the uncommon nature of the rhythm, and even the oddness, I may say wildness, of the harmony, give to this music a charm peculiar to itself."³

Harriet Martineau remarks that "the music of nature is all in the minor key—the melodies of the winds, the sea, the waterfall, the song of birds, and the echoes of the bleating flocks among the hills; and the human song [in low culture], seems to follow their lead."⁴ Dr. Crotch, speaking of the musical instruments of the aboriginal Javans, says they have the "same kind of scale as that produced by the black keys of the pianoforte, in

which scale so many of the Scotch and Irish, all the Chinese and some of the East Indian and North American airs of the greatest antiquity were produced.”⁵ He adds that the irregularity of the rhythm and the reiteration of the same note are characteristic of oriental music, and the same remark applies to savage music. Burton says that “the noisiness of the major cleff” confuses the barbarian; and it is a well known fact that Chinamen and savages after having been accustomed for generations to hear, at least occasionally, the music of the Euraryans, continue to prefer their own airs in the minor key. They often listen with indifference to our orchestras and sometimes with positive dislike, and even put their fingers in their ears to keep out the unpleasant sounds. On the other hand, we regard the Chinese orchestral and choral music as a most ludicrous and ear-offending combination of discordant squeak, rattle, squall and bang.

Falsetto is prominent in the singing of most savages, as it is in China, Japan, Russia, Arabia, and also among “uneducated singers in the rural districts of civilized countries.”⁶ It implies defective perception of harmony, the higher forms of which, in the combination of three tones to make a full chord, are unknown in the lower grades of culture. Most tribes perform but one part at a time, but some, including Hawaiians, Tahitians and Tongans,⁷ could sing two parts together.

The most widely known musical instrument is the drum. As a hollow cylinder of wood or bamboo, with or without a covering of rawhide, it is familiar to the Australians, Polynesians, Africans, Asiatics, Eskimos, and Americans of both continents. Its monotonous sound is a suitable accompaniment for the savage chant; and its loud notes serve in time of war to warn and to

excite warriors far and near. The Balondo drum has a hole in the side over which a piece of spiderweb is stretched as a resounder.⁸

Perhaps the name of gong would be more appropriate for a canoe-shaped hollow log made by the Maoris. When suspended and beaten hard, its noise can be heard in still weather at a distance of twenty miles. Rattles of bladder or gourd containing pebbles or nuts supply much of the racket which many tribes enjoy. The maramba, a collection of resonant sticks of various sizes, giving out different notes under the hammer, was used in many African tribes before it was copied, improved and made familiar in Europe as the xylophone.

The harp of the Kaffirs consists of a bow with a single string, passing through a ring, in which the performer inserts his forefinger of the hand used for holding the bow; and by the movement of this finger he can increase or relax the tension, and thus regulate the note to be produced by a blow on the chord from a stick in the other hand. The Bushman's harp has a single string stretched on a bow. To one end of the string is attached a flattened piece of the barrel of a large quill four inches long. He holds the bow in his left hand, puts his left forefinger in his left nostril, and his right forefinger in his right ear, and by sucking or blowing on the quill, he causes it to vibrate and make sounds musical to him.⁹

Various instruments resembling the guitar in principle are used in most of the countries producing the bamboo, the outer rind of which is cut into strips from one point to another, raised by wedges or bridges, and played with the fingers like a harp or rubbed with a cord stretched over a bow. The Gonds have a rude guitar made with a gourd in which is stuck a neck of bamboo.¹⁰

Of wind instruments, the most common is the trumpet made of conch shell, which is much used on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico and in Polynesia. The Tahitians increase the sound by boring a hole in the side and inserting a bamboo tube, three feet long, through which they blow. The nose flageolet is found in Polynesia as in ancient Greece, the left nostril being used for blowing while the right one is closed with the right thumb.¹¹ In Niue the player applies a flageolet to each nostril, blowing both at the same time.¹² The Pandean pipes are known to many Melanesian and other savage tribes.¹²

SEC. 96. *Medicine, etc.*—Besides sacerdotal hocus-pocus (based on the theory of demoniacal possession), which is general among savages, as a cure of disease, many tribes have therapeutical remedies.¹ In North America and Tahiti, the steam-bath is a general remedy, exit from the bath being followed immediately by a plunge into a stream or pond. This treatment gives relief in light rheumatisms and some other mild complaints, but in smallpox and measles it is almost invariably followed by a fatal result. Vegetable purges and emetics are frequently administered as remedies for disease, or as means of expelling demons that cause disease, by the Polynesians and Redmen; and in some American tribes, emetics are taken to prepare warriors for ecclesiastical festivals² or for exceptional exertion. The Lapwai tribe in Idaho has periodical treatments with emetics to overcome the spirit of fatigue. Wilkes tells us that a man who had just gone through such a treatment ran one hundred miles in sixteen hours.³

Smallpox was introduced into America and measles into Polynesia by Europeans. Various forms of catarrh were unknown or rare in many tropical islands of the

Pacific before the missionaries induced their converts to wear clothing. Ague made its appearance among the Chinooks after the white men began to settle in Oregon.⁴ Syphilis was known in New Zealand and Australia and smallpox in Australia before the time of Cook, but perhaps not before the visits of earlier European navigators.⁵ Hernia humoralis is common among the Makonde.⁶ The Javanese have a peculiar hysterical affection called lata.⁷ In consequence of the custom of eating raw meat, most of the Abyssinians, in portions of the population ninety-five out of a hundred, have taenia.⁸

Some savage tribes have considerable knowledge of surgery and others very little. The East Africans near the equator can neither reduce dislocations nor set broken bones ;⁹ the Mandingoes can do both.¹⁰ Among the North American Indians and some Polynesians, broken bones are set with splints, cuts are sewed together and the external healing of suppurating wounds is carefully prevented.¹¹ They also use bleeding, cupping, and cautery with heat. The Californians apply nettles, venomous ants, and burning heat to parts afflicted with rheumatism. The favorite remedies of the Damaras for that disease are cupping and tattooing. Their cup is a section of a cow's horn from which a man sucks out the air. The panacea of the Ashira negroes for leprosy, lumbago, and many other diseases, consists in scarifying the affected part, and rubbing the cuts with capsicum and lime juice.¹² The Andamanese use scarification for rheumatism. The Koosa negroes inoculate their children with smallpox, giving them the virus to eat in a grape,¹³ having presumably learned this remedy from the Arabs. The success of the Solomon Islanders in treating gunshot wounds with hot stones astonished Doctor

Guppy and led him to believe that the method should be tried in civilized hospitals.¹⁴

The Polynesians amputate limbs, and sear severed arteries with red-hot stone. They trepan skulls, and sometimes after taking out some of the man's brain, put some pig's brain in to fill up the hole. No case of success in this operation is on record.¹⁵ The prehistoric Europeans trepanned many infants, perhaps for convulsions,¹⁶ and the subsequent growth of the bone proves that the subject survived for many years. The trepan hole usually about an inch and a half square was made at some place convenient for cleaning the inside of the skull.¹⁷

The kneading of the muscles is practiced in Polynesia,¹⁸ the basin of the Niger and the southern part of the Nile basin.¹⁹ It is found in the most common use and in the highest development in the Hawaiian group, where it is called lomilomi. For bruises, sprains, sleeplessness, surfeits, and stiffness after severe exertion, it is the favorite remedy and is applied with much success. It is used for hygienic as well as for medical purposes. Its administration at frequent intervals to most of the high chiefs and their sons, is presumably the main cause of their large size and great strength. In Tonga, the person suffering with insomnia is beaten with mild strokes until he falls asleep, and if he awakes before he has obtained the needed rest the beating is resumed.²⁰

SEC. 97. *Vocabulary*.—Articulate speech, the necessary product of human reason, is one of the greatest achievements as well as one of the leading characteristics of mankind. Whether "language and thought are inseparable,"²¹ or whether "general ideas and words are inseparable,"²² as Max Muller says, or not, it is certain that, with-

out the aid of speech, man would ever have remained near the level of the brute. Soon after he appeared on the earth he found gratification in listening to the sound of his own voice, and in trying its tones. Before taming fire or making edge tools, we may presume that he imitated the cries of quadrupeds and birds, and uttered exclamations of pleasure, pain, surprise, alarm, warning, threat, defiance, friendship and affection. These ejaculatory, and imitative calls³ by adoption into common use, with understood meanings, became words. They were monosyllables without parts of speech and without inflection. The position in the sentence indicated whether the word was a subject, predicate or object; whether a noun, adjective or a verb.⁴ In many cases the meaning was not clear until the words had been supplemented by a gesture. There were no terms for general ideas or immaterial conceptions. The words were few. Some agricultural laborers of modern Europe do not use more than three hundred,⁵ and the Chinese have not more than five hundred original root words.⁶ The savage vocabularies though brief may be very full in some classes of terms. Thus Polynesians have many words to signify the cocoa-nut in different stages, as the Arabs have many for lion,⁷ and the Icelanders many for various kinds of island.

Many modern tribes have no general terms for the most common classes of objects. Thus the idea of plant, tree, animal and quadruped, cannot be expressed in the tongue of the Coroados of Brazil. They have names for various species of tree but none for tree in general. Neither can they convey the conception of distance, height, color, tone, sex, multitude, degree, space, time, feeling, consciousness, affection, gratitude or love by any

one word. Among the tribes, which have no abstract terms, are the Tahitians,⁹ Redmen,¹⁰ Australians¹¹ and Tasmanians.¹² The Hos have no words expressive of tenderness; the Tinnehs have no adjective meaning dear; some Polynesians and some Redmen have no verb signifying to thank; and the Algonkins have none meaning to love.¹³ Many tribes are without such simple adjectives as warm, long and hard, and they express the idea by saying not cold, not short, or not soft, or they compare the object of which they are speaking with something which is warm, long, or hard.¹⁴ In adjectives they lack comparatives, and they convey the idea that John is taller than James by saying "John is tall and James is not tall." In some tribes there are no special words for I and you. The ideas of I and you are conveyed among the Greenlanders by "here" and "there;" among the Malays by "servant" and "master;" and in some tribes, by loud and low tones, the loud meaning I, as nearest, and the low you, as farther away.¹⁵ The Mandingoes have no prepositions equivalent to our "on" and "in;" and they convey the idea that a thing is on the table, by saying the table is a neck to it; and that a thing is in the hut, by saying the hut is a belly to it.¹⁶ Similar rudimentary forms of speech are found in China, where the idea of distance is conveyed by "far-near;" of weight by "light-heavy;" of conversation by "I-asking-thou-answering;" and difference of opinion by "I-east-you-west;" and virtue, loyalty, justice, temperance and respect for parents by similar combinations.¹⁷

In the languages of savages the words for immaterial conceptions are comparatively few, but as among civilized people, all "are derived by metaphor from words expressive of sensible ideas,"¹⁸ or they are the words for sensi-

ble ideas used also with another meaning. Thus the word for soul in one tribe is shadow; in another, breath, and the same term may mean shadow, the soul of the living man, the dead spirit, and a god. The verb to sit, among the Kaffirs means also to dwell, to live and to continue; bush means also a refuge; to eat together means to be friends; and the idea, that he is proud, is conveyed by saying he eats himself. The phrase "eat a person," in the sense of confiscate his property, is a survival of cannibalism; and to smell a person, in the sense of accusing him of witchcraft, suggests the savage custom of discovering murderous sorcerers by the noses of priests.¹⁹

The Puris, Botocudos, Bushmen, Tasmanians and some Australians have no numerals above two; the Abipones and some Californians have none above three; the Guaranis none above four;²⁰ the Veddahs none above five; the Greenlanders and Kamilaroi none above six; and the latter tribe have no simple numeral above three. For four they said "two-two;" for five, "two-three;" for six "three-three."

This poverty in numerals does not necessarily imply the inability to conceive higher numbers distinctly; since by holding up both hands together five times in succession, any number under fifty can be indicated with sufficient clearness, to satisfy the savage sense. Thus, though the Bechuanas have numerals, they rarely speak them, and some indeed do not know them. It is sufficient for their purposes to hold up their fingers for small numbers, and to say many for larger ones. Those tribes which have only two numerals, give the name of multitude to any number above two.

The Coroados name their three numerals after the

joints of the fingers ; ²¹ in the tongue of one tribe, the word for one means the forefinger ; that for two the middle finger ; three the third finger ; four the little finger ; five the hand ; ten two hands ; fifteen two hands and a foot ; twenty a man. In the Persian, Malay and Polynesian languages, the same word means hand and five ; in the Muysca tongue five means a hand, ten, two hands ; eleven, foot one ; twelve, foot two, and twenty means man.²² There are many reasons for believing that men counted by scores or twenties before they learned to count by hundreds. The early English counted by scores as we find in the phrase threescore and ten ; and the French also, as evinced by their " quatre-vingts " or fourscore for eighty. The Arowaks count by scores ;²³ and the Hawaiians had presumably the same system of enumeration, if we may infer from the fact that they had special words for 400, 4,000, 40,000 and 400,000.²⁴

In the Malay and Aztec tongues, one means literally one stone ; two means two stones ; and three, three stones. The Niués for one, two and three say one fruit, two fruits and three fruits, the Javans say one grain, two grains, three grains.²⁵ The Latin word calculation seems to have been derived from calculus, a stone, and we may presume that the early Romans used stones in counting.

SEC. 98. *Sounds and Signs*.—In some languages, general terms are limited to special meanings by special or determinative sounds, such as the click, clack and cluck of the Hottentot. These sounds are made by drawing the tongue from the upper part of the mouth ; the click from the upper front teeth, the clack from the front of the palate, and the cluck from the middle or back of the palate. From a preceding click the word "Aap" receives the meaning of horse ; from a clack, river, and

from a cluck, arrow. In some South African tribes, the clucks are attached to a large proportion of the words, and conversation sounds like the drawing of corks or the gobbling of turkeys. The Wasakima of East Africa begin every word with a t'hu or t'ha, as if spitting sharply at some offensive object. The speech of the Fuegians is a coarse guttural clucking.¹ Some of the Indians of the northwestern coast of North America have numerous guttural sounds very difficult for the civilized tongue to master.

Another indication of the several separate meanings of the same word is the intonation used by the Chinese, Siamese, Yorubans,² Dahomans and Ashantees.³ The use of varying places in the gamut in the enunciation of words as qualifications of signification is especially adapted to monosyllabic tongues like those of the Chinese and Siamese.⁴

In the Annamitic tongue, "ba" pronounced with a grave accent means a lady; with a sharp accent, the favorite of a prince; with a semi-grave accent, something thrown away; with a grave circumflex, a fruit after the juice has been squeezed out; with no accent, three; and with an ascending accent, a box on the ear. Thus the sentence "Ba ba ba ba" each word pronounced with a different accent may mean, "Three ladies gave a box on the ear to the favorite of a prince." A singing tone is common in the speech of Tonga, Huahine and several other Polynesian Islands,⁵ but is not used there to distinguish the meaning of words.

A notable feature of many savage tongues is the large proportion of words containing duplicated syllables, as in the English words papa, Tartar and Berber. Of such words there are three in a thousand in English; seventy-

two on an average in four aboriginal American tongues ; seventy-three in each of six African ; ninety-six in five Melanesian ; and one hundred and sixty-nine in two Polynesian languages.⁶

Though savage tongues in some cases are remarkably guttural, as a general rule, they have brief alphabets. The Samoans have only fourteen letters ; the only consonants on the Tupuai group south of Tahiti, are those of m, n, ng, p, r, t, v and one guttural.⁷ No Polynesian tongue has more than ten consonants ; many have fewer. There are twenty in English. The Australian tongues have eight. The Maoris have no b, d, f, g, j, l, q, s, v, x, y, or z.⁸ S, sh, and z are lacking in the Polynesian tongues generally, and in pronouncing European words, they substituted k for s and sh. Missionary in their mouths became mikonary. The Hawaiians, like many other savages, and like some civilized children, cannot distinguish between k and t ; or between l and r. Kalo and taro are for them equivalents. The Iroquois had none of the labials—b, p, m, f, v, w,—and could speak distinctly with very little movement of the lips.⁹ Some of the tribes on the western coast of North America could pronounce p but not f, nor r ; and piway was their nearest approach to fire. The Fijians could not use b, d, or g, without putting m or n before it, as in Ngata, and Nduandua,¹⁰ and a similar use of m and n before k, t, d, p, b, g, and ch and some other consonants is found in portions of Africa. In Polynesia every syllable must end in a vowel, and two consonants must never come together, and the same rules apply with few exceptions in some portions of Africa.¹¹ To the New Zealander, Bill becomes Biro ; William, Wiremu ; and Tom, Tommo ; and in Tahiti, Governor is Tavana.

Many tribes have vocabularies so scanty that they cannot converse without the help of gesticulations, and therefore cannot understand one another in the dark. Such are the Bushmen,¹² Tasmanians,¹³ Veddahs,¹⁴ Puris, Southern Brazilians,¹⁵ Coroados, Arrapahoes, Comanches,¹⁶ Cape Palma negroes,¹⁷ Marawas,¹⁸ Kroomen,¹⁹ Adayahs,²⁰ Marquesans, and Chinooks. The obscurity of unaided speech arises mainly from the fact that one word has a multitude of analogous meanings, and in conversation the speaker must specialize his signification by some visible sign. Thus in Typee "one word expresses the ideas of sleep, rest, reclining, sitting, leaning, and all other things anyways analogous thereto, the particular meaning being shown chiefly by a variety of gestures and the eloquent expression of the countenance."²¹ The face is much used in the sign language of many tribes. Grimaces are prominent in the conversation of the Veddahs;²² and the Tasmanians "help out their words with winks, nods, twists, and eyebrow liftings, as well as with rapid arm and finger movements."²³ The people, accustomed to such pantomime, use it often in preference, even when their words would suffice to convey their ideas distinctly.

They spare effort with speech more than with gestures. The savage of Southern Brazil, intending to convey the idea that he is about to go into the forest, speaks the words "wood go," and sticks out his lips in the direction which he intends to take.²⁴ The West African chief says "do it," and by gestures indicates the act to be done and the person to do it.²⁵ In some tribes the speaker, who conveys the idea of number, does so by gesticulation, and the hearers speak the numerals so as to show that they have the correct figure.²⁶ The actions of a party of South Africans listening to a hunter telling

about a trip on which he saw many different kinds of large game, suggest a play to the European observer.

The extensive use of gesticulation through many generations has led to the adoption of a sign language, the main features of which are the same among the savages of America, Africa, and Malaysia, and the deaf mutes of civilized countries. This mode of communicating ideas, based on imitations, analogies, associations, and resemblances, when once learned, is quickly understood and easily remembered. Its daily use checks the improvement of speech among the low savages, while the habits of reading and writing, and the consequent familiarity with ideas and delicate shades of meaning not susceptible of communication by signs, have contributed to the neglect of gesticulation in enlightened nations. The higher the education, the fewer the signs and the more explicit the words.²⁷

SEC. 99. *Grammar*.—Of all tongues known to philologists, the most rudimentary, in the form of its words and the construction of its sentences, is the Chinese. It has neither inflexion, parts of speech, nor syntax. The same word is noun, adjective, and verb, according to the place in which it is used. The ideas live, alive, and to live are expressed by the same term. “Jin” means man, and “ngo” bad; “jin ngo” means the man is bad; “ngo jin” means bad man.¹ The languages of the aboriginal Americans, Africans, and Pacific Islanders, have been carefully studied in typical cases, and neither among them, nor among other peoples has any tongue so primitive in its features been found. In speech the Chinese are nearer than any other nation or tribe to the childhood of humanity.

Many low tribes have complex systems of inflexion.

Some have as many tenses as had the Latins. Ridley, who had been a missionary among the Australians, wrote thus of their tongue: "The inflexion of verbs and nouns, the arrangement of sentences, and the methods of imparting emphasis, indicate an accuracy of thought and a force of expression surpassing all that is commonly supposed to be obtainable by a savage race."² The Fijians, according to Miss Constance Gordon Cumming, have "more words to express shades of meaning than any European language." No distinguished philologist has given such praise to any savage tongue and it certainly could not be given truthfully to savage tongues generally.

SEC. 100. *Rapid Change*.—Among non-tilling savages living in small and isolated groups, every group or village or valley has a distinct dialect. In portions of New Guinea, Western Africa,¹ California, and Canada,² the traveler comes on a new tongue about once in ten miles. Not only are the languages very numerous, but they change much within a single generation. Missionaries in Central America found that after a lapse of ten years, a vocabulary had to be rewritten.³ In the period of less than twenty years between the visits of Cook and Vancouver to Tahiti, the names of the numerals, two, four, five, six, and eight, had changed there,⁴ and new words had been adopted for about fifty of the most common ideas.⁵

The savage fears to speak the name of his dead friend or of his chief, and since men are named after familiar natural objects, a tongue may be much modified by such influences in one generation. If a man called Owl dies, the word owl is dropped and mouse-catcher or some equivalent is adopted in its place. This custom is found

in Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and Polynesia.⁶ The Tahitians and Zulus not only abandon a word used as a sacred name, but a syllable in such a name.⁷ "Po," meaning night, dropped out of the Tahitian language when Pomare became chief, and on the accession of Taimalelangi, whose name meant "sea-and-sky," two of the most familiar nouns were abandoned.

The suggestions of accident are potent causes of change. An act notable for wisdom or folly, bravery or cowardice, skill or awkwardness, is named after the person who did it. New words, introduced by children while playing, may prevail over small districts and for brief periods in advanced culture, but soon die out; in savagism, they hold their ground. Extensive political organization, popular assemblies, a sacred literature and, above all, a system of recording sounds, in extensive use, are great aids to permanence of language.

SEC. IOI. *Intellectual Development*.—Morality begins in the affection of the mother for her child; and the first known manifestation of its influence on the political organization is the fidelity of the members of a little group to one another. It must be very low among the non-tilling tribes which are divided into small independent clusters, which pay high honor to the successful assassin and which have religions without the least ethical teaching. Among the tribes in the early stages of tillage, we find that the man cannot take his place among the warriors until he has killed somebody; that scalps and skulls are fashionable trophies; that gourmand cannibalism is widely prevalent; that the gods are liars, murderers, and cannibals; and that the rewards of the future life are not for virtue but for military prowess. In the tribes with slaves, nobles, hereditary priests, and despotic

chiefs, the moral ideas have advanced, not by their own strength, but they have been dragged along by the growth of other branches of culture. The enlargement of the political organization, the higher sense of allegiance, the improvement in military discipline, the accumulation of property, the change in the relations of women to men, and the demand for chaste conduct in wives and young women,—all these stimulated, broadened, and strengthened the popular morality.

In language we find many traces of evolution. One tongue consists of monosyllables which have no inflexion and may be noun, verb or adjective as occasion may require. The list of syllables is limited to several hundred, but different intonations are used to give different significations. In some languages, one word has many meanings, and gestures are added to distinguish which is intended in any special case. Certain tribes are so poor in their vocabulary and their ideas that they have no word for any numeral above three. In the tongues of all peoples, civilized and barbarous as well as savage, the terms for abstract and general ideas are derived directly or indirectly from the names of things perceptible to sense.

CHAPTER VI.

POLITY.

SECTION 102. *Headless Groups.*—The lowest form of government, known to civilized observation, is the headless group,—that is a small community, politically independent, without a chief entitled to office by inheritance or formal election.¹ The person who leads merely because of his superior energy, courage, or tact, does not deserve to be called a chief. Such headless groups are most abundant in tribes organized on the basis of the feminine clan in non-tilling culture; and they occupy a large part of Australia. They have no orderly councils; and no punishment of crime save by retaliation.

Migratory habits are unfavorable to government and chieftainship. The Abos of Hindostan say they are “like tigers; two cannot dwell in the same den.” Usually not more than two or three of their huts are found in a group.² The Mintras of Sumatra have a similar lack of political organization. The Fuegians, the Jungle Veddahs, the Cayaguas of South America,³ some Bushmen and some Nepaulese who are nomadic in their mode of life, some semi-settled Eskimos, and the settled Arafuras and land Dyaks of upper Sarawak, live in similar headless groups.

SEC. 103. *Freedom.*—The supposition that savages live in freedom is based on incorrect definition. It has been

asserted that freedom, that is political freedom, is "the power to act in obedience to desire;" that "government in its fundamental notion is the necessary foe of liberty;" that "man never can be free until he can abolish the restrictive and protective attributes of government," and that "the liberty to do wrong is as sacred as the liberty to do right."¹

But writers, who use such language and accept such ideas, do not understand the conception of liberty accepted by the leading political philosophers of our time. The true freedom, the freedom which the world admires, towards which it is marching, which inspires the devotion of enlightened statesmen, is not anarchical; it is not the privilege of doing wrong; it is not the privilege of violating the rights of others; it is not the legalization of murder, torture, slavery, robbery and all other forms of injustice which selfish greed or passion may suggest. It is the very contrary of all these. It is a condition in which the law promises political equality to all citizens, and secures it to them by an upright and efficient administration of the executive and judicial departments of the government against all encroachment. It is a condition in which every citizen is permitted to do all things that do not conflict with the equal privilege and enjoyment of others, and in which every interference with these equal privileges and enjoyments is prevented. Like all other human institutions, political freedom exists only in a defective form. Though it will never become perfect, it will never cease to improve. Its higher developments are possible only under complex written law, and therefore are never found among savages. Political progress begins with the anarchy of the non-tilling savage and advances steadily towards ideal and perfect liberty.

The superficial observer, passing hastily through a community of the lowest savages, such as Bushmen, Tasmanians, Australians or Lower Californians, and seeing that they have no clothing, no horses, no tilled fields, no domestic animal save perhaps the dog, no stock of food sufficient to last a month or even a week in advance, no chiefs empowered to issue commands or to collect tribute, might imagine that such people if not free were at least equal. But a careful examination will show that except in their poverty, great inequality prevails among them. As between the two sexes, the men have all the power. The women are slaves rather than wives, and are treated with general and severe cruelty. They are not permitted to eat the best food, nor to associate with their masters on terms of social equality ; and may be beaten or slain without giving any person the right to interfere or complain. As between the men, the relation is not much better. The stronger and more warlike clans are continually encroaching upon the weaker, and massacre is their delight. Within the clans, the women—the chief kind of property—are divided very unequally. Lang, after a long acquaintance with the aboriginal Australians, wrote that “instead of enjoying perfect personal freedom, as it would at first appear, they are governed by a code of rules and a set of customs which form one of the most cruel tyrannies that has ever perhaps existed on the face of the earth, subjecting not only the will, but the life and property, of the weak to the dominion of the strong. The whole tendency of the system is to give everything to the strong and old, to the prejudice of the weak and young, and more particularly to the detriment of the women. They have rules by which the best food, the best pieces, the best animals, etc., are prohibited to

the women and young men, and reserved for the old men. The women are generally appropriated to the old and powerful, some of whom possess from four to seven; while wives are altogether denied to young men, unless they have sisters to give in exchange and are strong and courageous enough to prevent their sisters from being taken without exchange.”²

SEC. 104. *Unstable Headship*.—The headless stage of polity is succeeded by that of unstable headship in which there are chiefs with insecure titles or powers so scanty that they cannot issue orders, and can at most offer suggestions or make requests. Many tribes have no chief save in time of war, and then his authority is to lead, not to command, and is limited exclusively to military affairs. He is expected to invite warriors to follow him in his military expeditions, but he has no right to complain if they stay at home or follow some other person. The unstable chieftianship has no revenue.

The tribes with unstable headship include the Andamanese, Abipones, Snakes and some Bedouins, who are nomadic in their mode of life; also the village Veddahs, the Bodos, the Dhimals, the Chinooks, some Eskimos, some Kamtschatkans and some Caribs, who are semi-settled; and the Todas, Nagas, Karens, Santals, Vatéans, Fannese, Coroados, some Dyaks, and some New Guinea tribes, who dwell in permanent settlements. Most of these tribes recognize no chiefs except in time of war, and then confer little authority on them.

A common feature of weak political organization is that every village is independent, and among its residents there is no sense of loyalty or duty of peace towards the inhabitants of adjacent villages of the same blood, language and customs. This is the general condition of

tribes without chiefs, and is common among those in which the power of the chief is weak or unstable. With village independence, goes the man's privilege to move from one village to another. In this way an unpopular chief may find himself left without supporters. Such village independence prevails among many Bedouins, whose migratory life, the necessary result of their pastoral condition in a desert country, is not favorable to the establishment of permanent authority.

Some few tribes elect their chiefs for terms less than life. In Rotuma the term is six months; in Ambriz, five years. The Bedouins have a hereditary military leader, and an elective political chief; and some tribes have a hereditary political and elective military chief. In unstable headship, and weak stable headship, the chiefs are required, by many tribes, to give periodical feasts to their subjects and on such occasions to distribute presents.¹

SEC. 105. *Stable Headship*.—Stable chieftainship made its first appearance among tribes organized on the basis of the feminine clan in tilling culture. Each clan elected a political chief and a military chief, who held office until he was deposed by the clan assembly, and as this power of deposition was very rarely exercised, the tenure was practically for life. The power attached to the office was not great. The political chief could not administer justice; the military chief could not enforce his commands. The office had more dignity than authority.

The frequency of warfare, the importance of having brave chiefs experienced in arms, the timidity of women generally and their abstinence from the use of weapons, have excluded them from chieftainship in most savage tribes, even in those which traced their blood exclusively

in the female line. Exceptions to this rule are the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, the Guaranis of South America and some African tribes, which permit women to exercise the office of chief.

SEC. 106. *Industrial Chiefs*.—There are industrial chiefs, with authority over matters of trade and labor, in Fiji, Dahomey, and some Dyak countries. In Celebes and Eastern Africa, the days for commencing to sow and to harvest are fixed by chiefs; among the Kadogans and Hawaiians, the prices of food are regulated by them; among the Tongans, traffic at fairs is under their supervision; among the Khonds, Mundrucus and many Polynesians, the chief is the broker of the community; and among many tribes of Hindostan, the chief apportions the land of the village among the heads of families and superintends removals from one site to another.

SEC. 107. *Assemblies, etc.*—Assemblies to deliberate about public affairs had their origin in non-tilling culture, beginning with military and afterwards extending to political affairs. Their highest development in savagism was among the Redmen east of the Mississippi, where every village had its public square, in which the warriors gathered every morning and, if public business demanded their consideration, held a formal assembly. In many of the villages there is a large hut suitable for assemblies to be held in wet or cold weather. On such occasions, the right of speech belongs exclusively to the chiefs, distinguished warriors, and such other persons as might be called upon by a chief. There is no precise rule of order as in a civilized legislative body; no secretary; no counting of votes. The decisions are rendered by acclamation.¹ In many tribes the boys and women may sit outside of the circle of warriors and join in the

acclamations. These assemblies of the warriors elect the chiefs and have general jurisdiction of all the more important political affairs, especially of peace and war, among the North American Indians, and are frequent and influential in many African tribes. Those tribes which have strong hereditary nobilities, usually do not permit the common freemen to hold assemblies, but restrict the public discussions of political affairs to councils of nobles.

SEC. 108. *Confederacies*.—Representative governments were not unknown to savagism. They existed among the North American Indians and also among the Batta Malays and the Berbers. The Iroquois confederation comprised five tribes, each tribe divided into several clans, each clan with its popular assembly and its elective chiefs who formed a tribal council. Each tribe had its federal representatives. The confederate council, consisting of fifty members, had general charge of peace and war; it elected two federal military chiefs who led the troops in war; it installed the clan chiefs elected by the clan assemblies; it presumably had power to annul elections of unsuitable persons, and had certain ceremonial or religious functions, as at funerals of distinguished warriors. In the meetings each tribe had only one speaker and one vote, and there was no decision without unanimity. The proceedings were secret until communicated by order to the tribal councils, which could then transmit them to the clan assemblies.

The Wolf clan of the Onandaga tribe was entitled to a federal councillor who was keeper of the wampum, with functions suggestive of those of a modern secretary. Whenever a clan chief was installed, the keeper of the wampum was one of the chief speakers. He produced

his belt of beads, and made it the text of an address explaining the meaning of the different strands, indicative of the manner in which the confederacy was organized, the powers conferred on the federal council, and the duties of the clans and tribes to one another.¹

There were, every year, about half a dozen federal religious festivals, and at each of these the federal council held a meeting, and took charge of the ceremonies. Whenever a new clan chief was to be installed, it held a session of seven days. The first day was devoted to mourning for the dead chief: the second to the installation of his successor; and the others to brief meetings in which there were formal addresses. Every day during these councils, the councillors dined together at twilight.

This Iroquois confederation was maintained for three centuries in harmonious and effective action.²

We have no clear account of any other federal government among the aboriginal Americans, but there are traces of it among the Muscogulgees (including the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees and Seminoles), the Upper Missouri tribes (including the Mandans, Minitares and Crows), the Lower Missouri tribes (including the Omahas, Iowas, Punkas, Otoes, Kaws and Winnebagoes), the Dakotas, the Munsees, and the Mohegans. In all these cases, the warrior considered his allegiance to his clan as the strongest, to the tribe weaker, and to the confederacy weakest.

Every Friday, the Berbers of Morocco meet in the market places of their villages to consider public affairs, if any should demand their attention. Twice a year this popular assembly elects a mayor, councilmen and several other officials; and the mayors, as representatives

of the villages, form a tribal council.³ The Batta Malays also have tribal councils, consisting of representatives each of whom is chosen by his commune, which last may include as many as ten villages.⁴

When the student considers that representation is one of the main features in which the governments of the modern Europeans surpass those of ancient Greece and Rome, to whose greatest statesmen and political philosophers its principles were unknown; and when with our representative governments he compares the greatly inferior contemporaneous despotisms; when he keeps these ideas before his mind, it seems strange to him to be told that the Iroquois confederation with its systematic representation, its orderly councils, and its prosperity dating from a time before Columbus, belongs to a lower step of political development than the brutal and violent despotism of Dahomey. But it is nevertheless true. The Iroquois were the best representatives of tribes with weak chiefs; the Dahomans are among the worst of those with strong, stable chiefs.

SEC. 109. *Retaliation*.—Having no sense of moral obligation to anyone beyond the limits of their own small domestic group, and no idea that violence to an outsider is wrong, non-tilling savages do not feel the need of a governmental administration. They find it necessary however that group should defend itself against group, and for this purpose they adopted retaliation, which prevailed everywhere in the low tribes, and extensively in higher conditions, even far into barbarism.

This system requires that any damage to person or property, even if done unintentionally or in self-defense, must be avenged by inflicting a similar injury. No distinction is made as to the obligation of retaliation,

between treacherous assassination and justifiable homicide. Such a confusion, in regard to the moral character of actions, is the natural result of the lack of judicial investigation. Without evidence of the motives, and with the knowledge of a general hostility towards everybody outside of the group, custom established the principle that every injury was to be regarded as malicious and without excuse. The thirst of the relatives for vengeance however would not be so fierce, if they knew that the man to be avenged had provoked his fate by malignant violence or gross folly.

If the victim of the wrong survived and was able to punish the offender, the chief duty of retaliation rested on him; and he was required to get as near an equivalent as possible; an eye for an eye; a finger for a finger; an ear for an ear. If his horse had been stolen he must recover the animal or steal another of equal value. In case of homicide, the obligation rested on certain relatives, and if there were none, then on the group, clan or tribe. The duty is not limited to persons of adult age at the time the offense was committed, nor even to persons then living, but descends to those of subsequent birth, to posthumous son and grandson, nephew and grandnephew. In many Arab tribes it rests with special force on all the male descendants of the same great-great-grandfather; and under some circumstances may remain in force for more than a century. The son whose father's death is unavenged, must wear his father's slippers once a year.

The universal authority of the retaliatory system among non-tilling savages, its general prevalence in the higher tribes, and its acceptance by many barbarous nations, are significant illustrations of the rudeness and

violence of human nature in the earlier stages of culture, and strong evidences of the fact that those who do not combine their forces for energetic defense, would soon be plundered and destroyed without pity. Because of the general consciousness that it was indispensable as a method of defense, its enforcement was the most sacred of all obligations and neglect to enforce it was the most disgraceful of all offenses.

Writing of the Australian aborigines, Sir George Grey said, "The holiest duty a native is called on to perform is that of avenging the death of his nearest relation, for it is his peculiar duty to do so; until he has fulfilled this task, he is constantly taunted by the old women; his wives, if he is married, would soon quit him; if he is unmarried, not a single young woman would speak to him; his mother would constantly cry and lament that she should ever have given birth to so degenerate a son; his father would treat him with contempt, and reproaches would constantly be sounded in his ear."¹

As part of the duty of retaliation rests on the members of the family, village or clan, according to the system on which the tribe is organized, so satisfaction may be attained by punishing any of the family, village, or clan of the offender. The man who provokes retaliation thus exposes his friends to danger, and in communities which are beginning to accumulate property, and to prefer peaceful industry, he becomes unpopular, and subjects himself to the danger of expulsion. Arab robbers usually avoid homicide for fear that it will induce their friends to turn against them.

In the blood feuds between families or clans, one of the main ideas of savage justice is that as many should be slain on one side as on the other, and in some cases

it is only on the basis of such a calculation, that peace can be made. The party, which has lost the greatest number, demands that the other shall surrender enough victims to equalize the account or shall pay the customary equivalent in money or other property.²

SEC. 110. *Retaliation Restricted*.—The law of retaliation decreased in importance with every political change, after the establishment of the small headless group. It diminished when the feminine clan arose, and when the masculine clan appeared, and when the clan grew to include many people; and when clans disappeared in consolidated tribes; and when tribal governments became stable and strong. The independence of the group, clan, or family, on which the idea of retaliation is based, is inconsistent with the peace of the tribe and with the dignity and power of the hereditary chief. Although it could not be suddenly overthrown, it was subjected to a succession of limitations by substituting fines for personal violence, by restrictions of time within which the punishment must be inflicted, by instituting asylums where offenders should be secure, and by requiring that vengeance should not be taken without the previous consent of the chief or priest.

Many tribes have schedules of penalties accepted by custom, with allowances for differences in rank. The fine for killing a freeman is more than for a slave; more for a noble than for a freeman; more for a man than for a woman. Among the Gallas, a thousand oxen will pacify the relatives of a murdered man; fifty are enough for those of a woman. Peaceable settlements are most frequent when the offended clan is the weaker of the two, when there was great provocation for the offense, when the two clans are exposed to a great danger from the

same enemy, or when both are intimately related to some third organization which uses its influence to restore friendly feeling. Among the Malays, money compensation must always be accepted when a superior has slain an inferior, but never when the victim was the superior in political rank. They have asylums, and he who reaches one, is exempt from the blood penalty but must pay the established indemnity. There is also a limitation of time, after the lapse of which the offender may present himself with the pecuniary fine and be released from further responsibility. The avengers among the Batta Malays eat the murderer, subject to retaliation. The Mosaic law forbids the acceptance of money satisfaction ;¹ the Koran permits it.²

Asylums for refugees from retaliation were favored by despotic chiefs, whose interests were adverse to the system, and who yet had no better way of administering justice. In Kaffirland the grave of the chief becomes a sacred place, where the murderer is safe from punishment ;³ in Hawaii, Tonga, and Samoa, enclosures are consecrated for the purpose.⁴ The Arabs have no asylum, but they have rules under which the thief or murderer may secure the protection of a member of the group which has captured him, and thus prevent punishment. The tribes with weak chieftainship have generally no asylum, but to this rule, the Creeks are an exception.⁵

No savage tribe has had officials who devoted themselves exclusively to the administration of justice ; and very few have had chiefs who absolutely forbade retaliation in all cases. Perhaps the Iroquois Confederation made as much progress in that direction as any other savage community,⁶ but whether they did this be-

fore they had been much influenced by the instruction and example of the white men is doubtful. Some Kaffir chiefs levy fines for their own profit on murderers, who, after payment, are secure against further punishment,⁷ and among the Hottentots, crime is sometimes punished under resolutions adopted by the popular assembly.⁸

SEC. III. *Despotic Chiefs*.—Though stable in the higher forms of the feminine clan, chieftainship did not become strong until the rule of the masculine descent had been established. Then the chief could transmit, by inheritance, his office, his wealth, and his worship to his son. Then he could train the young men of his clan with the certainty that they would not abandon him soon after becoming adults. Then he was supported by a body of warriors, who had uniformity of military discipline, community of tradition, interest, and faith. The superior military strength of the masculine clan contributed much to the power of the chief.

The highest form of savage government is despotic chieftainship, resting on the combination of tillage, slavery and nobility, as observed in Tahiti, Hawaii, and several other Polynesian tribes. Similar conditions are observed in portions of Africa. Wherever the chief has attained much power, there the clan has become weak or has entirely disappeared. The strong chief and strong state are hostile to the clan. The despotic chief exercises supreme political and military power, and if not, himself, the high priest of the tribal religion, he has the support of the sacerdotal profession. In many tribes he has the title and attributes of the divinity, and after his death he is worshiped as one of the gods. Among the Micronesians, Fijians, Dahomans, Ashantees, Congoese and some Polynesians, he has ministers to execute his decrees.

SEC. 112. *Succession*.—The early rule that rank and office, as well as property, should descend in the female line exclusively, gave way with advancing culture to male inheritance. To the chief exercising little authority, gaining little honor and wealth from his office and sharing his wives with others of his village, it seemed quite reasonable and satisfactory that the eldest son of his eldest sister should be his heir; but a different feeling prevailed in the mind of the despotic chief, with a devoted army, a considerable revenue, a subservient priesthood, and wives who could not be untrue to him without great peril. He would demand that the succession should go to his son, who often inherited his features and form, and sometimes his character and capacity; who had been trained in his tactics and his policy; and who, by association in the administration, was prepared to fill the place of ruler when left vacant by the death of his father.

The weaker and less stable the power of the chief, the less the rivalry for the succession. In tribes that elect, the change occurs more quietly than under the hereditary system, mainly because the power is usually less, and the unsuccessful have little to fear from the successful competitor. Despotism among savages is cruel, and a change of rulers is often accompanied by liberal bloodshed. Polygyny provides a number of sons, of whom the eldest may have the most experience in political and military affairs, and the most favor with the warriors generally, while the son of a younger and favorite wife, may have the aid of the father and his ministers. In such case, everyone foresees that the death of the chief will be the signal for a relentless struggle which will end with the death of the unsuccessful aspirants, and their most active supporters,

unless they can succeed in escaping to some foreign territory. The victor not only destroys his rivals, but also orders the execution of younger brothers, even infants, who might in time become formidable. Such a method of procedure has not been restricted to savage life, but has been practiced extensively in such barbarous communities as Turkey, Persia, Morocco, and other Mohammedan states.

The danger of the assassination of the chief, by his eldest son, led some Kaffir tribes to adopt the rule that the succession must belong to a son born to the chief by a wife whom he had taken after he had passed middle life. In Uganda, the high chief is selected by a council of three officials, and if they select a minor who has brothers, these are imprisoned till the end of the regency, and then the ruler orders the execution of those of his brothers whom he suspects of possessing the desire and influence to become dangerous rivals.²

In Tahiti, where the king or head chief had a semi-divine character, which increased in sacredness with the number of his royal ancestors, so soon as a son was born to a ruler, the legal title passed to the son, and from that time forward the father exercised power only as regent.³ The custom had its origin presumably in the anxiety to secure succession in the male line, at a time when, on account of ancient custom, many persons were ready to support the inheritance in the female line. An analogous custom is found in Ashantee, where the king does homage to his newly-born heir, who there is the eldest son of his sister.⁴

SEC. 113. *Ordeals*.—Among many of the higher tribes, ordeals managed by priests are used for the discovery or trial of crime. The Malagasy litigants produce each a

chicken to which the priest gives portions of a poisoned cake, and the one which lives the longest secures success to its owner.¹ In Angola, Wanika, the Shir valley and the Niger valley, the man accused of crime must take a poison prepared by the priest and if it proves fatal he is guilty. In Angola, innocence is proved by immediately vomiting; any other result means death, but in Wanika if he vomit up the poisoned dose, with much loss of blood, he is guilty.² The Wanika have various other ordeals. The innocent man is expected to pass his hand slowly four times over red-hot iron, or to lift up a red-hot stone, without being burned; or to allow a red-hot needle to be drawn through his lips without loss of blood.³ The Hawaiians have an ordeal in which a person, accused of theft, holds his hands over a dish of water before a priest, and the ruffling of the surface of the fluid is proof of guilt.⁴

In some parts of Africa, when a theft has been committed and the offender is unknown, the people of the village assemble under order of the chief, and a priest going about among the multitude, points out the criminal, who is slain on the spot or is required to submit to an ordeal and, if the result be unfavorable, he is slain immediately.

Among the Sea Dyaks, the litigant, who can hold his head longest under water, wins his case.⁵ The Singe Dyaks decide their civil suits by a head-hunting competition. The man who slays some person not belonging to his native village, and brings the fresh head to the chief first, has judgment rendered in his favor.⁶ An augury used by other Dyak tribes, prescribes that the litigants shall each produce a lump of salt. The pieces are reduced to equal weight, and then thrown into a pot

of water. He whose lump dissolves first loses his case. Another method requires each litigant to produce a snail. The two snails placed side by side on a plate are touched with lime juice, and the snail that moves first brings loss to its owner.¹ In all these cases of ordeal or augury as means of the administration of justice, it is presumable that the priest manages the result in a manner conducive to his personal interest. The ordeals are most common in those tribes which have despotic chiefs ready to confiscate the property or enslave the family of the guilty.

SEC. 114. *Property*.—One of the chief characteristics of savagism is that it has no noteworthy increase of wealth. In many tribes the only kinds of property preserved from year to year are huts, arms, tools, furniture, clothes, and ornaments, and these are destroyed with their owner, or are merely replaced when broken or worn out. Their stock is not greater in one generation than in another. There is no tilled land, no herd, no accumulated supply of food. Thus it is that, after the lapse of centuries, neither the tribe nor any family in it has made any considerable addition to its possessions.

Among the non-tilling tribes, any supply of food, even if insufficient for the next meal of the family, is insecure if visible to friends or strangers. Custom authorizes everybody to go to the cooking pot and help himself without asking permission. Not only must the savage share the scanty meal with every other person present, but when he finds a large stock of food or kills a large animal, whether wild or tame, he must announce the fact to his fellow villagers, so that they may have their portion. In time of scarcity he must not eat a hare or grouse without taking it to his hut.

Such common property in food is a necessary consequence of the lawlessness and violence of low savagism. The known possession of a large stock of provisions and the refusal to distribute it in time of general scarcity, would have invited attack and destruction. Unlimited hospitality, adopted under the influence of fear and caution, not of affection and generosity, enables the idle and thriftless, the unskillful and the weak, to live at the expense of the toilsome, provident, strong and skilful hunter. It thus discourages extensive cultivation and probably had much influence in delaying the collection of large herds of ruminants, long after single animals had been kept as pets.

As savage culture advanced, the idea of individual property gained strength, and its amount increased. The common stock of acorns, seeds, dried fish, or scorched grasshoppers, belonging to the village was superseded by a stock for each household; and this supply, until it was put into the cooking pot or brought out for a meal, could not be touched by any person save a member of the family.

The introduction of tillage gave a basis for individual title in land, and for the accumulation of tools, food, and weapons, and made a demand for law to protect property. This ownership and law contributed much and were indispensable to the advance of culture. Without their help, our race would have remained savage forever.

Generally the non-tilling savages have no conception of an individual right in land, but in portions of Australia, special families have the exclusive privilege of taking game in certain districts; and similar claims to the exclusive right of hunting are recognized in Unyoro, where tillage is the main dependence of the people. In

some of the tilling tribes, there is an individual or family title to the tract under cultivation. Among the Redmen, the Todas,¹ the Batta Malays,² and some Polyne-sians, the village has a common field, on which every family has its patch which is inalienable and descends from generation to generation, becoming the property of the community when the family dies out, or emigrates. In some tribes of Africa and Hindostan, the family or individual has nothing but a tenancy for a year; and at the end of the crop season, the chief or the village assembly may make a new distribution of the land.

The tilling tribes, organized in feminine clans, give to the wife the ownership of the dwelling and the cultivated land; and among the Moquis, the house, the fields, the trees, the crops, and the sheep belong to her, while her husband claims the horses and mules.³

In New Zealand, property stolen and concealed or withheld from the owner for three days belongs to the thief; and in that group, as well as in the Marquesas Islands,⁴ public opinion justifies neighbors in taking everything portable from a person to whom some great disaster has happened. He is considered hateful to the gods, who delight in seeing men complete the work commenced by the supernatural powers. Among the Samoans and Tongans, the unlucky man may be murdered, after he has been plundered, without offense to public opinion.⁵

SEC. 115. *Slavery*.—Before the introduction of tillage there was no profitable occupation for slaves and therefore little slavery. Agriculture is the foundation of human bondage. All the tribes which have much tilled ground have many slaves, and conversely those which have many slaves have much cultivation. The posses-

sion of numerous bondmen supplied a large stock of food, gave the freemen leisure to devote themselves to military discipline, compelled them to keep in readiness to defend their possessions and led them to increase the strength of their political organization.

Although many of the women are held by the men in a condition of humiliating subjection, there is no proper slavery among the Australians, Bushmen, Lower Californians, Fuegians and Andamanese. The Redmen east of the Rocky Mountains have few slaves. Their tillage is scanty and nearly all its work is done by the women. In many African tribes slavery is a prominent institution, but its highest development in savagism is found in Tahiti, Hawaii and Tonga, where it is cherished and fortified by extensive agriculture, hereditary nobility, hereditary priesthood, and despotic chieftainship.

In many slave-holding savage countries, the proportion of slaves in the total population does not exceed one-fifth, but in Mandingo, it is three-fourths, in Yoruba four-fifths,¹ and in Bondu nine-tenths.² There is no regular market for slaves in savagism, unless men in a higher culturestep have made a demand for them. In Uganda, and other African tribes,³ if a chief wants slaves and other plunder, while afraid to attack any neighboring tribe, he provokes one of his own provinces to rebellion and then enslaves its inhabitants and appropriates their herds.

Slaves are not allowed to decorate themselves in fashionable style. They dare not flatten their heads in the regions where head flattening is customary among the freemen; nor where tattoo is practiced, must they be tattooed unless it be with a simple mark known as that of their master, so that if they escape they may be recog-

nized; nor dare they paint themselves in the styles adopted by the warriors.

In some tribes a man whose person or property has been seriously injured by a slave is entitled to the slave in compensation, and the slave may do an injury for the sake of a change of masters. Among the Foolahs more than one desirable master has lost both his ears.⁴ One form of virtue is its own punishment.

SEC. 116. *Nobility*.—Hereditary nobility, in savagism, implies a compact tribal organization and powerful chieftainship. It cannot flourish under the exogamous clan, and it is especially hostile to the feminine clan. Its origin in war and its devotion to war as its chief occupation, require a more powerful military organization than can be obtained in the lowest phases of social and political development. Its predominant spirit is militant. It must always be ready to fight to maintain its superior political privileges, to keep its slaves in subjection, to defend its property, to acquire more slaves and to protect the power, credit and territory of the tribe.

The increasing accumulation of property in the highest phases of savagism is intimately associated with political inequality and class privilege. When a hereditary aristocracy made its appearance, the old system of unlimited hospitality came to an end. The noble could not treat his slaves as his social equals or give them free access to his stores. He must accumulate stocks of provisions with which to supply them at all seasons of the year. His possession of slaves made it necessary that he should own large tracts of land, to which their toil gave value; and law and order came with the increase of wealth.

Counting the chiefs and slaves, there were four heredi-

tary ranks in Tahiti and Hawaii, six in Ashantee, and in most of the Polynesian groups.¹ In Tonga, the nobles owned all the land, to which the commoners as their clients, were attached. In Hawaii, the rabble were not attached to the soil, but most of them were clients of a noble to whose protection they were entitled and whom they were bound to assist and defend.²

The Micronesians generally are divided into high nobles, low nobles, commoners and slaves. The commoners till the soil, build boats, make nets, carry loads and cook. They cannot have a religious consecration to marriage, nor own land, nor trade with people from another island, nor go out to sea in boats, nor use seines or fish hooks, nor catch any fish save eels. They have no souls, no future life, nor share in the worship and favor of the gods. When a noble passes near them, they must step out of the way and squat down, and in speaking to him they must use peculiar terms implying a recognition of his superior rank.³

Polynesian and Micronesian customs do not permit marriage across the lines of hereditary rank. A noble cannot marry a commoner, nor can a slave woman become the wife of a commoner. Among savages as well as among barbarians and civilized people, it is a more serious offense in a woman than in a man to have a love affair with a person of inferior rank.

In Ashango, every commoner must be under the protection of a noble, to save him from the danger of enslavement.⁴ When his patron dies without a male heir, the client secures a new defender by putting his hand on the head of another noble.

SEC. 117. *Political Development.*—In our examination of savage polity, we have found many indications of

slow and regular development from extremely rude forms. The lowest government known to us is that of the headless group, which has no chief, no political assembly, and no political function save that of defending its members, retaliation for wrongs done being a prominent feature in the system of defense. This group is found only among the non-tilling savages, such as the Australians.

A step higher is the group with unstable headship, in which there are elective chiefs with a brief tenure of office, and with very little power. A grade above this is the condition of stable chieftainship, such as we find among the feminine clan tribes in tilling culture, such as the Iroquois and Creeks. The chiefs though holding office practically for life, have little power. In tribes consisting of masculine clans, the power of the chief increases until it has the support of slavery and nobility, and then becomes despotic. Such governments we find in tropical Polynesia and in portions of Africa. With despotic chieftainship, the influence of the clan diminishes and retaliation is restricted. With the growth of slavery and nobility, the ideas of property rights in land and in stocks of provisions, obtain clearer recognition. The establishment of permanent chieftainship, of the masculine clan, of slavery, of nobility, and of despotic government, each gave a decided stimulus to the military spirit, and each was the basis of some notable improvement in military discipline. Every department of savage polity abounds with the traces of growth.

CHAPTER VII.

MILITARY SYSTEM.

SECTION 118. *War*.—The ancient Greeks had a proverb that “war is the natural state of man,” and their experience justified the assertion, but ours leads us to add the condition “in the lower culture steps.” In the advanced civilization of our day, peace has become the rule, and we can clearly see that industrialism, the natural ally of peace and enemy of war, is rapidly advancing to a controlling influence in human life.

The only savages who take no pleasure in war, and indeed never engage in it, are some few tribes in the polar regions, and in the hills of Hindostan. The Todas, the Greenlanders, and the Eskimos, have no weapons to be used against men, and when war was first described to the people on the shores of Baffin’s Bay, they could not understand why it should exist.

The feeling of kindness, the sense of duty to all men, the horror at the outrages accompanying war, the interests of industry and comfort, and written treaties keeping the precise phraseology of international promises before the eyes, are great safeguards of peace in advanced culture and are lacking in its lower stages. Among savages generally it is not only permissible but honorable to plunder or to slay every stranger, that is, every person outside of one’s own group, clan, or tribe. Though

war does not take up so much of the man's time as the chase or the search for food, he regards it as his principal occupation,¹ without which life would not be worth living.² The hostility of tribe against tribe is handed down from generation to generation, with traditions of triumphs to be rivaled and of humiliations to be avenged.

The lower the culturestep, the smaller the political groups, and the nearer the hostile communities to one another, the larger is the proportion of warriors to the whole population, the more continuous the warfare, the greater the insecurity of life, and the larger the areas occupied by dangerous frontiers.

The first chiefs were those accepted as leaders in military movements. Their leadership began and ended with war or with some campaign, and was limited to matters connected with it directly. The power was advisory rather than mandatory; there was no enforcement of commands among warriors, but as the groups became larger, and warfare more systematic, the need of discipline was felt keenly and the authority of the chief increased, until it became mandatory, permanent, political, and despotic. Out of war grew governments. The first assemblies for the discussion of public affairs, like the first chiefs, had a military origin. The warriors when about to engage in expeditions of great importance to the clan or tribe, met to consult about the plan of action. This was a natural mode of procedure when the chiefs were leaders rather than commanders. The warriors who were to do the fighting were called upon to pledge themselves to hearty coöperation and to share the responsibility of the result.

When in later times assemblies were held for purely political purposes, ancient custom required the warriors

to appear with their weapons, and decorated as for battle. The speaker held his spear or other weapon as if prepared for immediate action, and in his gestures he brandished it, while the auditory applauded him by rattling with their spears or clubs on their shields, as well as by shouts, in a manner that would never have been adopted originally by any save a military gathering.

SEC. 119. *Battle*.—In the battles of low savagism, the warriors fight each for himself and by himself, so that the conflict is not a meeting of two compact bodies each guided by a single commander, but an irregular skirmish in which every warrior selects his own position, advances or retreats as suits himself, and usually keeps at a considerable distance from his friends as well as his enemies.

With paint and grimaces and yells he makes himself as hideous as possible; and tries to frighten his opponents by exhibiting his trophies and boasting of his triumphs in former contests. The skillful warrior will often stand out boldly at a distance of fifty yards from an enemy who throws spears and shoots arrows, each of which is coolly turned from its course, or caught in the hand as it passes.

Among the Australians the throwing and dodging of spears would often continue for several hours before anyone was hurt. The infliction of the first serious wound was considered a victory and was followed by a great outcry and the sudden flight of the defeated party, leaving the wounded man to be beaten, slain, and despoiled of his kidney fat with which the conquerors rubbed themselves. All male captives were slain; the women were kept as wives of the successful warriors.¹

The Australians and Polynesians were so much afraid in the dark of malignant spirits, that they rarely vent-

ured to make night attacks, but he who sneaked into a hostile camp in the darkness and succeeded in despatching a woman or child was regarded as a model of courage.² The glory of the savage consists in killing a member of a hostile village or tribe, without regard to age or sex of the victim or the method of the exploit.

In several Polynesian groups, battle orators devoted themselves to the encouragement of the warriors on their side. One of these howled to his men, "Rush on them like an ocean wave, like a breaker running over a reef. Show your power, your fury, the fury of a raging wild dog, till their lines scatter and they flee like the sea at ebb tide."³ The priests were also warriors, and it was expected that the younger priests should be among the boldest and most active in battle.

The women go to the battle-field to add to the show of strength, to help in making a fearful clamor, to carry weapons and supplies, to watch the hostile movements, to carry off or aid wounded friends, to despatch and mutilate wounded enemies, and to participate in the fight under favorable circumstances. Dahomey⁴ and Uganda⁵ have regiments of women soldiers, armed and disciplined like men, and as efficient as the other sex.

"The boldness with which the European exposes himself in the open field seems stupid to the Indian. He seeks his fame in exploits, combining cunning, speed, and boldness for the purpose of injuring his enemy with little danger to himself. He trusts mainly to the first assault, and when that does not promise him complete success, flight is creditable. An Indian proverb says, 'It is the ambition of the warrior to sneak about the enemy like a fox, to attack him like a tiger and to fly away like a bird.'"⁶

With such ideas, the Redmen pride themselves on tricks considered disgraceful among white men. On one occasion, a Dakota stole into a Pawnee village at night, got into a large hut by descending the chimney, with his knife slew a number of the sleeping inmates before any alarm was given, and when discovered, shouted his war-cry and fled in the darkness. His tribe honored him greatly for this exploit. Worse than this conduct was that of seven Delawares who entered the village of another tribe as pretended friends, and after accepting its hospitality suddenly raised the war-cry, attacked their hosts and fled with their scalps before efficient resistance could be made.⁷

When organizing a hostile excursion, most North American and some other tribes prepare themselves by a war dance to stimulate themselves to fury for their bloody work, and sometimes also to test their powers of endurance,⁸ and prove their fitness for long and exhausting marches. They dress themselves in their war paint, exhibit their scalps and other trophies, brandish their weapons, howl like demons, chant their war songs, predict what wonders they will do, and tell all the evil they know or can imagine of the enemy. Of all the war dances, that of the Maoris is the most impressive and the most hideous. The warriors fix their eyes with a ferocious glare, thrust out their tongues as an expression of defiance, leap about with concerted and violent jumps, and shriek loudly, the combined action having an effect that gives a contagious frenzy to every warrior of the tribe, and that fills others with horror. In the dance the participants are a compact body and their movements uniform; but on the battle-field they scatter and each fights by himself. The confidence, with which they are

filled by their preparatory capers, soon evaporates if the luck of the contest turns against them, and they can show as much energy in running from danger as in dancing. But flight does not disgrace a savage. It is not until men learn to fight in compact masses that discipline requires them to stand firmly while men continually fall near them, under the hostile missiles.

Those tribes which built large boats, fought on water as well as on land. In some of the Polynesian groups, a war canoe would hold from sixty to a hundred men, and small as were their islands, thousands of combatants would meet in a naval battle, and with greater loss of life than on land, for at sea when a boat was disabled, its inmates were all slaughtered. The Hawaiian canoes carried standards by which they could be recognized at a distance.

SEC. 120. *Trophies*.—Trophies taken in the chase and in war have been prized in all culturesteps. Among those of the hunter are the tail of the fox, the horns of the antelope, deer, and elk, and the skins of the lion, tiger, leopard, and bear. As evidences of success in war, heads were exhibited by the Egyptains and Jews of antiquity,¹ and by the Dyaks and Paladans of Borneo, the Mundrucus, the Nagas, the Abipones, the Maoris, and the Samoans of modern times; skulls by the Congoese, Ashantees, Dahomans, Kukis, Botocudos, Marquesans, Batta Malays, and some Melanesians; scalps by the Dahomans, many North American tribes, the Nagas and ancient Scythians; jawbones by the Tahitians, Vatéans, and some tribes of New Guinea; hands by the Khonds; forefingers, thumbs, and big toes by various tribes; teeth by the Kingsmill Islanders; and other parts by the Gallas, Abyssinians and Apaches.

In many tribes a trophy indicating that the possessor has killed a human being is indispensable to an honorable social or political position. Without it the man cannot get a wife, wear the decoration of a warrior, or appear in the public assembly.

SEC. 121. *Fortifications*.—Fortifications make their first appearance in tilling culture. They are not found in Australia, Tasmania, or Lower California. The most numerous and extensive class of savage fortifications are those of the Mound-Builders, erected several centuries since in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. Next to these come the pile villages of the Swiss lake dwellers. After these are the villages of the Maoris and Iroquois surrounded with palisades and trenches. The Tahitians, Hawaiians, Fijians, and many African tribes have carefully constructed fortifications.

The remains of the fortifications of the Mound-Builders (as they have been called), in the Mississippi basin, are numerous, and vary in the areas inclosed, from twenty to two hundred acres. In most cases, the sites are on hills near fertile valleys with springs or streams in the near vicinity. They are usually of earth, rarely of rough stone, and when first known to white men, the earth walls were so broad and flat that a man might walk over them without suspecting that he was stepping on a work of art. If on the top of a small hill, the wall follows its shapes; if the fortification be on a large level space, it may have the form of circle, square, octagon, or long parallelogram.

Fort Ancient, near the eastern bank of the Little Miami River, thirty-three miles from Cincinnati, is on a hill two hundred and thirty feet above the level of the stream. An area of one hundred acres, with a shape re-

sembling that of an hour-glass, is enclosed by five miles of earthen wall, which follows the brow of the hill. The walls are in places twenty feet high, and opposite the gateways on the inside are mounds on which are piles of stones brought up from the river bed, presumably to be used in throwing at the enemies. A spring and reservoirs inside of the fort furnish an unfailing supply of water.

Near Portsmouth, Ohio, a connected series of defensive structures extends eight miles along the bank of the river on both sides. An enclosure eight hundred feet square, two parallel walls two thousand one hundred feet long, four concentric circles intersected by four broad avenues, a large truncated cone mound, and an avenue a mile and a half long between walls, from the mound to the river, are among the features of these ruins.

Most of the works of the Mound-Builders are found not in the prairie regions, but in the forest where artificial elevations were needed for giving signals. A line of signal mounds extends for a hundred miles along the Scioto valley, and a similar line in the valley of the Miami gave facilities for sending news sixty miles.

One of the most remarkable of these structures, twelve miles west of Chillicothe, Ohio, on the summit of a hill four hundred feet above the valley of Paint creek, encloses an area of one hundred and forty acres including a lakelet of two acres. The material of the walls is rough stone, which was evidently laid up with care though most of it has now tumbled over. There were five gateways, near which the walls were higher and wider than elsewhere. Inside of the enclosure were two stone mounds on which hot fires had been maintained, as the stones now show the influence of intense heat.

At many places there are remains of works commenced and never completed. In Wayne Township, Butler County, Ohio, a series of eleven hillocks or small mounds indicates the outline of a circular wall that was not finished. At Alexandersville, Ohio, are the remains of three enclosures abandoned before completion.

SEC. 122. *Initiation*.—The ceremonies observed by many tribes at initiation into the ranks of men and warriors, and into the office of chief, may be considered part of their military system. There is a widely prevalent custom that before assuming the arms and claiming the rights that go with their use, the young man must prove his fortitude by passing creditably through a very painful probation. Until he has done so, he cannot join a military expedition, participate in a deliberative assembly, take a wife, acquire property, or become a chief or priest.

The most severe probation of this kind known to us, or the one most accurately described by a trustworthy witness, is that of the Mandans, and the initiations of the Cheyennes, Dakotas, Chippeways, Minitarees, Arickarees, Poncas, Hidatsas or Gros Ventres, and Blackfeet, are similar; as are presumably those of many if not most tribes of the Redmen east of the Rocky Mountains. George Catlin is the only author who claims to have witnessed these ceremonies in all their important stages, and who has given us a precise account of them.¹ At the time he was a favored guest of the Mandans, and he was allowed to see what had been hidden from other white men who had dwelt in the village for ten years or more. He was invited to be present at the ecclesiastical festival in the spring of the year 1830. At sunrise, the sacred hut in which the ceremony began was opened,

and the aspirants, about fifty in number, entered. Some warriors and a few chiefs and priests, Mr. Catlin and three white friends admitted at his request, were present. Each of the nude aspirants carried his bow, quiver, and shield, which he hung on the wall over the place where he sat down. A priest sitting near a fire in the middle of the hut smoked a sacred pipe and occasionally addressed prayers to the spirits or Great Spirit to favor his tribe.

Thus three days passed. The aspirants did not leave the hut, nor eat, nor drink nor sleep. On the fourth day, in the morning two priests entered. One, whose face was covered by a mask, carried a double-edge knife with edges hacked, so that it would make a painful cut. The other, unmasked, had a package of wooden skewers, five inches long nearly half an inch thick and pointed at both ends.

The priest with the skewers pinched the arm above the elbow of one of the aspirants, and while he held it, the masked priest thrust the knife through making a hole in which he put a skewer, over which the flesh at the thickest was perhaps half an inch deep. This operation was repeated below the elbow, and in the other arm, and in both legs above and below the knee, so that the young man had eight skewers in his flesh. A similar skewer was inserted in each breast or each shoulder, every aspirant indicating by a sign whether he preferred to have them before or behind. This cutting and skewering was endured by all without a groan and by most of them with smiles of triumph.

The skewers being in place, the aspirant's shield was attached to the upper one on his left arm, and a buffalo skull, weighing perhaps eight pounds,² to each of the

eight skewers on his arms and legs. By ropes passing over poles in the roof of the hut, and fastened to the breast or shoulder skewers, he was then hoisted until his feet were three or four feet above the ground, and the buffalo skulls swung clear. A man with a pole pushed the suspended aspirant in such a manner as to make him turn around and the sufferer broke his silence by heart-rending prayers to the Great Spirit to aid him on his trial. All the aspirants used the same form of prayer, indicating that they had been taught what to say. After ten or twenty minutes of swinging round, fainting gave relief, whereupon the body was lowered to the ground and left to itself. When the aspirant recovered consciousness, he rose, and walked to one side where he sat down in front of the masked priest. After holding up the little finger of his left hand, as a thank-offering to the Great Spirit for enabling him to endure his trial, he laid it on a buffalo skull. The masked priest by a blow of a hatchet cut off the finger. The sacrifice of one finger was compulsory; on rare occasions an aspirant, to show superior endurance, would offer up also the forefinger of the same hand. The wounds thus inflicted, though not bandaged or otherwise treated, were not followed by inflammation nor by much bleeding.

After six or eight young men had submitted to the hoisting and finger sacrifice, they were taken in a party out of the hut, and each with his four buffalo skulls fastened to his leg skewers, and with a friend at each arm to help him along, ran round a prescribed circuit and kept running until he fainted or until all the skewers tore out. If he fainted, some friends dragged him round face downwards, while other friends jumped on the skulls to make the skewers tear through the flesh. So soon as

all had torn out, the young man, abandoned by his friends, went to the hut of his parents where he could hide himself from the public gaze, and obtain nourishment and sympathetic attendance.

Those who hung longest without fainting, who ran longest dragging the skulls, and who recovered soonest after fainting, were considered the most promising warriors. It was necessary that the flesh over the skewers should tear out. Cutting out would not do. Catlin heard of one aspirant who died in the ordeal. He does not say distinctly, but he implies, that he had never seen one, or heard of one, whose fortitude failed him in the trial.

The torture at the initiation of the Cheyenne aspirant for admission to the rank of warrior has been described by Col. R. S. Dodge. The young man is taken out of the camp by his nearest warrior relative who makes two vertical incisions three inches long and two inches apart in the muscles of the breast, and then lifts the intervening strip from the bone, so that a hair rope three-quarters of an inch thick can be passed under the flesh. The rope is tied to a strong pole twenty feet from the ground, so that the young man can run about twelve feet without stretching the rope; and his trial is to throw his weight against the rope in such a manner as to break through those two strips of his pectoral muscles. He has no help, no company, no food, no drink, no bed, and if he is to be an honored warrior there he must stay until he tears out that stubborn flesh, perhaps with the help of partial mortification. If he prefers, he may have the cuts made in his shoulders, and in that case instead of being fastened to a post some movable object, such as a buffalo skull, is tied to each cut.³

If the aspirant should find that the trial is too severe for him, he will be untied, at his own request, but then he falls into disgrace, becomes a man-squaw, without the right of marrying, of holding property, of carrying arms, of participating in the public assemblies, or of associating with the warriors. Among six hundred southern Cheyennes, only one failed to go through the initiation with success.

The aborigines of New England have their system of torture for admission into the warrior class,⁴ and so have the Kolushes of British Columbia,⁵ and the Muras of South America.⁶ A Californian tribe beats the aspirant with nettles and compels him to sit down on a nest of angry ants which bite him cruelly.⁷ Among the Mundrucus, he must thrust his arm into a tube full of irritated and venomous ants.⁸ In the land of the Payaguas⁹ and in portions of Australia,¹⁰ and Central America,¹¹ the young man is required to submit to painful piercings with thorns and cuttings with knives. Cruel trials are imposed on youths by the Caribs¹² and by certain Arab tribes.¹³ In Dongola there are bitter duels with whips of hippopotamus hide, until one of the duellists falls exhausted by the loss of blood.¹⁴ The Kaffirs,¹⁵ Arowaks,¹⁶ Mundrucus¹⁷ and aborigines of Guiana¹⁸ have severe switchings for youths. If a Bishareen boast of his courage, a hearer may draw out a knife and cut long gashes in his arms shoulders and sides, whereupon the boaster must do likewise or be disgraced.¹⁹

In New Britain, two masked men called dukduks, clothed with a sacred office, come about once in two months into every village and give cruel beatings to all the men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-three. For two weeks in succession, these young men are called

together repeatedly every day, some days as often as twenty times, and required to stand up and submit without complaint to a severe blow from the stiff cane of one dukduk and another from the tough flexible switch of the other. The switch encircles the body or leg and cuts through the skin at every stroke. For fifteen years, if he live so long, every man in New Britain is subject to this torture.²⁰

Many tribes require the aspirants for an elective chieftainship to submit to severe tests of endurance. Thus the Galibes, a tribe of the Caribs, require him to submit for six months to at least six blows daily from a switch that encircles his body or leg and cuts through the skin all the way round, at every stroke.²¹ Another branch of the Caribs bury the ambitious man to the waist in a nest of venomous ants.²² A third tribe of the same family compel him to drink a large cupful of a strong decoction of red pepper.²³

These tests of endurance are so far beyond what civilized men would submit to voluntarily, that if the reports were made to us by only a single witness they would be incredible; coming to us as they do by many different witnesses with an overwhelming accumulation of evidence, we must believe them, but with a feeling that there is something here almost incomprehensible. Accepting the statements we must draw two inferences; first that these men in low culture, perhaps because of the greater exposure of their skins to the sun, are far less sensitive to physical pain than we are; and second that the reputation for courage and for firmness in submitting to agony without complaint, is far more important in their mode of life than in ours.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

SECTION 123. *Spirits*.—The belief that the human soul continues to exist, as a conscious personality, after the death of the body, is the beginning and foundation of religion. In every tribe of modern savages, it exists accompanied by the supposition that disembodied spirits take much interest in human life, and especially in that of their relatives; that they have much power to aid and injure those living in the flesh; that they use this power frequently; and that, in its exercise, they are influenced by neglect and defiance, to do evil, and by worship, offerings and praise, to protect and to bless the living. "The ghost," as Spencer says, "is the primitive type of the supernatural being."

On many important points, the religious belief of the low savage is extremely vague.¹ According to Waitz² "it is a dim faith in ghosts and spirits." His opinions are not based on reason and evidence; nor are they arranged into a complete creed, consistent in all its parts. He has great difficulty in explaining his belief in reference to future life. In many cases, he considers it sacrilegious to mention the names of the dead, the spirits of the gods, or to perform any religious ceremony in the presence of an alien. Of the intellectual confusion on such subjects, examples are furnished by some Kaffirs

and Malagasies, who though they say the soul dies with the body, yet worship their ancestors, bury the dead with ecclesiastical rites, have priests and sorcerers, and treat some beasts as sacred. Practices implying belief in superior invisible powers, which may be propitiated, are found in every tribe, whose manners, customs and intellectual condition have been fully described to us by intelligent observers. The assertion, that religion is entirely lacking in any tribe, is based on a misconception of the definition of the word religion, or on ignorance of the opinions of the community in question. It has been said that the Bushmen,³ the Bongos,⁴ the Andamanese,⁵ the Arafuras,⁶ the Damaras,⁷ the Hottentots,⁸ some Malagasies,⁹ and various tribes of Equatorial Africa have no faith in a future existence, and that the Fuegians the Juangs,¹⁰ the Latookas,¹¹ the Dinkas, the Wanyoros, and the aboriginal Californians have no religion. Yet all these tribes fear ghosts and have sorcerers. Belief in sorcery is one of the most prominent features of savage religion.

The main evidence of animism or the belief in spirits, among savages, is furnished by dreams, which are more numerous and more vivid in low than in high culture-steps.¹² When the food supply is scanty, innutritious or unwholesome, and when life passes in the midst of a rapid succession of great dangers,—and such circumstances are common in many tribes,—the brain becomes excited, and sleep abounds with vivid and fantastic visions, in which people are seen acting, and heard speaking, with great distinctness. The delirious fever of famine is filled with such experiences; and so is the fever brought on by the voluntary fasting enjoined by many of the savage religions. The North American Indian boy seek-

ing a guardian divinity, the African priest hoping for a revelation of the results of a projected military expedition, and the Siberian shaman preparing to give an oracular response to his chief, all abstain, for several days, from eating, with the utmost confidence that the brain will then get many impressions that would not come to it while the stomach had its ordinary supply of food.

SEC. 124. *Imaginary World*.—This realm of spirits was created by the savage imagination which, according to Lippert, harnesses its conceptions, as if they were material forces, to the vehicle of human life.¹ Many authors suppose that the fancy, unaided, is powerful enough to destroy life; and that it is sufficient to account for the fatal results of the sacerdotal curses in Polynesia and Africa;² though other observers assume that secret poison counts for much more than the imagination in such cases.³

To the enlightened man, an ordinary dream is a meaningless trick of the brain; to the savage, it is an actual experience of his soul while absent from his body. Such a belief prevails among most of the tribes of America, Polynesia, and Africa.⁴ They suppose that the phantoms of the persons, seen and heard in dreams, are the souls of the living, absent temporarily from their bodies. The communications, received in dreams, are sacred. When they can be interpreted as prophetic, they must if possible, be fulfilled.⁵ Thus, when a man has done a thing in a dream, he must do it awake. Early in the last century, an Iroquois chief told the Governor of New York of a dream in which the latter gave him a military uniform such as was worn by a British general. The Briton, understanding the savage ideas of such dreams, said this one must be fulfilled, and he presented

the coveted dress to the chief and at the same time told of a dream in which the latter had ceded to him all the territory between two rivers. The chief gave up the land but added that he would never dream with the governor again. As Henry Maine says, "early religions are composed of such stuff as dreams are made of."⁶

Sleep, swoons, and trances, are conditions, in which, according to savage opinion, the soul leaves the body. Sickness is attributed to the soul's habit of deserting or its desire to desert its tenement, or to the invasion of the body by a hostile soul. When sick, the Fijians, Caribs, Arowaks, Fantis, Loangoes, Karens and Hos pray the soul to remain, reproach it for wanting to go, bawl out to it to come back (as if it had already started) or employ a priest to counteract the influence of the imaginary sorcerer, who is trying to entice the soul away from the body.

According to the faith of many tribes, every person has several souls. His breath is one,⁷ his shadow another, and his reflection in the water a third.⁸ When he dreams, one of his souls either pays or receives a visit.⁹ Even when awake and without his knowledge, one of his souls may enter the body of an enemy, attack its organs, and cause disease. In many countries it is highly impolite to tread on a man's shadow, which is one of his souls. So long as the body has a shadow, so long a soul remains in it.

Savages generally believe that the excarnated soul dies after a time, either in the natural course of events or by violence. It may be eaten up by cannibal spirits or by gods. It may be slain in various ways. Since it revisits the living in dreams, it does not necessarily die with the body. With the lapse of time, its visits become

rare and finally cease. Its spiritual life has then come to an end. Its existence does not continue more than a generation or two.¹⁰ The disembodied soul of the father is alive, that of the great-grandfather is not.¹¹ Among the Mangenyas, the life of a spook is about as long as that of a material man.¹² The Hill Dyaks suppose that the future existence is very brief. The hut where a death occurs, is taboo for twelve days and during that period is haunted by the spirit. Nothing must be taken from it and no outsider must enter it or speak to any of its occupants.¹³ The Tahitians imagine that, in the course of time, most of the excarnated souls are eaten by the gods or by other souls, just as in regions occupied by cannibals, many of the rabble are, sooner or later, eaten by the warriors.¹⁴ Among the Maoris, the soul is destroyed when the body is eaten¹⁵ by cannibals; among the Fijians, when the man dies before marriage;¹⁶ among the Harvey Islanders, when he dies a natural death; among the Hurons, when he commits suicide; among several North American tribes, when he is scalped or hanged;¹⁷ among the Damaras, when he is eaten by wild beasts.¹⁸ among the Matiamba, when his corpse is thrown into the water; and among the Bushmen when a fire is built over his grave.¹⁹ The Fijian believes that, after death, he will have to fight his way into the realm of spirits and if defeated, his soul will die immediately and forever. In Guinea, immortality belongs only to those who observe the feasts and ceremonies of the established religion. The soul of the defunct Marambo husband clings to the neck of his widow, and before she marries again, she dives into a river and washes the unwelcome incumbrance off into annihilation.²⁰ When the cannibal eats his slain enemy he not only destroys his enemy's soul, and thus

protects himself against spiritual persecution, but he also adds the spirit and courage of the dead man to his own. The Chavantes of South America eat the bodies of their children who die naturally ;²¹ and some Australians give the flesh of a dead child to its surviving brother, or even kill one child to strengthen another.

As dreams are more frequent and more vivid in savagism than in civilized life, so also are several abnormal physical conditions, including clairvoyance, somnambulism, and double consciousness. High sensitives are numerous in many tribes, and they attribute their abnormal perceptions to the aid of spirits ; that is they accept a current statement which had its origin in the imagination. Many of the phases of modern spirit manifestation and mediumship are found among low savages ; and in all cases they have no bases save delusion or trickery. An abnormal perception there may be often ; a supernatural communication, never.

SEC. 125. *Devout Fear*.—In non-tilling culture, the most common faith regards the spirits as predominantly malignant ; as beings to be feared rather than loved, to be avoided rather than sought, to be propitiated rather than praised. Disease, death, defeat, drought, storm and famine are attributed to them, while health, life, victory, pleasant weather and abundant crops are accepted as coming in the ordinary course of nature. A Roman proverb says, "Fear first made the gods."¹ According to the Japanese, "The gods, who do harm, must be propitiated."² The Hebrew Scripture tells us that "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom ;" and in old English maxims we read that "Fear is the mother of devotion," and that "Man's extremity is God's opportunity."

In early culture, the spirits of the dead are exacting, jealous, revengeful and malevolent.³ The survivor tries to avoid them. One of the first acts of soul-worship⁴ is the abandonment of the dwelling of the deceased. The Lepchas and Kamtschatkans leave the hut with the corpse and never occupy it again; the negroes of Duketown abandon it for a year; and the Coroados and Creeks leave the village and its site for a year.⁵ There are two motives for abandoning the home of the dead, first to get beyond his reach, and second to give him undisturbed possession of the food supply of the district.⁶ The excarnated soul is supposed to need food and to get it just as the living warrior does. It is not necessary or customary to move for a child, a woman or a slave; these have little power to hurt. The greater the rank and the military power of the dead, the more dangerous he is to the living.

The Damaras throw the corpse out to the wolves, so that the soul shall be destroyed and prevented from returning to annoy and injure its relatives.⁷ The corpse of the Siamese is taken from the hut not through the door, but through a hole cut for the occasion in the wall and then carried rapidly three times round the house, so that the spirit cannot find its way back. The hole in the wall is closed up permanently without delay, so that if it should come back it cannot enter. There is a supposition that it must come in where it went out.⁸ A similar idea leads some inhabitants of ancient Hindostan to tie the feet of the dead together, and perhaps influences some South Americans, when they tie the body in a sitting posture and crowd it into a clay pot before burial.⁹ Sharks, crocodiles, wolves and vultures are venerated in many countries for their services in eating human bodies

and protecting the living against the persecution of the spirits. Every year the priest in the Nicobar Islands drives the spirits which haunt every house into a canoe, which he sets adrift, with its cargo, in the sea. There is a similar custom in the Maldivé Islands.¹⁰ When a house has been built in New Zealand, a priest consecrates it with prayers and sleeps in it alone, to drive away evil spirits, before the owner takes possession.¹¹ In Hawaii and Tahiti, prayers are addressed to the spirits, begging them to stay away.¹² The Mishuris say, "We are everywhere surrounded by demons; they live in the rivers, mountains and trees; they walk about in the dark and live in the winds; we are constantly suffering from them."¹³ Among the Quaiquas, Korannas, Basutos, Oedos, Mpongwes,¹⁴ Angolese,¹⁵ Greenlanders,¹⁶ Mosquitoes, Abipones,¹⁷ some Kaffirs,¹⁸ and some Lower Californians, the only spirits worshiped, and perhaps the only ones recognized as existing, are evil. Many tribes which believe also in good spirits, consider it useless to devote any attention to them, because their goodness is a mere abstinence from doing injury. Such are the Indians of Virginia and Florida,¹⁹ and of many other parts of North America. Fear of demons is the chief feature of the religion of the Tinnehs and of the Katschintzo Tartars.²⁰ A Malagasy praying said, "Nyang, wicked and powerful, do not make the thunder roll over our heads. Order the sea to stay within its bounds. Spare, O Nyang, the ripening fruits; and do not blast the blossom of the rice."²¹ A Lepcha of Hindostan said, "The good spirits do us no harm; the malignant spirits who dwell in every rock, grove, and mountain are constantly at mischief and to them we must pray for they hurt us."²² In Australia, Tasmania, Fiji and in many of the Polynesian islands,²³ the

night air is full of evil spirits seeking men whose souls they may eat.²⁴ For fear of them the people rarely leave their huts at night, unless under some very urgent impulse, and then they carry a firebrand with which to scare away the demons. On the Malay peninsula, a fire to drive away the evil spirits is built in front of the hut when a child is about to be born.²⁵ In Iceland, a firebrand is carried round the hut to protect it against the same enemy.²⁶ Before pouring out water, the Bedouin asks forgiveness of the efreets or evil spirits.²⁷ When bathing, the Alfuras pray, "Let the water take sickness, fatigue and evil dreams to the evil spirits." On important occasions, the Dyaks propitiate the spirits with the head of a human victim murdered for the purpose.²⁸ The spirits of the dead are so malignant in Sumatra that the most destructive man-eating tigers are supposed to be possessed by them.²⁹

An Australian priest conducting the ceremonies at a grave said, "The dead man has promised that if his murder should be sufficiently avenged, his spirit will not haunt the tribe nor cause them fear, nor mislead them into wrong tracks, nor bring sickness among them, nor make loud noises in the night."³⁰ This language implies that unless appeased, the spirit would do all the malicious acts mentioned.

Among savages generally, all evil is attributed to the influence, all disease and death to the possession of malignant spirits. There is no conception of, or at least no belief in, a natural cause for a decline of health or strength, or for a cessation of life. All aches are brought upon us by demons which have entered our bodies, either at the instigation of their own malevolence or under the control of some sorcerer. In many tribes

it is assumed that every death is the result of witchcraft which can be discovered and traced to its author by a priest, and must be traced and avenged before the soul of the dead man can rest. Until satisfied, he torments his relatives for their neglect of duty to him.

Epilepsy and apoplexy are attacks of malignant souls; sneezes, yawns, and shudders are unsuccessful attempts of evil spirits to get possession of the body. In many savage tribes and barbarous nations as well as in some civilized communities, when a person sneezes, he must be congratulated on his escape from the demon by some such phrase as "God bless you," or its equivalent. After he has yawned, the Arab exclaims, "I take refuge with Allah, from Satan the accursed," and the Tyrolese peasant crosses himself.³¹ A Jewish proverb which says, "Open not thy mouth to Satan," doubtless had its origin in the same idea.³² Among the Tongans, a sneeze by any person about to engage in an enterprise, is an omen that he will fail.³³

Livingstone says of the people of Angola: "When the natives turn their eyes to the future world, they have a view cheerless enough of their own utter helplessness and hopelessness. They fancy themselves completely in the power of disembodied spirits, and look upon the prospect of following them as the greatest of misfortunes. Hence, they are constantly deprecating the wrath of departed souls, believing that if they are appeased, there is no other cause of death but witchcraft, which may be averted by charms."³⁴

SEC. 126. *Next Life*.—As dreamers see the dead taking part in the ordinary business of life,—working, playing, hunting, fighting, talking, laughing, crying, eating, and drinking,—so popular belief teaches that the disem-

bodied spirits have the same wants and gratifications, the same pleasures and pains, the same trials and triumphs, the same occupations and amusements, the same affections and passions, the same loves and hates, as in the material life. They need food, drink, clothing, shelter, warmth, light, tools, arms, dogs, friends, slaves, and wives, all of which they find in the spiritual world. They help their living friends and hurt their foes. They see and recognize the souls of men whom they knew on earth. They bless or curse other spirits; they fraternize or fight with them. They taunt, wound, capture, enslave, slay, torture, scalp, roast, and eat one another, as if they were still in the body.

In his new home beyond the grave, the spiritual man will need spiritual food, spiritual clothes, and a spiritual hut; he will shoot spiritual game with spiritual arrows; he will fight spiritual enemies with spiritual weapons. The souls of living beasts can be sent to the world of spirits by killing them; and the souls of inanimate objects can be released by breaking them. If the killing or breaking be done at the grave of the man recently dead, he is placed in possession of the spirits of the tools, beasts, or slaves there released.

As the future life is to be a continuation of this one, so the chieftainship, nobility, distinction as a warrior, and any notable characteristic of a man on earth will also belong to him in the skies. The Fijian or Tahitian chief will have as many subjects and servants there as here, and all the enemies slain by a Karen here, will be his slaves there.¹ In Cochin China, the poor people will not celebrate the annual feast of the dead on the same day with the rich for fear that the spirits of the rich, being then on the lookout, and being more powerful, will

appropriate the presents, and, besides, will enslave the poor spirits.² The Kaffir prays to the spirit of his dead chief to compel the ancestor of the worshiper to bless and protect his descendant.³

According to the creed of many tribes, the soul lives forever in the condition of the man at the time of his death. If he was then deaf, blind, lame, toothless, or decrepit with age, so his soul will be forever. A man killed in the dark remains in darkness forever. Age does not advance there, but he who has grown very old here, will continue to be senile there. The other life being higher in dignity than this one, the warriors in many tribes have no desire to live here beyond the age of forty or forty-five. When Wilkes visited the Fiji group, about 1840, he found no aborigine that seemed to have passed his fortieth year. It was the duty of the son to slay the father, though he sometimes waited until the latter requested this favor. The Vatéans bury their parents alive;⁴ the Chippeways strangle or otherwise despatch their relatives soon after the decline of life begins.

In various tribes, the spirit stays near its home in the flesh, or near its grave. In other tribes, it lives in a distant realm of souls, and occasionally revisits its relatives and its former abode.⁵ In Polynesian groups, composed of small islands, the spirit home is in islands to the westward; in large islands and continents containing mountains, the world of spirits is in the mountains, as it was in Greece in Mt. Olympus.

The belief that brutes and inanimate objects have souls which accompany the spirits of men in a future life though accepted by savages generally,⁶ is not found among the Australians, Tasmanians, Andamanese, Fuegians, and Bushmen;⁷ and among these tribes mentioned

is lacking, perhaps, because their stock of accumulated property is so exceedingly scanty that they have nothing to offer to the dead. The lack of material for offerings may have prevented the establishment of a custom that would gradually have impressed the faith on the public mind.

SEC. 127. *Burial, etc.*—The disposal of the corpse belongs to the domain of religion. In many countries it gives occasion to the highest expression of religious feeling. Among the Eskimos, Kamtschatkans, coast Chookchees, Mahenge and Wahebe, the body is thrown out to be devoured by wild beasts, and the surviving relatives, when passing near the remains, show no signs of grief. There is reason to believe that the prehistoric cave dwellers in Europe treated their dead in the same manner. Some tribes say that if the body is eaten by wild beasts, its spirit will be destroyed and thus will be prevented from returning to persecute the living. Those tribes which have outgrown this fear of persecution are careful to preserve the corpses of their relatives, or at least of their warriors, against desecration by wild beasts.

Among the reverential modes of disposing of the dead, customary among savages, are burial, burning, keeping on high platforms or on steep rocky points in the open air, and embalming. Of these, burial is the most extensively prevalent. It exists in Polynesia, Melanesia, Africa, and much of America. In New South Wales the young are burned and the old buried; in portions of California, both cremation and burial are used.

The treatment of the corpse depends in many regions, on the station of the person in life. Slaves, women and children are thrown out to the beasts, by tribes which bury the common warrior in a shallow grave, and the

chief in a deep grave or under a mound. The Dahomans, Fantees and some other African tribes bury the dead man in his hut, which is then abandoned as a dwelling, though it is visited occasionally by mourners and worshipers. Where the huts are built with little labor, as in Kaffraria, the village, in which a prominent man has died, is abandoned.

In Angola, the corpse is buried only a few inches deep in the hut of its owner, and a fire is kept burning over it for a month. At the end of that period the remains, having been reduced to a dry condition, are exhumed and kept as a mummy in the hut for two years, and then they are finally buried. In New Zealand, after a body has been in the ground eight months, the bones are dug up, cleaned and buried again. On the eastern coast of Madagascar, the corpse is suspended in a hut until the bones fall apart and then they are buried.

West of the Mississippi a common custom is to sew up the corpse in a buffalo skin and lay it on a rude floor of poles about ten or fifteen feet above the ground, supported by posts or the limbs of a tree.¹ Some tribes, after having thus disposed of a corpse, pay no further attention to it; others bury the bones, when the flesh has decayed. The Redmen on the banks of the lower Columbia put their dead on top of steep rocky points, or on elevated platforms. In the Shir valley, the corpse is wrapped in a mat and suspended in a tree or in the deserted hut of the owner.

In Usekke,² the corpse of a chief having been set upright in a hollow tree is attended day and night by men of his tribe, who pour beer over him in the day and make loud lamentation at night until putrefaction is far advanced; then the remains are put on an elevated

platform and kept there until nothing remains save the bones, which are finally buried. The Okinagins bind the body to the trunk or branch of a tree with such wrappings as to keep the bones in place long after the flesh has disappeared. In parts of Melanesia, the corpse is placed in a canoe and launched in an inlet when the tide begins to ebb so as to be carried out to sea.

The Tahitians embalm their chiefs and great nobles. They take out the brains and intestines, oil the body all over every day, and keep it in the sun turning it frequently, until it dries so that it will keep for several years. After the head has separated from the body, the skull is cleaned and kept for family worship, and the other remains are buried. In Virginia and New Guinea, the body of a brave warrior is dried before a fire and kept for years.

In some countries, before burning or burying, the corpse is bent at the hips, knees and elbows so that it can be tied together in a compact form; in others the backbone is broken, to facilitate the process of tying together.

Most tribes in their burials pay no regard to the points of the compass, but the Samoans and Fijians, believing that the land of spirits is in the west, bury their corpses in a nearly horizontal position with the feet and face towards the evening sun. The Winnebagoes turn the face to the west, and put the body in a sitting position. A similar position is customary with the face to the east among the Yumanas and the Australians.

SEC. 128. *Mourning*.—General custom demands much demonstration of grief from the relatives of the dead warrior, and especially from the women. The methods of mourning include loud lamentation, shaving the

head, smearing the scalp and face with black pitch or paint, breaking out teeth, amputating a finger joint and cutting gashes in the flesh with a knife or whip. In some tribes the wailing is not limited to the interval between the death and the burial, but is repeated for years whenever a woman relative passes near the grave. In portions of Africa, Australia and North America, the mother carries the corpse, skeleton or wooden image of her child, and the widow carries the skull of her husband with her for months or years, and frequently talks and offers food to it. The show of grief sometimes takes the form of frenzy, as if reason had been dethroned. In Tahiti and Ashantee, the death of the head chief is a signal for a reign of anarchy in which all kinds of crimes are committed. Among the Gonds, at such a time, the ordinary laws of sexual propriety are suspended. To demonstrate his sorrow for the death of his mother, a Kaffir chief slaughtered several thousand subjects.¹

The mourners for a Samoan chief sit at his grave for ten days, and keep a fire constantly burning there during that period. The Nez Percé mourners dance and sing every day at the grave of their chief for thirty days. The Chippeway mourners maintain a fire at the grave for four days, at the end of which time they say his soul has reached the spirit world.²

Teeth are broken out among the Pacific islanders and some negro tribes. Cutting until the blood flows freely is common in Polynesia, Melanesia, North America, and parts of Africa. The Maoris make the marks durable by rubbing in charcoal.³ The mourning cuts of the Tongans are made on the body under the armpits, on the inside of the thighs, and through the cheeks. The Flat-heads cut out pieces of flesh;⁴ and the Hawaiians some-

times gouge out eyes. The amputation of a finger joint is fashionable mourning among the Redmen and Polynesians, and after two joints have been taken from each little finger, it is sufficient to cut off the end of a stump so that it looks as if freshly amputated. In Guiana the young men nearly related to or intimately friendly with the deceased must engage in duels with switches, which cut through the skin and cause much loss of blood.

The mourning among the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi after the death of a chief is thus described by Dodge: "The quiet rivalry of attention to his wants heretofore [while living] displayed by them [his wives] gave place to a furious rivalry in demonstrations of grief. All howl continuously and in unison; but lest the more strongly lunged should obtain advantage in this exercise, they continue the rivalry in such acts of self-abasement and self-torture as are almost incredible. The hair is hacked off, the clothing torn from the person; ghastly, horrible, and even dangerous wounds are inflicted; their breasts are slashed open, their arms and legs slit and cut with knives; their faces and persons disfigured; and, covered with blood and dust and filth, they croon and wail and howl until nature is exhausted. It is only wonderful that death does not more frequently ensue from these self-inflicted tortures, for the women appear to be perfect maniacs for the time, and cut and slash themselves without regard to consequences."⁵

At the funeral of Finau I., king of Tonga, one of the chief mourners among the warriors said, "Finau, I know your thought; you went to Pulotu supposing your people were not loyal to you; that I and others were not faithful to you; but where is the evidence? Where is the least sign that we were not devoted? [Here he

struck himself with his club.] Is not that proof of my sincerity? [Here he struck himself again.] Does not that show my attachment to you, my beloved warrior and king? ”⁶

SEC. 129, *Soul Worship*.—Among people who believe that disembodied spirits have the power to help and hurt the living, and the desire to be propitiated by gifts and praise, there is no distinct line of separation between mourning and worship. Lamentation for death, and sepulture or cremation, according to the customary rites, are obligatory not merely out of regard to the feelings and interests of the surviving relatives, but are necessary for the welfare of the dead, who, without these attentions, cannot be happy in the world of spirits, and in some tribes cannot even reach it. The Polynesians, Brazilians, Karens, many Redmen, and some Australians, believe that the dead has no rest until the body has been disposed of with the established ceremonies.

In the Tahitian Islands, the attainment of future life by the dead man depends on a proper burial, for which it is indispensable that a pig roasted whole and some vegetables should be placed in the grave with the corpse. After this has been done, the male head of the family, standing at the side of the grave, says, “I loved you in your life; I tried to cure you in your illness; but now that you are dead, take these presents with you, so that you can gain admittance to the dwellings of the gods. Do not return to persecute us.” The grave is then filled up and the dead is supposed to be at rest, unless, within a few days a cricket is heard near the grave. If so, the noise is attributed to the unhappy soul whereupon this lament is howled, “Oh, our brother! his soul has not been admitted into the company of the gods; he is hun-

gry; he is cold." Then additional offerings are made to him. If the body is not properly buried, the spirit comes back to torment the neglectful relatives, and to attack and kill any man found out of doors in the darkness.¹ These ideas are not unlike those of the Brahmins who teach that when the sacrifices to the deceased are not made properly by the descendants, the ancestors lose their places in the higher sphere and must be born again on earth.² The Greeks also considered the conventional funeral rites indispensable for the repose of the souls of the dead.

It is assumed that the excarnated spirits are pleased with such gifts and honors as are paid to chiefs, and these are therefore rendered with the expectation of reward by direct divine favor, including protection against material and immaterial enemies. In many cases the adoration is suggested by sincere affection for the dead relative or chief, but is accompanied by a confident expectation of positive reward or of negative exemption from evil. At the grave of his ancestor, the New Caledonian prays, "Compassionate father, here is some food; be kind to us on account of it."³ When he sacrifices an ox to his ancestors, the Zulu prays, "Ye spirits of my people, here is your bullock; here is your food. Bless me with health and comfort. Father bless and protect me. Grandfather bless and protect me." He names the ancestors from whom he expects favors.⁴

In many tribes the fear of the disembodied souls is accompanied by a careful avoidance of every mention of their names. They are too august to be referred to except by some paraphrase. They are offended by familiarity; and a direct or indirect call to them attracts their attention and brings them into dangerous proximity.

The tilling savage frequently addresses formal prayers to his divinities, beseeching them to stay away from his village, to consume the offerings placed on their graves, to give help in hunting, fishing, or war ; to avert disease, or to cure the sick. He does not pray that he shall be made better morally or that his soul shall be fitted for the companionship of noble spirits in a future life.

There are savage regions, where the man prays every morning when he rises from his bed, before eating or drinking ; and at the commencement of every important enterprise. The Natchez Indians prayed at least three times a day.⁵ At all temples and sacred places where priests reside as custodians, prayers are said every morning, and on the occasion of every sacrifice. In the Tahitian temples, the priests, at the commencement of their adorations, pray the gods to wake up and listen to the solicitations of their worshippers.

In Fiji, when the water is to be poured on the ava, in preparation for drinking, a herald cries out, "Prepare a libation to the chiefs who died on the water or on the land. Be gracious, ye lords, ye gods, that the rain may come."⁶ Before a Samoan nobleman takes his evening drink of ava, he pours out a few drops to the spirits, and prays, "Here is ava for you, O ye sea gods ; stay away from us."⁷ The following is a Huron prayer : "O thou god, who dwellest in this spot, accept this tobacco ; help us on our voyage ; save us from shipwreck ; defend us from our enemies ; give us a prosperous trade and bring us back safe to our village."

Before the god, as before the despotic chief, the man assumes an attitude of submission. Captives in war throw themselves flat upon the ground, and are taken with hands bound before the chief, and compelled to

kneel before him until he decides their fate; and so the worshiper lies down, or kneels with uplifted hands.⁸ In some tribes, the subject when entering the chief's house must wear no clothing under which a club can be concealed, and the worshiper must enter the temple with his head or his feet, and in some places with the upper part of his body bare.

The postures in prayer are far from uniform. The most singular is that attributed by rumor to the Dokos, for they have never been observed by an intelligent traveler in their own country. It is said that when they pray, they stand on their heads and rest their feet against a tree or rock.⁹

SEC. 130. *Totemism*.—Totemism, the worship, by a community, of a guardian spirit which makes its home in some natural object or phenomenon, is a feature of soul-worship. It has its origin, and reaches its highest development in the feminine clan, of which it is an essential element. It exists among the non-tilling Australians; it is prominent among the tilling Redmen. Most clans which have totems, have no regular system of clan worship. They recognize their totem as sacred; they do not kill, hurt, or eat it; they treat it in action and speech with reverence; but they pay no further attention to it.

The survivals of totemism in religion are found over a large part of the earth. In portions of Polynesia, the gods or guardian spirits are conceived as brutes.¹ Serpents were worshiped by the Aztecs, Quichuans, Caribs, ancient Egyptians and Babylonians, as they are by many Africans.²

The ancestral spirits sometimes pass into brutes which then become sacred. The Sumatrans believe that tigers are possessed by the souls of human beings.³ In Cala-

bar, crocodiles are supposed to enjoy a similar honor.⁴ In Tlascala, the souls of nobles enter into beautiful birds; those of the rabble into small quadrupeds and beetles.⁵ The Zulus say their ancestors have changed themselves into serpents.⁶ The Kamtschatkans pray to the wolves and bears;⁷ the Chippeways and Ostyaks beg pardon of a bear for killing him; and the Kaffirs, Dyaks, Sumatrans, Kukis, and some Arab tribes, after killing a large wild animal, propitiate its spirit by a feast in its honor.⁸ It is supposed, by many tribes, that sorcerers can convert themselves at will into carnivorous beasts.⁹

The Congoese and Damaras,¹⁰ and land Dyaks,¹¹ have sacred trees before which they make offerings of food and drink to the spirit occupants. The date palm was sacred to the Assyrians,¹² coca to the Quichuans,¹³ and soma to the ancient Hindoos and Persians, as ava is to the Polynesians, and tobacco to the Redmen east of the Mississippi.

SEC. 131. *Fetishism*.—A step higher than totemism in the growth of religion is fetishism, or devotion to a natural, or rudely-shaped artificial object, as the abode of the special guardian spirit of the devotee. The totem is the divinity of a clan; the fetish is that of an individual. The non-tilling Australians, Tasmanians, and Lower Californians have risen to the conception of the former and not of the latter. The tilling Redmen have both. Among the latter every youth must select his fetish or "medicine" before he reaches his eighteenth year. He must go off into some place where he will probably see no human being, and there must stay, abstaining from all food and drink, until in a dream, he sees an animal or plant suitable for his fetish. Then he can return to his village and eat. So soon as possible he must obtain a

sample of his fetish, get it or part of it in a portable and durable form, attach it to a string, carry it round his neck, and never part with it. Its loss means disgrace and ruin to him. He must be faithful to it so long as he lives. He prays to it, makes offerings to it, and attributes to it all his success in life. If his fetish be an animal, he must not kill or hurt any of its species. In his religion, it is much more prominent than his totem.

The fetish of the negro is selected without fasting, dreaming, or long consideration, and may be changed repeatedly. In many cases it is a stone or shell selected because of something striking in its color or shape. It may be carried on the person, or kept in the hut. The worshiper decorates it, sets offerings before it, and prays to it; but his devotion is usually measured by his success. If he should be overtaken by misfortunes, he not unfrequently strips the ornaments from his fetish, curses it, defiles it, whips it, and throws it out as useless rubbish. Then he is ready to install another in its place.¹

If a negro has been very successful in some difficult enterprise, the result is attributed to the aid of a mighty fetish; if on the contrary he has failed ignominiously, people say he has a very weak fetish. When Captain Tuckey was exploring the lower Congo, a native chief told him that his fetish would kill anyone who shot at it; and thereupon the Englishman offered to shoot at it. This offer was accepted, but before the shot was fired, the chief withdrew his acceptance, for the reason that Tuckey had the more powerful fetish, and that the chief after his fetish had been defeated and discredited, would be attacked and plundered by his neighbors.

Some Redmen regard special trees as their fetishes,

decorate them with strips of bright cloth, hang pieces of meat as offerings on the boughs, and occasionally climb up into the branches and there sing songs of praise to the spirit.

Every guardian spirit, not ancestral, partakes of the nature of fetishism. When a Samoan child is to be born, the names of various gods are called out in succession at brief intervals, and the one last mentioned before the birth is the guardian.² In part of Mexico, under similar circumstances, the figures of various animals are drawn on the ground and rubbed out, and the one visible at the time of parturition is the patron divinity.³

Some tribes of Northern Asia have a form of fetishism known as shamanism, in which the spirits dwelling in natural objects are the friends or servants of shamans or fetishistic priests.⁴ Laymen cannot communicate directly with the invisible powers but must do so through the priests, who have an imposing ceremonial with which they gain the faith and tribute of the multitude.

It was under the influence of fetishism, that in the last century, the Norwegian peasants had a custom of bringing into the house any stone of remarkably handsome shape, and treating it as a fetish. They anointed it with butter, wet it with ale, and expected it to bring them luck in reward for their attention. Some of the Irish in our own century have had similar observances.⁵

All fetish worshipers distinctly understand that their devotions are paid to the spirit residing in the material object. The conception of the soul, as distinct from the body, is as clear to them as to any civilized theologian. Certain African tribes will not accept a fetish until a priest has consecrated it with his mummeries and thus introduced a divinity. In the conception of their sacred-

ness, such fetishes differ little from the amulets, worn in many Christian countries.

SEC. 132. *Ancestor Worship*.—After the masculine clan had been established, men began to pay their devotions to their male ancestors in the direct male line; and for a long period this ancestor worship was the most wide-spread and most prominent feature of religion. It is universal among tilling tribes with masculine descent;¹ it prevailed among the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Gauls,² and Persians, and it exists now among the Brahmins, Chinese, and Japanese. That it was known to the ancient Hebrews is implied by a verse in Deuteronomy, requiring the person, who makes an offering, to declare that it is not for the dead.³

With the recognition of the ancestor as the chief object of devotion, the spirit and the method of worship changed. Affection and confidence succeeded to doubt and fear; vagueness gave way to clearness in the conception of the divinity; and the domestic fire, the grave of the ancestor, the hut over his tomb, and the temple developed out of it, became the scenes of ceremonies that grew more elaborate and more imposing. The male of the family was the priest of the domestic worship. He represented not himself only, but also those who went before and those who had come or were to come after him. He recited prayers; he chanted hymns; he made offerings of food, drink, clothes, weapons, tools, flowers, and incense; he sacrificed beasts, slaves, and wives. The principal site of this worship is the kitchen hearth. The household fire is the favorite dwelling place of the ancestral spirits.⁴

It is a common practice to chant the praises of the deceased at his funeral,⁵ and in some tribes, the relatives

repair daily for weeks, to the grave at sunrise and sunset, to repeat their songs; or they repeat them whenever they pass near the grave, in the period of mourning.⁶ They also offer prayers there. The chief is regarded as the father of the village, clan, or tribe, and after his death everyone of his subjects can apply to his spirit for aid.⁷

In systematic ancestral worship, the divinity and the worshiper are always males. Women have no share in this religion. They must preserve and guard the fire, but they cannot offer acceptable sacrifices nor make potent prayers. The blood requisite for sacerdotal functions does not run in their veins. They live without divine communication; they are buried without ceremony.

SEC. 133. *Offerings*.—The spirits and gods to whom offerings are made, consume not the material substance but the spiritual essence. The food placed on the grave or in the temple is enjoyed by the resident spirit, just as a saddle of venison would be eaten by the warrior in whose tent it had been hung up. The dead have their homes, and their property rights. Food for the soul is placed near the corpse before or after burial, by the Polynesians, Micronesians, Melanesians, Brazilians, Karens, Redmen, and Africans. In most tribes, the provisions are supplied for only a day or two. The belief prevails that, after the spirit has become familiar with its new home, it can supply its wants with less effort than it could in the material life. But even after it can obtain sufficient food by its own exertion, it likes to be invited to an occasional feast by its surviving relatives. The Tahitians touch the lips of the corpse several times daily with food. The Mosquito widow carries food to the grave of her husband, at intervals for a year.¹ The Ka-

rens of Northern Bengal, and the Bareas of Eastern Africa have an annual feast at which food is set out for the dead.² The ancient Persians, Gauls, and Romans, the Aztecs and Quichuans had, and the Chinese now have, this custom. The food should be of the most savory kind, and in amount equal to the quantity that the person ate at a meal when alive. Fermented drinks and narcotics are also needed by the spirits, and are supplied to them. In Bonny, where the corpse is buried under the hut, which the family continues to occupy, the man must not start out in the morning without pouring a libation of beer down a pipe that leads into the coffin.³ As the spirit eats only the essence of the offering, the preservation of the material substance of the food is not necessary; and some tribes after presenting their offering at the grave, burn it there. Thus the Nootka Indians burn salmon and venison at the grave.⁴ Other tribes, after giving the spirits a chance to enjoy the essence of the offering, themselves eat the substance.

Offerings of food to the spirits are often made at the commencement of a meal. A bit of meat is thrown into the fire or on the ground, and some drops of any favorite beverage are poured out, with a reverent air, and with or without an invocation to the spirits. In Samoa, it is sufficient to wave the cup towards the heavens, thus giving the spirits the first opportunity to drink.⁵

As the soul needs food in its new home, so it needs clothes, weapons, ornaments, and servants. The Patagonians open the graves once a year to put in new garments for the dead.⁶ As the food may be burned to liberate its essence, so the weapon or jug may be broken,⁷ or the clothes may be torn at the grave; but they must be in a good condition when taken there.

SEC. 134. *Sacrifices*.—Since the body of the man must die before his soul can establish itself in the world of spirits, so the dog or horse that is to accompany him and serve him there, must be slain. There are various methods of despatching the animals, the most common being those used when slaughtering for the table. The Moluches tie a horse to a stake at the grave and let him starve to death. The pig destined to feed the Vatéan spirit is tied to the wrist of the corpse and then killed, the tying being intended to show ownership and to prevent other spirits from claiming the food.¹ In Greenland, a dog's head is buried with the child to serve as a guide and companion for the little one in crossing the dark place on the way to the world of light.² The Todas kill all a man's cattle at his burial.³ Among the tribes which sacrifice animals at the grave, are the Patagonians,⁴ Araucans,⁵ Charruas,⁶ Mbayas,⁷ Abipones, Comanches, Pawnees, Chinooks, Walla Wallas, Kaffirs, Fipas, Wagogos, Yakoots, and Kirghiz. This custom continued long after man had risen above savagism, and existed among the barbarous Gauls, Teutons, and Aztecs. In 1781, a horse was slain at a burial in Germany. The sacrifice of animals and slaves has its survival in the Japanese custom of putting little images of beasts and men on the graves, and in the Chinese custom of burning paper figures of such sacrifices.

Blood being regarded as intimately associated with the life, is the most precious part of the sacrifice, and is considered especially acceptable to the spirits. It must be put upon the altar, or smeared over it, or over the faces and especially the mouths of the idols.

Among savages, as among people in more advanced culture, the meat offered in sacrifice, may afterwards be

eaten by men. If the sacrifice be made in a temple, custom determines how much belongs to the worshiper and how much to the priest, and each may carry away and eat or sell his share. The temple becomes a slaughter house; the priests are dealers in butcher's meat. The givers of liberal gifts are treated as persons secure of divine favor; those who are unable or unwilling to make sacrifices are represented as proper objects of divine wrath.

SEC. 135. *Human Sacrifices*.—The same reasons which suggested the sacrifice of animals at graves, led to the sacrifice of human beings there. This custom has existed in recent or modern times among the Iddahs,¹ Bakutos,² Wanyoros,³ Bafiotés,⁴ Congoese,⁵ Yorubas,⁶ Ashantees, Dahomans,⁷ Kaffirs,⁸ Dakotas, Chinooks, Guaranis, Fijians, New Caledonians, Aneitums, Tongans, Hawaiians, and Tahitians. Custom in Unyoro requires that with the deceased head chief, several hundred persons, after their legs and arms have been broken, shall be buried alive.⁹ Not many generations have elapsed since ten slave girls were slain and put into the grave with the corpse of the wife of a Kaffir chief. The ceremony of sacrificing servants to accompany a deceased head chief in Bambarra, is thus described by Cameron:¹⁰ “The first proceeding is to divert the course of a stream, and in its bed to dig an enormous pit, the bottom of which is then covered with living women. At one end a woman is placed on her hands and knees, and upon her back the dead chief, covered with his beads and other treasures, is seated, being supported on either side by one of his wives, while his second wife sits at his feet. The earth is then shoveled in on them, and all the women are buried alive with the exception of the second

wife. To her, custom is more merciful than to her companions, and grants her the privilege of being killed before the huge grave is filled in. This being completed, a number of male slaves, sometimes forty or fifty are slaughtered and their blood poured over the grave; after which the river is allowed to resume its course. Stories are rife that no fewer than a hundred women were buried alive with Bambarré Kasongo's father." In the lower part of the valley of the Columbia river, when the daughter of a chief dies, the corpse is put in a canoe on a high rock or island, and tied to her, and bound hand and foot, is a live slave girl, who is strangled on the third day.

In many tribes, public opinion requires the wives and favorite slaves to accompany the husband and master in death; and many of the victims accept the sacrifice willingly, partly, perhaps, because if they could escape, they would become outcasts. From those provinces of Hindostan, where suttee was prohibited, in this century, widows of Brahmins were for a time in the habit of accompanying the corpses of their husbands into other provinces, where they could be burned. The fear of life-long disgrace may control some, while others count confidently on relative happiness in the world of spirits as compensation for their obedience to the sacerdotal commands in this material sphere. The custom of slaying wives on the grave of the husband is common among savage tribes that have risen above the feminine clan.

Human sacrifices in religious worship existed among the Polynesians, Micronesians, and Melanesians generally, among many African, and some American, Malayesian, and Hindoo savages, as well as among the barbarous Aztecs, Quichuans, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Jews, Persians, Gauls, and Teutons, and the civilized ancient

Greeks and Romans. When the Polynesians held great festivities and sought to make themselves especially dear to the gods, and when in times of serious public disaster, they wished to give solemnity to the general lamentation and to propitiate the offended divinities, men were slain in the temples. Human sacrifices to the gods of agriculture are or have been made by the Khonds,¹¹ Nagas,¹² Lagos,¹³ Congoese,¹⁴ and Pawnees. The tribe last named sacrificed a captive Dakota girl in 1837. After they had shot many arrows into her body, and while she was still alive, they cut pieces of flesh from her body and squeezed out the blood on the newly-planted hills of maize.¹⁵ Since the time when the Khonds have been forbidden to propitiate the gods by human sacrifices, they make cakes of dough or clay in the shape of men, and cut off their heads.¹⁶ A human sacrifice is offered by the Yorubas when they start out on a military expedition,¹⁷ by the Kimbaras when they install a new chief,¹⁸ by the Wanika when they admit a party of young men into the rank of the warriors,¹⁹ and by the Fijians when they launch a canoe or when they congratulate a young prince upon reaching the age of manhood.²⁰ In 1861, B. Seeman persuaded the head chief of Fiji to spare about five hundred inhabitants of a rebellious village, whose sacrifice had been ordered, for the purpose of giving lustre to a festival in honor of the arrival of his eldest son at his majority. Ancient custom had provided that at the most important moment of the ceremony, the prince should stand on the breast of a prostrate living slave, lying on the apex of a pyramid of corpses of men slain for the occasion.²¹ The most extensive recent human sacrifices have been those of Dahomey and Ashantee, in each of which countries, the annual number of victims was not less than two

hundred, and according to some authorities, much larger. In the former country, the sacrifices are made in considerable numbers at a few festivals and especially on the anniversary of the death of the last king, when a feast of blood is set out for the souls of the royal family. In Ashantee, a human victim is sacrificed on each of seven days out of eight so that there are about three hundred and twenty in a year. In Florida the first born son was sacrificed to the sun, and children were sacrificed to the spirits in New England, Virginia, and Dakota.²² At Benin, a young woman is lashed to a platform on a tall tree to be eaten by vultures; and the Bonny fishermen tie a human victim to a stake, between low and high tide, so that when the water rises, a shark may come in and eat him.²³ The gods occupy the bodies of these vultures and sharks. Among the tribes which have continued to sacrifice human victims until recent times in Hindostan are the Oryssas.²⁴

Human sacrifices in temples differ little in motive, from the slaughter of wives, slaves, and friends at the grave of the chiefs. The two customs are intimately associated. One provides food and the other service, for the gods. Both are intended to conciliate supernatural powers. The original suggestion of sacrifice of human beings is to be found in cannibalism. That meat, which is most costly and therefore most delightful to warriors, is demanded by the gods. They, like their worshipers, delight in the destruction of the souls of their enemies.

Since we know that human sacrifice in religion is a consequence of reputable cannibalism in private life, the question arises why the effect did not cease with its original cause. It was because, in the meantime, other influences had become potent. Change could operate

much more quickly in social life than in religion. Many centuries after the advance of culture had driven cannibalism into desuetude and discredit in tropical Polynesia, Carthage, Phœnicia, Persia, Greece, Rome, Gaul and Germany, Mexico and Peru, so many centuries that the tradition of the ancient custom had been forgotten, and the people did not suppose that their ancestors had ever feasted on cooked men, the custom of human sacrifices continued in those countries and in most of them on an extensive scale. The ecclesiastical custom remained the same but the explanation of it was different. In the earlier ages, the reason for the sacrifice was that as the spirits and gods were hungry and as human flesh was a luxury, so men must be sacrificed in the temples. But when men learned to look upon feasts of human flesh with disgust and horror, that explanation would no longer serve. The priests however, as a class, would not admit that they or their predecessors in office had belied the gods. They understood that their power and profit depended, to a large extent, on their success in convincing the multitude that their gods had not changed in character, and that their corporation had always acted with divine authority. With popular credulity and governmental power to aid them they found no great difficulty in this task. Acting on this policy, they asserted that the gods never wanted to be fed on human flesh or blood; that the doctrine of giving such food never was a material part of their ecclesiastical system; and that the only purpose of the custom was to fill the people with the ideas that the gods were entitled to the most precious of all sacrifices, and that it was the duty of the worshipers to make the most trying of all penances with human life. When the priest dipped his finger into the blood of the

slaughtered man and put it into his mouth that was a penance for him.²⁵

In New Zealand and Fiji, the most precious morsel in the cannibal feast was the left eye, because it was supposed to be the seat of the victim's soul, which would unite with and strengthen that of the eater. It was therefore given to the person highest in rank at the feast. In Tahiti and Hawaii, men had ceased to eat human flesh when Cook was there, but after a man was sacrificed in a temple, his left eye was handed to the head chief, who made a motion as if he would eat it and then gave it back to the priest. The meaning of this ceremony had been forgotten by the people, and the Tahitian, who went with Cook to New Zealand, was struck with horror when he saw the Maoris there eat their fellow-men. He did not know that his ancestors had been cannibals.

Another class of human victims may be mentioned here, those sacrificed to watch or defend buildings, towns, or boats. In many tribes of Africa, Melanesia, and Malaysia, custom requires that under every post of a town gate or of a chief's dwelling, a slave, dead or alive, shall be buried. In portions of Melanesia, a war canoe is not fit for use until it has been consecrated by the slaughter of a slave. He may be slain so that his blood shall flow over and wash its upper surface, or he may be used as a roller and crushed to death while it is being launched. The spirit of the victim becomes the guardian of the structure.²⁶

SEC. 136. *Gods*.—The first divinity was a disembodied soul, the second a male ancestor in the direct male line, the third a deceased chief. When political organization became compact, the able despotic ruler was regarded in some sense as the father of the tribe. If he

had given a superior military training to his warriors, and had increased the power and wealth of his tribe, he would be looked upon as divine in his character. He would receive the adoration of his subjects. Savages worship easily. From man to god is a small step for them. It is a step that every brave warrior takes when he dies.

The son and successor of a chief, who had been a great military leader, would perceive that the public worship of his father by the whole community, under the superintendence of an organized priesthood, dependent on him for support, and scattered through the country so as to come in contact with all the people, would add greatly to his political power. It would then be his policy to strengthen this priesthood and to weaken every other. Under such influences, tribal worships and divinities gradually encroached upon and superseded the household religions. In some conquering tribe, a priest employed in the worship of a chief long dead, asserted that his divinity had always been a celestial spirit. This idea was accepted by the people because it was more worthy of their dignity than devotion to a disembodied human soul. Thus another step was taken in the development of religion.

In war, the gods are interested as well as the men. If a chief carries his victories far, and understands well the interest of his dynasty, he takes care that his power shall be fortified by sacerdotal influence. A good example, of the union of Church and State in savagism, is found in the history of the Hawaiian group, every island of which had at least one independent chief and independent religion, when Kamehameha I. began his conquering career in the last century. After his royal authority

had been established over the entire group, in 1795, he raised his family god Tairi to the position of supreme national divinity, moved all the idols of the local divinities to Tairi's temple, compelled all the priests to devote themselves to Tairi's worship, and required them to act as part of his police.¹

The highest conception of divinity, found among savages, is that of the Tahitians. They have a supreme deity who created the universe. He also created an immense number of inferior gods, including one for every island, mountain, valley, planet, star, meteorological phenomenon, occupation, virtue, vice and crime. He created time. The year is his daughter; her children are months, and her grandchildren days. The sea is the sweat that poured from him while he was making the world. The sun is his left eye and the seat of his soul. He pays no attention to praise or prayer. He leaves the management of human affairs to his subordinates.

The spirits of savagism rejoice in the victories and conquests of their worshipers, and the slaughter of their enemies. The excitement of battle is rapturous to them as it was to the divinities of ancient Egypt and Assyria, of Greece and Rome, of Gaul and Germany. The sight of the flowing blood gives delight to the gods of Fiji, and to those of Tahiti.² After he has taken a scalp, the Redman celebrates his success by a dance, in which he exhibits his trophy, and thanks his fetish for granting him success.

In cannibal tribes, spirits or gods, like living men, delight in feasting on human flesh, and demand frequent human sacrifices. They drink the blood of the victims; their idols must be smeared over the mouth and face

with the fresh gore. One of the gods of Fiji is called Brain-eater. The priests bless the cannibal feasts, participate in them and demand them as necessary to do honor to the gods.

In many tribes, the names of the gods are sacred and are carefully concealed from aliens, slaves, commoners, women, and children—that is from all who have no right to participate in the divine worship. It is imagined that he who does not call out the true name of the god cannot get his attention or favor, and cannot make an acceptable offering; and that he, who has the true name, can get almost any favor. The Romans treated the revelation of the name of their national god, to an enemy, as a great crime, and they had special rituals for enticing the divinity of a hostile city to come over to them, and for installing the god of a conquered city in their pantheon.

Under ordinary circumstances, the mention of the name of Yahveh was forbidden to the Jews, that of Osiris to the ancient Egyptians, and that of Brahm to the Hindoos. Many Arabs imagine that Allah is a mere title of the diety, that his true name is known to none save a few devout and learned men; and then whenever it is used in prayer, the favor solicited is always granted immediately.

The change from the worship of the ancestors to that of the gods was not abrupt. The two religions existed side by side, for many ages in harmony. Between the household divinities and the tribal divinities, there was no incompatibility and scarcely any rivalry. It was not until men rose above savagism, that priests of tribal gods obtained influence enough to suppress the adoration of the ancestral gods.

The savage is not a monotheist. Unless in rarely exceptional cases, he has no conception of a creator and governor of the world, of a great first cause whose effect is the universe with all its laws and forces and material parts. He has no idea that moral quality belongs to divine nature. He knows nothing of a deity who looks with equal favor on all mankind. He may learn the phrase "Great Spirit," from civilized men but he continues to worship a disembodied soul, a fetish or tribal guardian spirit, and to believe in an immense number of divinities.

SEC. 137. *Idolatry*.—Rudiments of idolatry make their appearance in the feminine clan, if not earlier. The Mandan widow, who has had a good husband, saves his skull, offers food to it and talks to it, as if his spirit were there. The Hawaiians, Caribs and Andamanese keep the skulls of their dead with reverent care.¹ The New Caledonians cherish them and make offerings to them.² The Yucatanese made idols in which the skull of an ancestor occupied the place of the head. The Aztecs mixed the ashes of their noble with the clay of which they made his image or statue.³ While the body of the Congoese chief is in the hands of the embalmers, a wooden image of him is set up in the palace, and offerings of food and drink are placed before it every day.⁴ After the burial of an Abyssinian, an image of him is used in the mourning ceremonies.⁵ In portions of Melanesia, offerings are made to a representative idol on the grave.⁶ Rude images of the dead are placed on the graves of the Araucans, Maoris and some Redmen.⁷ The Ostyak has a wooden image of his deceased father in his hut, offers food to it and worships it.⁸ The Ostyak priest keeps the images of his male ancestors, in the male line, for several generations and,

besides making offerings to them, induces others to do so.⁹ When a Samoyed leaves home, the domestic idol is turned to face the direction of his journey and thus look after and guard him.¹⁰ The Yoruban mother, who has lost a child, carries a wooden image of it, and offers food to it whenever she eats.¹¹ The image of the dead chief is worshiped in Hawaii.¹² As a general rule tribes which worship ancestors have figures representing them.

Idolatry does not appear in the lowest tribes, but it is a highly effective feature of ecclesiasticism among advanced savages. The sight of the god in human form, the pompous ceremonial worship before it, the show of devotion to it by all in authority, and the prosperity and power of its chief worshipers, impress the popular credulity with the utmost confidence in the existence and power of the divinity and in the genuineness of the sacerdotal commission. The idolaters are proud of their idolatry, and despise tribes which have no idols. Although the Samoans have guardian spirits, and worship them every day with prayers and offerings, yet because they have no images of their gods, the idolatrous Polynesians contemptuously call them "the godless Samoans."¹³ In Tahiti some of the idols are rude billets of wood, decorated with leaves and red feathers; others are hollow logs filled with red feathers.

The idolater understands as well as the fetish worshiper, or even more clearly, that the material portion of the idol is not divine.¹⁴ Among the higher savages, the idol must always be consecrated, that is, the divinity must be persuaded to make his home in it. Such installation ceremonies are indispensable to the idol in Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga, and Fiji.¹⁵ The religious ideas connected with the use of images of sacred characters in

ecclesiastical affairs, are substantially the same in high savagism, in barbarism and in civilization. All distinctions, to show that one form of devotion to images is idolatrous and another is not, are mere fictions based on the necessity of finding excuses for adherence to the old forms of a discredited superstition.

By black, yellow, and white men, in savagism, barbarism, and civilization, wherever ecclesiastical images are used, there the idols are dressed and decorated, and lamps are burned, offerings are made and prayers are said before them in the same spirit and with similar ideas. Everywhere among the worshipers, one image has the repute of being much more powerful than another. The Chinooks determine the relative values by knocking the idols together violently; the one that breaks first is the home of the weaker god.¹⁶

Everywhere the idols are blessed in prosperity, and in adversity are cursed, threatened, despoiled, defiled, whipped, broken, and burned, or thrown away. It is so in Africa, Polynesia, Siberia, China, and Italy. Speaking of some Siberian tribes, Pallas says: "Notwithstanding the veneration and respect which they have for their idols, the latter fare badly when adversity overtakes an Ostyak, if prosperity does not soon return to him. He throws his idol on the ground, beats it, curses it, and breaks it into fragments. Such punishments occur frequently; and such outbursts of wrath are observed among all the idolatrous tribes of Siberia."¹⁷

SEC. 138. *Divine Intercourse*.—The lives of savages generally are full of devotional feeling. A prayer or a sacrifice, to secure divine favor or to ward off wrath, precedes every important act. They imagine themselves constantly surrounded by watchful, jealous and punctil-

ious divinities, always ready to give them signals of danger, to reward attention and devotion, and to punish neglect or deliberate impiety. Their penalties make up all the evil, and their rewards much of the good of life. To the savage whose fetish is carried on his person or whose guardian spirit is domiciled in his hut; who makes offerings of food and drink to it at every meal; who, at the beginning of every day and enterprise, looks for the omens indicating the divine advice as to the course he shall pursue; whose soul frequently, in dreams leaves his body to associate with excarnated spirits; who puts provisions, clothing, and arms on the graves of his dead relatives,—to the savage who thinks and acts thus, the civilized man without fetish, guardian divinity, omen, spirit intercourse, or offerings at meals or graves, seems a person whose life has no sacred element; a person profane, groveling, and godless.

In times of adversity, and especially of general adversity, the devotion of the savage increases. Misfortunes are regarded as indications of divine wrath. The temples, in tribes which have advanced far enough to have such structures, are rebuilt or readorned; costly sacrifices are offered; and long processions march to the altars, or even crawl on hands and knees, dragging heavy stones.¹ Among savages as among civilized people the priests reap their richest harvest in times of misery.

Referring to the Polynesians, Gerland says: "Although their moral feeling was slightly developed, their timorous religious sensitiveness had a controlling influence in their private and public life; for their simplest actions were affected and guided by considerations relating to a divine power. For them, religion was the most important element of existence."²

Writing of the Arabs in the Soudan, S. W. Baker³ tells us that, "The conversation of the Arabs is in the exact style of the Old Testament. The name of God is coupled with every trifling incident in life, and they believe in the continual action of divine, special intercourse. Should a famine affect the country, it is expressed in the stern language of the Bible, 'The Lord has sent a grievous famine upon the land,' or, 'The Lord called for a famine and it came upon the land.' Should their cattle fall sick, it is considered to be an affliction by divine command; or should the flocks prosper and multiply particularly during one season, the prosperity is attributed to special interference. Nothing can happen in the usual routine of daily life, without a direct connection with the hand of God, in the Arab's belief.

"This striking similarity to the description of the Old Testament is exceedingly interesting to a traveler when residing among these curious and original people. With the Bible in one hand, and these unchanged tribes before their eyes, there is a thrilling illustration of the sacred record; the past becomes present; the veil of three thousand years is raised, and the living picture is a witness to the exactness of the historical description. At the same time, there is a light thrown upon many obscure passages in the Old Testament, by the experience of the present customs and figures of speech of the Arabs, which are precisely those which were practiced at the periods described. I do not attempt to enter upon a theological treatise, therefore it is unnecessary to allude specially to these particular points. The sudden and desolating arrival of a flight of locusts, the plague or any other unforeseen calamity, is attributed to the anger of God, and is believed to be the infliction of pun-

ishment upon the people thus visited, precisely as the plagues of Egypt were specially inflicted upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Should the present history of the country be written by an Arab scribe, the style of the description would be purely that of the Old Testament, and the various calamities or the good fortunes that have in the course of nature, befallen both the tribes and individuals, would be recounted either as special visitations of divine wrath or blessings for good deeds performed. If in a dream, a particular course of action is suggested, the Arab believes the God has spoken and directed him. The Arab scribe or historian would describe the event as 'the voice of the Lord,' [Kallam el Allah], having spoken unto the person; or that 'God appeared to him in a dream' and 'said.' Thus, much allowance would be necessary on the part of a European reader for the figurative ideas and expressions of the people."

SEC. 139. *Worship*.—Ecclesiastical ceremonies grow with theological conceptions. The Australian is surrounded by malignant spirits who are conceived vaguely as taking no special interest in any individual; and he rarely performs any act of worship. He has no guardian divinity, or fetish; and although he has a clan totem, he pays regard to it only by abstaining from injuring or eating it. The Redman, in the tilling culturestep, has his personal fetish (selected in a dream) which he carries with him always, to which he frequently prays and makes offerings; and besides he has certain public ceremonies of adoration paid to his totem, and to the spirits generally. In the advanced masculine clan, the savage drops his totem and the fetish spirit selected in a dream. The chief objects of his worship now are his male ancestors in the direct male line. His grandfather, his great-grand-

father, and if dead, his father. These ancestors look down on him with favor, if he pay popular devotion to them; and he looks up to them with confidence. He worships them regularly and publicly; in their service he employs priests. Under the dominion of a despotic chief, the savage rises to the idea of a tribal god, who never was human, and who must be worshiped with elaborate ceremonies and sacrifices. The ancestral spirits are however, for the advanced savage, always the main objects of his worship.

In the development of savage worship, the form advances more than the motive, but the latter changes from predominant fear to affection. The nameless malignant spirit of the Australian is regarded with terror; the guardian spirit of the Redman with devotion; the ancestral spirit of the Kaffir or Tahitian with confidence and affection; and the tribal god of the Tahitian or Hawaiian with awe, as an exalted being who cares little for any men save the highest chiefs.

The ceremonies of worship become complex as the priests gain wealth, influence and education. The ecclesiastical profession differentiates itself into numerous branches including those of diviners, singers, instrumental musicians, sacrificers, custodians of sacred animals, and custodians and builders of temples. The ecclesiastical ceremonies become complex and pompous, but all the main ideas of worship remain the same as when the highest divinity known was a human soul.

The following Tahitian prayer shows the feeling of a worshiper, in the most advanced phase of modern savagism, towards his divinity: "Save me, save me, O my God, through this night in which the evil spirits have power. Watch over me, O my God! O my Lord! Protect me

from sorcery, from sudden death, from the plots and curses and secret trickery of my enemies, and from disputes about land boundaries. Grant that peace shall prevail round me and mine. Save me from the evil spirit who delights in terrifying mankind, whose hair looks like frightful bristles. Grant that I and my soul shall live and rest in quiet through this night, O my God!"¹

The sun is regarded by nearly all savages as the home of spirits, and devotion is paid to it and to fire as its representative. This worship of the sources of heat and light are however in most tribes, not connected with any very definite ideas. It is little more than empty ceremony based on ancient custom. At the beginning of every meal, the Moqui, Zuni and Pueblo, and the warrior of many ruder tribes in North America, throws a bit of food into the fire as an offering.² The Chippeways,³ Pottawatamies⁴ and Natchez⁵ keep sacred fires burning continually, as do the Congoese,⁶ Damaras and the Dahomans.⁷ The name Cherokee means fire; the Muscogees say that fire is their ancestor; and the Chickasaws, using a phrase of recent origin, tell us that the Great Spirit shows himself in fire.⁸ The Creeks, Cherokees, Natchez, Knistenos and some other tribes of Redmen have a harvest festival at which the old fires are quenched, the huts are cleaned, the people undergo ceremonies of purification, including the use of bathing, fasting, emetics and purges; and when the sins of the people are washed away, and all offenses save murder are forgiven, new fires are solemnly kindled and the first fruits of the new crop are thrown into them.⁹

Besides having their sacred fires, and paying worship to the sun, the Redmen regard smoking as a religious ceremony, make it a part of their most solemn festivals,

and have a sacred regard for the pipe. In many tribes, the warrior has the exclusive privilege of smoking, and before beginning he looks up to the sky, down to the earth and turns to the four cardinal points as if calling the attention of the spirits, in every direction, to his piety.

Since the gods, on account of their remoteness, their higher nature and their less intimate association with human life and local affairs, receive less adoration than do the souls of men, so the sun is not worshiped as much as fire; and yet it is or has been adored by many tribes in all the larger divisions of the globe. Waitz goes so far as to say that it is impossible to be a heathen without worshiping the sun.¹⁰ The high chief of the Natchez saluted the sun every morning, when it rose, with three long howls, blew tobacco smoke towards it and made obeisance to it.¹¹ Though nominally Mohammedans, the Bedouins pay adoration to the sun.¹²

Subordinate chiefs must pay periodical visits to their superior with tribute, assurances of fidelity and demonstrations of submissiveness; and with the same motive, after the savage has a temple, he must from time to time take offerings and pay adoration there to his god. At the outset, says Spencer, "presents to the dead differ from presents to the living neither in meaning nor motive." If a noble, or chief, with numerous adherents or a large party go to a distant temple, for the purpose of worship, the journey becomes a pilgrimage. In some tribes as soon as they reach the sacred place, they march round it three times "with the sun," that is with the right side nearest to the shrine, singing songs in praise of the divinity.¹³

Since morality is not a part of savage religion, ceremonial observances have a great relative prominence.

The chief offenses in the eyes of the gods, are violations of sacerdotal orders.¹⁴ Every disaster is considered a divine retribution for some such offense. Among the Zulus, disease is often attributed by the priest, to the resentful persecution of a deceased ancestor who has not been properly worshiped by the afflicted descendant. The remedy prescribed is that the invalid must sing songs of praise and offer sacrifices to the offended spirit, until health returns.

Nearly all savage tribes have regularly recurring sacred festivals, and as a general rule, the more advanced the culture, the more frequent, the longer and the more imposing are they. At the beginning of their year, the Tahitians have a festival called the renewal of the gods, when the temples are cleaned and adorned; the idols are exposed to the sun, oiled, perfumed, decorated, carried about in a procession with songs and instrumental music, and replaced; after which all the nobles sit down to a public feast. The beginning of the fishing season and of the harvest are also celebrated with much ceremony; and the first fish and first fruit are offered to the gods in the temple. At the end of the year, farewell is said to the gods and they are begged to return with the new year. A feast is also set out by relatives for the spirits of all who have died within the preceding twelve-month.¹⁵

SEC. 140. *Priests*.—Whoever mediates or pretends to mediate, between his fellow-men and a supernatural being, is a priest, no matter how crude his faith, or how absurd his ceremonies may appear to the civilized observer.¹ The professional expeller of evil spirits, the rain-maker, the discoverer of criminals by revelation, the sorcerer who causes disease or death by incantation, or saves

from the incantation of others, the diviner who foretells the results of projected enterprisers by omens or spirit communications, the wizard who calls the dead from their graves, the seer who converses with the ever-present spirits, the prophet always authorized to explain the wishes of the gods to people and rulers, and the ecclesiastic who conducts the public worship of his tribe on important occasions,—all these are alike priests, as all these acts are parts of sacerdotal business, and as all the theories on which those acts are based are religious. Wherever there are priests, they make a profit by their business.²

In the lower tribes, including all which have no hereditary chiefs, any man may make a profession of priestcraft, in any of its departments. If successful in gaining the confidence of the community, his social position becomes honorable, and his life relatively easy; if unsuccessful, he falls back into the multitude. The profit of his sacerdotal practice depends, among the Redmen and Africans, upon the might of his fetish. He who has a large professional income for several years in consequence of some lucky hit, may be thrown into discredit by some notable failure, or by the trickery of a more cunning or more plausible rival.

In certain American tribes, as for instance among the Dakotas and Cheyennes, the head war chief must be a priest; and the combination of political with ecclesiastical office, gives him much more influence than is possessed by other chiefs in the same region.

As a general rule among savage tribes, as well as among barbarous and civilized nations, democratic political organizations are accompanied by weak ecclesiastical systems; and despotic governments, by powerful sac-

erdotal systems. We expect to find hereditary priests with hereditary nobles; and aristocratic arrogance is as great among the sacerdotal as among the military chiefs.

Tribes with despotic government and hereditary nobility usually have what may be called an established church in which the ecclesiastics are of noble blood. Deriving a comfortable or luxurious support from their office, they arrange its duties in a routine, which a man of ordinary capacity may learn without great effort. Having no monopoly or ready control of convulsive and hysterical sensitiveness, they treat it as an inferior gift or a sacrilegious imposture and, resenting the competition of the sensitive sorcerers, seers and prophets, persecute them as agents of evil spirits.

Every Maori warrior is also a priest, and in Samoa, there is no priesthood supported entirely by ecclesiastical revenue; but in the other Polynesian groups, the sacerdotal profession is the exclusive privilege of a hereditary class of nobles and is a source of much power and profit to its followers. In Tahiti, the office of high priest is hereditary; in Tonga, the high priest overshadows the political ruler, as it does in Congo. In Obbo, Loango,³ part of Madagascar,⁴ Ebo, Blantyre, and Tanna,⁵ the office of high priest belongs to the chief, and among the Khonds and Ashantees, to the family of the chief.⁶

In many tribes a priest gains little influence and occupation in his profession, unless it is known that he has undergone an initiation, which may include fasting and bleeding as among the Arowaks,⁷ or fasting and laceration as among the Chippeways,⁸ or fasting and exposure to much danger in handling poisonous serpents, as in portions of Africa.

Save in a few tribes, the sacerdotal office belongs ex-

clusively to men. Among the exceptions are the Fantis, Whydahs and Popos,⁹ who have some women priests, and several Dyak tribes, all whose priests are women. In certain Dyak tribes the men are priests, but they must wear the dress of women.¹⁰ There is a similar priesthood in Alaska. Among the Dahomans and Damaras a woman belonging to the family of the head chief may become a priest, and among the Blantyre negroes, during the absence of the chief, who is also high priest, his wife conducts the worship.¹¹

The worship of the ancestor belongs to the head of the household and is an obstacle to the rise of a powerful priesthood. As the sacerdotal profession rises, the domestic religion usually declines. Perhaps the weakest clergy among tilling savages with despotic chiefs is found in New Zealand, where the ancestral divinities are adored with great fervor and where the tribal gods are relatively insignificant. Some writers have said that there are no priests among the Maoris; there is no such hereditary sacerdotal class as there is in Tahiti and Hawaii, but there are men who make a study of the ancient myths, songs, and rituals.¹² In some Kaffir tribes there are numerous gradations in the sacerdotal profession and every priest is expected to serve in every lower grade successively before admission to a higher one. The initiatory ceremonies include fasting, solitary contemplation, dancing and singing.¹³

Among the Tahitians, Marquesans and some other Polynesian and some African tribes, the high priest bears the same title as the god, and is treated by his subordinates as if he were one.¹⁴ The same honors are paid to the priest as to the image of the divinity. Incense is burned, sacrifices are made, and prayers are addressed to him.

SEC. 141. *Sensitives, etc.*—In low savagism, the priests generally, or at least those who have the highest standing in their profession, are persons of peculiar nervous sensitiveness. “Persons whose constitutional unsoundness induces morbid manifestations are indeed marked out by nature to become seers and sorcerers.”¹ Among the Zulus, men of “very sensitive families” become priests.² “When first the spirit of prophecy manifests itself in a Kaffir, he begins by losing all his interest in the events of everyday life. He becomes depressed in mind, prefers solitude to company, often has fainting fits, and what is most extraordinary of all, loses his appetite. He is visited by dreams of an extraordinary character, mainly relating to serpents, lions, hyenas, leopards, and other wild beasts. Day by day he becomes more possessed, until the perturbations of his spirit manifest themselves openly. In this stage of his novitiate, the future prophet utters terrible yells, leaps here and there with astonishing vigor, and runs about at full speed, leaping and shrieking all the time. When thus excited, he will dart into the bush, catch snakes (which an ordinary Kaffir will not touch), tie them around his neck, boldly fling himself into the water and perform all kinds of insane feats.”³ When a Tongan priest is inspired with the spirit of prophecy he becomes greatly excited, and sometimes dies with the agitation.⁴ Convulsions and actions similar to those of insane persons, are often observed in the priests of Siberia, Patagonia, the Bhil country,⁵ Fiji, Hawaii and Tahiti,⁶ and they are brought on purposely by fasting, mutilations, sweat baths, solitude, drugs,⁷ narcotics and alcoholic liquors.⁸ The ancient Scythian priests inhaled the smoke of burning hemp. Savages generally regard every phase of intoxication, delirium, convulsion

and wild or furious dementia as a spiritual possession. Lunacy and priestcraft are considered to be nearly related. The greater the resemblance in his conduct and appearance to that of a lunatic, the greater the confidence commanded by the priest. His careless dress, his lean form, his glaring eyes, and the irregular and fidgety movements of his facial muscles and of his limbs, all heighten his repute for sanctity, and therefore his influence and his revenue. The sacerdotal profession among low savages, is not regarded as one of luxury or ease in its earlier years. Its votary must begin by subjecting himself to severe trials of various kinds, as a means of securing ultimate success. Some tribes of North American Indians for instance expected their young priest to thrust strong wooden skewers through the muscles of his breast, to suspend himself by these with his toes merely touching the ground, and to remain hanging thus all day without fainting.⁹

As a consequence of the belief in some tribes that all, and in others that most diseases are caused by demoniac influence, the priest, among savages, has taken possession of the healing art. His chief remedy is exorcism, by songs, instrumental music, incantations, incense, offerings or prayers. He may prescribe an offering to propitiate an offended spirit, and in this case the gift goes to the priest for the spirit's benefit. One mode of treatment is based on the idea that the persecuting spirit will flee if the sick man's hut is made an unpleasant place of sojourn. In such case, the priest shouts, growls, groans, drums, barks like a dog, gesticulates furiously, makes ugly faces, gives disgusting medicines to the patient, burns substances of fetid odor, and as a last resort, sets the hut afire, even if the invalid be so feeble that he can with difficulty escape.¹⁰ Sometimes the priest says the evil spirit is in

a stone, a bone, a lizard, a toad, or a snake, and points to the part of the body occupied by the possessed object. He then puts his mouth to the place, pretends to suck out the thing and holds it up in his hand. With the help of dexterity on one side and credulity on the other this trick is nearly always successful, in everything save curing the patient. Some priests are able to throw up a small pebble or bone at will, and this skill is a great aid in this imposture.¹¹ The Maoris imagine that each organ is exposed to the attack of a special evil spirit, and that the best remedy is to address a suitable prayer to this spirit. The services of the priest are then indispensable. Even if emetics be administered, their efficacy is to be attributed to their potency in driving out the persecuting demon.¹²

Civilized travelers who have had good opportunities of observation, generally believe that the savage priests, as a class, have a sincere faith in their divine commission and in the real existence of their gods ; but that this sincere faith does not prevent those priests from using any trickery that may seem efficient in increasing their own revenue and influence.

SEC. 142. *Sorcerers*.—A prominent part of the savage religion is the belief that sorcerers can control the disembodied spirits and influence them to enter, occupy and injure the bodies of men designated as victims.

To use this malign influence with success, it is necessary, in many tribes, that the sorcerer should get a bit of rubbish from the body of his victim.¹ The best material is some clipping from hair or nails, some saliva or excreta. For lack of these, any article of clothing that he has worn, any piece of food, from which he has bitten a part, may be employed. In Fiji, the bone of one of his ancestors is

sufficient. If nothing better can be had, the earth on which his foot has left its track will suffice. An image made of clay or other material, enclosing the rubbish is called by the victim's name—it is very important, for this purpose, to know his true name—and then scorched, burned, boiled, pierced with a thorn, cut with a knife, or crushed, while the sorcerer prays his god to kill the victim. In Tahiti, a skull is smeared with something that had been prepared as food for the victim and then the spirit of the dead man attacks the person with whose rubbish he has been insulted.² The custom of thus using rubbish to destroy enemies is almost coextensive with savagism and has prevailed in many barbarous and civilized communities. Within the last half century, it has been practiced in England and Scotland.

When it is known that a professional sorcerer has obtained rubbish of a person and has prayed that he may die, death is confidently expected. It is reasonable to suppose that poison is often employed to protect popular expectation from disappointment and sacerdotal credit from serious diminution. Rubbish can be employed to torture and demoralize the dead as well as the living, and to injure the latter through their spiritual guardians.

In many countries, as a protection against sorcery, all personal rubbish is carefully burned; and corpses or their ashes are concealed. Among the New Zealanders one of the most disgraceful calamities that can befall a family is to permit the bones of a deceased chief or warrior to fall into the hands of an enemy. For the purpose of enabling all to secure their own safety, there is an extensive custom in Polynesia, that every person shall receive his portion of food in a separate basket or on a

separate leaf, and that, after finishing his meal, he shall secrete the remnants. There is no eating from a common dish.

If nothing that has been used by the intended victim can be obtained, the sorcerer can make an image representing him and by giving it his name, use it for his destruction. In such case it is impossible to achieve success without the true name of the victim;³ and perhaps for this reason, many savages are unwilling to let their names be known.

Although in tribes with despotic governments, the priests recognized by the chiefs claim to possess and to exercise the powers of sorcery, they are hostile to all outsiders who have the credit of practicing that art. Unless bound together by a strong community of interest, such as relationship by blood or membership in an established priesthood, sorcerers are natural enemies to one another. In some tribes the sacerdotal profession is frequently called upon to find out the magician who has been the cause of a death, and the discovery is made either by omens or by smell. Since a victim must be found for every important offense, such as the sickness or death of a chief or prominent warrior, the life of a man hateful to the priest and without powerful friends, is very insecure. The evil is the result of malignant sorcery and must be expiated before relief is to be expected. Everybody is suspected of being the malignant sorcerer; at least no one save the mighty is safe from suspicion. The father is distrusted by his child, and the child by his father.⁴ If either should be accused by the priest, the other must not venture to interfere. Nobody must demand reasonable evidence; the assertion of the priest or the divination under his management is con-

clusive. The Abipones say that death would disappear from the world if the sorcerers would abandon their deplorable arts.⁵

The belief in the evil eye,—the power of the glance of the envious person to injure the desired object or its owner,—prevails in many savage tribes as well as in all Mohammedan and in many Christian countries. Any admiring remark about a child, without some pious ejaculation to show that no harm is meant, provokes alarm where this superstition exists. In Abyssinia, children, houses and much prized beasts have some striking ornament to fix the attention of the evil eye, and prevent it from doing harm; and many persons wear amulets inscribed with some phrase that is considered a protective charm.⁶

SEC. 143. *Sacerdotal Functions*.—In proportion as the grade of culture is higher, the ecclesiastical organization is more complex and the sacerdotal functions are more numerous. Among the tropical Polynesians, we find custodians of songs and legends, custodians of temples, musicians, and managers of public festivals as well as healers, diviners, sorcerers, sacrificers, and priests of family and tribal divinities.

Besides taking charge of the places and ceremonies of worship, the Tahitian priests officiate at the installations, marriages and funerals of chiefs, act as orators, singers, prophets and leaders in battle, consecrate temples and idols, announce taboos and watch over their enforcement, and by virtue of superior nautical skill and astronomical knowledge, command maritime expeditions to distant islands or groups.¹ At the temples, they beat drums every morning to waken the gods and attract divine attention to the prayers, after which they return

thanks for past favors and recite a litany. In portions of Polynesia the priests baptize and name children,² absolve sinners after confession, and perform operations similar to that of circumcision.

Like the gods of the savages, their priests delight in war. They encourage the chiefs and people to engage in hostilities. They go with the military expeditions, observe the omens or take the auspices and promise victory.³ They bless their warriors on the battle field; they curse the enemies; and they share the spoil. In most tribes they are leaders in the fight; in others, as among the New Caledonians, they stand aloof, fasting and praying for victory. Among the Eggarahs, a high priest always holds the position of minister of war, and the influence of the national religion is of course used to sustain all his military projects. In the Hawaiian group, if a theft has been committed without witnesses, and under circumstances which do not throw suspicion on any one, public notice is given that the gods will punish the offender. A priest throws some nuts into a fire and while they burn, he prays aloud that the thief may die, unless he shall come forward and confess. If he confesses, he is fined; if he does not confess, the chief makes proclamation that the thief has been prayed to death, and the people believe that such a prayer is invariably fatal.⁴

In portions of Polynesia if a person be suspected of having committed a crime, the priest may summon him to come forward and take an oath of his innocence. His compliance is accepted as proof; his refusal as an admission of guilt. The belief is universal that perjury in such a case is punished promptly with death.

Among the Cheyennes, one duty of the tribal priest is to organize and superintend a sacred dance in the early

spring, to determine by its omens, whether the good god—the divinity favorable to the tribe—will have control over their fate in the approaching season. If the result should prove favorable, they will undertake some hostile military expedition; if unfavorable they will seek to avoid an encounter. The good omen is the completion of the dance without the death or exhaustion of any of the participants, of whom all must dance, and whistle for forty-eight hours at least, and perhaps for sixty or seventy, never stopping for food, drink, rest, or any relief. This dance is called “making medicine” for the tribe. The superintending priest designates the time when, and the place where the dance is to be held, selects the men who must participate, releases those who fall down from overexertion, or orders them back to continue their work, and decides when success is assured and the dance may stop. If one of the dancers should die, as sometimes happens, the ceremony comes to a sudden end, and without an announcement from the priest, everybody understands that the bad god is the master of the tribe for a year to come.⁵

One effective function of the priests is to punish their enemies. In portions of Africa, the man who refuses to pay tribute to the clergy, or who neglects to comply with the established ecclesiastical observances, has an insecure life. At any moment, and without the least evidence against him, he may be convicted of sorcery and executed. For those who commit minor offenses against the sacerdotal authority, there are various punishments, such as those of Mumbojumbo, in which a party of disguised priests appear suddenly in a village and give unmerciful beatings to those selected as victims.⁶

SEC. 144. *Areoi*.—Several Polynesian groups had an

ecclesiastical society called the Areoi,¹ and the Mariana Islanders had a similar organization, styled by them, the Ulitao. Membership in it was highly honorable and reserved for the nobles. Its main purpose was to provide entertainments at the public festivals, and as these were always ecclesiastical, the association partook of the same character. Admission was desired by all and was granted to few, save those who had some special talent or skill, or strong influence with high chiefs or priests. There were seven ranks, and admission was granted only to the lowest; with promotion by one grade at a time to those who had proved successful in amusing the multitude. The rules of excluding mediocrity and rewarding merit, and the imposing ceremonies with which promotions were celebrated, contributed much to the lustre and influence of the Areoi. Its members were marked with a special tattoo for every rank, familiar to everybody.

It was the duty of the society to give dramatic performances, concerts, dances, athletic games, and sham fights, and to travel from island to island, whenever the time occurred for the local festival. They decorated their heads with flowers; they dressed in bright colors; they painted their bodies with black and their faces with scarlet. They included all the best actors, singers, dancers, and athletes in the country. Everywhere they were received with demonstrations of respect, supplied with the most delicious food, and allowed great privilege.

Many of their songs were licentious, and at every festival, members in the lower ranks took part in scenes of gross obscenity. Women as well as men were Areoi; and all members of the society, whether married or not, were exempt from the rules of chastity. The gratifica-

tion of their libidinous desires was considered a pious obligation. All their children, save the first son of the highest chief, were slain immediately after birth.² Tonga, Samoa, and most islands of the Marquesas group have no Areoi.

SEC. 145. *Revenue, etc.*—The custom of making offerings to the gods in temples implies a sacerdotal revenue. Every system of worship in which animals are sacrificed by a priest or under his supervision, authorizes him to take part of the meat for his own use. It is so in Polynesia and Africa;¹ it was so in ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, and Rome. The Mosiac law authorized the priests to appropriate a share of the victim.²

The Tahitians, Costa Ricans, Zunis, Moquis, and many other savage tribes, have peculiar sacerdotal dialects, doubtless the remains of tongues which had become partly or wholly obsolete among the common people. The Nagas, Todas, and Damaras kindle fires, for ordinary purposes, with matches or other devices obtained from civilized visitors; but their sacred fires must be lighted by the ancient method of friction with sticks; and the same process of ignition was used for superstitious sacrifices in the Scottish Isles two centuries since, and for kindred purposes in Germany until recent times. The same tendency to regard ancient sacerdotal usages as sacred, appears in the Jewish requirements that the stones of the altar should not be hewn,³ and that the bread for offerings should not be leavened;⁴ in the adherence to stone knives for sacrifice by the Aztecs, Chibchas, and Karens after they had metal; by the employment of dead languages in the worship of various African and Polynesian tribes, as well as among Copts, Japanese, Buddhists, Jews, and Roman Catholics; and

by the adherence of the Egyptian priests to an archaic style of writing.⁵

SEC. 146. *Taboo*.—Taboo, one of the remarkable ecclesiastical institutions of savagism, was potent in Polynesia, less prominent in Micronesia, and relatively weak in Melanesia, Malaysia, Central Africa¹ and part of Hindostan. The Polynesian word taboo, according to some authorities means sacred, according to others “obey or die.” The institution is a sacerdotal prohibition of certain acts under penalty of death. It consecrates certain persons and things. Every head chief is taboo; no subject can strike him without sacrilege. The taboo of the temple forbids any unconsecrated person to enter its precinct. A kind of food may be taboo to a class of persons. If a tree is taboo, nobody but its owner can pluck its fruit.

The Polynesian taboos are of many kinds, general and special, permanent and temporal, simple, compound and interdict. A permanent taboo is of ancient origin, and known to everybody. It is enforced without notification. Such are the rules that a dish used to hold the food of one person, must not be employed by another for the same purpose; that food must not be cooked or eaten in a sleeping room; that the wife of the head chief must not be touched lustfully by another man; and that slaves, women and common freemen must not eat certain kinds of food, nor enter temples, nor own canoes, nor go out to sea in canoes. All temples, their enclosed ground and their idols are protected by permanent taboos.

One of these rules provides that whenever the head chief touches a piece of property he becomes its owner. In crossing the estates of his subjects, he is carried carefully so that he shall not come in contact with the soil.

In many groups his name is taboo to the common people, and so are all words of the same sound. A general taboo is attached to the process of tattooing, and while undergoing it, a man must not touch food or a food dish with his hands. Every morsel that he eats must be put into his mouth by some other person. Certain acts are contaminating and he who has committed them is taboo until he has undergone a ceremony of purification, or until a definite period has elapsed. A new house is taboo and cannot be occupied until a priest has driven away the evil spirits, and consecrated it. A new temple is taboo until the head chief has entered; and not till then can it receive its idols or be used for worship.

In part of Borneo, a taboo, akin to quarantine, forbids all persons, save those dwelling in a house, to enter it within twelve days after a death in it, or to speak to any of its occupants within that period; and in the same region, after a death by a pestilential disease, the village where it occurred, and all its residents are taboo, for eight days, to the people of other villages. Every such taboo must be raised by the sacrifice of some animal.²

In Polynesia, general taboos that are not permanent, are proclaimed by a public crier. In this class belong the prohibition to kill pigs or chickens for six months, after the supply of them has been much reduced by some great festival. The cows and other quadrupeds introduced into the Hawaiian Islands by Vancouver were protected for ten years by a general taboo. An English sailor who offended a chief, was subjected to a special taboo under the influence of which no native would have anything to do with him. He begged for mercy and was purified of his offense by the priest.

When a country is in great danger from a foreign

enemy or when the head chief is dangerously sick, an interdict taboo, suggesting the interdict of the Roman Catholic Church, is imposed on the whole community. It forbids the kindling of fire, cooking by use of artificial light, the hoisting of a sail, bathing, all public amusements, and all loud noises save those made in the ecclesiastical ceremonies. The barking of a dog, the squealing of a pig, or the crowing of a cock, within the hearing of a chief or priest, at such a time is a great offense to the gods. During the interdict such animals must be taken far from the temples and villages, or secured so that they shall make no audible noise.³ The interdict is usually of brief duration, but one in Hawaii lasted thirty years. The simple taboo requires prayers in the temples and abstinence from business by the nobles.

The taboo rules are not the same in any two groups of Polynesia or Micronesia. Each country has peculiarities in this respect. Usually taboo strengthens the power of the chiefs and nobles, and keeps the women, commoners and slaves in subjection. To these latter classes *ava*, the only intoxicating drink, is taboo. There is not more than enough for the male nobles. Intoxicating drink is everywhere taboo, as are, in nearly all the islands, the rare kinds of delicious food, but *Karavia* is an exception, for there turtles and pigs are taboo to the men, as they are elsewhere to the women.⁴ The first fruits and fish of the season are reserved for offerings to the gods; they cannot be eaten by men without great offense.⁵ In Southern California, a custom suggestive of taboo, forbids the hunter to eat any part of the animal he has killed until he has taken it to the village to share with his family.⁶

Taboos to protect special pieces of property are indi-

cated by marks attached to them. For this purpose a bundle of bamboo leaves, a cocoa leaf, a piece of bark cloth, or the figure of some animal cut out of bark or plaited with twigs, may be used. Among the Santals, a handful of straw, fastened on a bamboo stick, standing in the field, will give protection.⁷ In New Zealand, the taboo mark is red; in other parts of Polynesia, white; in Fiji, yellow.

The penalty of violating a taboo is death, and it may be inflicted by the chief, the priest or the discoverer of the violation. After secret violation of a taboo, a man sometimes confesses and presents himself to the priest to be sacrificed to the gods. Those general taboos, which are announced by public cries, are raised by ecclesiastical ceremonies including sacrifice, prayer and lustration.⁸ In Samoa, a sick man is questioned by the priest whether he has not broken a taboo, and if he says no, he is nevertheless purified with holy water to wash away any sin that may have been committed unconsciously.⁹

The important taboos emanate from the head chief directly or through the priests; the minor taboos, such as those designed to protect individual property, may be attached by the owner. In the latter case, however, they have no force against a person of higher rank. The raising of the greater taboos requires special ceremonies, including the washing away of the consecration. No person is allowed to approach the high chief in Samoa until he has been purified for the occasion by sprinkling with holy water.¹⁰ Of the taboo as enforced in Hawaii, Jarves¹¹ says: "It may be regarded as one of the greatest productions of heathen ingenuity. A more powerful system of religious despotism, at once capable of great utility and equal abuse, could not have been de-

vised. Its application was adapted to all circumstances, and no civil or ecclesiastical government ever possessed a more refined yet effective weapon. Its influence among the common people was universal and inflexible. Its exactments were of the most humiliating and troublesome description, and if anything had been wanting to complete their bondage, this, like the keystone to an arch, was made to perfect and perpetuate their degradation."

The system of taboo reached its highest development in countries like Tahiti and Hawaii, which had despotic chiefs, hereditary nobles, and powerful priesthoods. It had relatively little influence among the Maoris, who had no hereditary priesthood. It was not known among the Redmen, who have no hereditary class with superior privileges to be protected against trespass by the rabble. Wherever taboo exists, the people accept it as of divine origin and authority. The priests say so and the multitude believe. The sanction of the celestial command is not left however to celestial agency; the priests promptly slay the man whom they detect in the violation of their orders.

SEC. 147. *Omens, etc.*—Savages imagine that the spirits who surround them and take great interest in their life, are continually giving them omens, by which they can know what course to pursue in every contingency that may arise; and they attribute a large part of their success or failure in life to the greater or less degree of attention with which they observe and accuracy with which they interpret these signs. A sneeze, a yawn, a stumble, a flash of lightning, the appearance of a quadruped, bird or reptile, the direction or speed of its motion, may indicate that the enterprise which the man is about to under-

take should be pursued or abandoned. The sight of a hare suggests caution ; that of a tortoise, slow movement ; that of the totem of a hostile tribe, great danger, that of the totem of the warrior, success ; or that of a fierce predatory bird or quadruped, encouragement. In Central Africa, Emin Pasha found these omens: "If an owl screeches near the house, its master dies. If a hyæna or jackal repeatedly approaches the house, misfortune is at hand. When the rhinoceros-bird croaks, rain may be looked for. If a wagtail sings on the threshold, guests or presents will arrive. If a man kills wagtails in the house, fire breaks out in it. If a wagtail forsakes its nest, made in the house, misfortune is near. Vultures and ravens are chiefs among birds and their slaughter causes illness. If vultures alight on the top of a poor man's house, he will receive high gifts and presents. . . . If on moving from one house to another, anything is broken or a woman falls on the way, the family returns to the house it has left. If on starting for a campaign a buffalo runs across the path, or a guinea fowl flies up before the warriors, this portends the death of many men and every one turns back." ¹

Most of the tribes which attribute all deaths to sorcerers, study omens to discover the homicidal sorcerer in the case of every prominent man or warrior. The simplest omen, for such purposes, is the presumption that the first person met by the avenging party is the criminal. In some tribes, straws are laid on the fresh grave, pointing towards every village in the vicinity ; and the first straw on which a fly alights, indicates the place where the offender lives.² In some tribes, the direction taken by a bug put on the grave points out the home of the sorcerer.³

Besides the omens offered to them by the face of nature, many tribes seek others in the revelation of priests and spirit mediums, in the appearance of the entrails of birds, and quadrupeds and human beings, and in a varied multitude of experiments. Of these methods of learning the will of the supernatural powers, the one most extensively used is divination from the entrails of birds. It is used by the Polynesians,⁴ Araucans,⁵ and Kaffirs.⁶ In Uganda, human beings are sometimes sacrificed for the purpose of taking the auspices.⁷ Ordeals are nearly akin to divination in the beliefs out of which they grow, and are largely ecclesiastical in their nature, but as their purpose is to administer justice, their consideration belongs properly to the chapter on polity.

SEC. 148. *Temples*.—Under the impulse of respect for the dead, men learn to protect the corpses of their relatives and friends from wild beasts, by either burying or burning. Since the graves are often shallow on account of the lack of tools for digging, the degree of security for the corpse is estimated by the height of the earth or stones heaped up over the body; and then the importance of the deceased and the esteem of the survivors are measured by the same standard. Thus sepulchral mounds began, and became numerous and large.

A large class of conical sepulchral mounds is found in the Mississippi basin. Of these many have, in the center, on the surface of the ground a burial chamber of wood or uncut stone; and others have similar tombs of later date at higher levels; others have in the center, a clay altar about two feet high, a yard or more wide, and two yards or more long, with a slight concavity on top. On such altars might be found fragments of pottery, beads and ashes, suggestive of cremation.¹

One mound seven yards high and sixty in diameter, in southwestern Ohio, about thirty miles from Cincinnati, appears to have been the cemetery of a village. It encloses many chambers made of uncut slabs of blue limestone, each chamber being about three feet high and containing one corpse in a sitting posture. There are several layers of such chambers, all covered with earth.² Mounds containing urns, with bones burned or unburned, are found in South Carolina.³

An ecclesiastical mound, near Seltzertown, Mississippi, is six hundred feet long and four hundred wide on the ground, and forty feet high. A shaft forty feet deep near the middle did not reach the natural surface of the ground. At the sides were found sun-dried bricks.⁴ One of the most remarkable structures of the mound-builders is at Marietta, Ohio, on a plateau, eighty feet above the level of the Ohio River. Two enclosures, each nearly square, one containing twenty-seven and the other fifty acres, surrounded by earth walls about six feet high, contain each four tumuli. Of these, the largest is a terrace, one hundred and eighty feet long, thirty-two wide and ten high. There are two smaller terraces, and five conical mounds about fifteen feet high.

Among the notable earthworks constructed by the same race are mounds shaped like various animals. Adams County, Ohio, has a serpent seven hundred feet long, thirty wide and five high. The body of the reptile has four curves on each side, and the tail winds round in a coil. The mouth is open as if about to swallow an egg, which last is represented by an oval terrace one hundred and sixty feet long and eighty wide. In the center of this terrace, there is a stone mound.⁵

One mile from Granville, Licking County, Ohio, there

is an alligator mound, two hundred and fifty feet long, forty feet wide in the body, with legs thirty-six feet long. The height is six feet.⁶ Since the settlement of the country by the white men, no alligators have been found within five hundred miles of this place. Other mounds represent man, mammoth, buffalo, wolf, bear, and bird. The mammoth mound in Grant County, Wisconsin, is one hundred and thirty-five feet long, and forty wide across the body.⁷ The similarity of the mound to the great pachyderm is striking; but as the soil near the mound is sandy, some writers have asserted that the trunk has been made of a sand drift.

For the purpose of protecting the grave and its offerings against beasts and the weather, many tribes buried the body within the hut which was then abandoned as a habitation; or they erected a special building over the grave, and in case of a chief, placed the building in charge of a custodian instructed to make offerings of food, flowers and incense, and to sing hymns of praise every day. Such daily offerings are made in the sepulchral huts of Tahiti.⁸ In Sumatra and New Guinea the graves are covered with shelters.⁹ The Dyaks put the sword, shield, paddle and other property of the deceased in a sacred hut.¹⁰ In Fiji the corpses of chiefs are put into huts which are rudimentary temples. In Congo, the body of the deceased chief is deposited in a hut to which clothes are taken as presents, and as these presents accumulate, in the course of time it becomes necessary to build other huts, perhaps five or six, to hold them. The persons who make the offerings, pray to the spirit for protection and blessing.¹¹ The Buddhist topes are tower-shaped tombs, built of stone and solid. Prayers are offered at them and processions of worshipers march round them.

Among the Turanians, according to Mr. Fergusson, "the tomb and temple may be considered as one and the same thing."¹² The corpse of every Inca monarch had its chapel, where his spirit was worshiped.¹⁴ The tomb of Darius resembled his palace.¹⁵ The tombs in Egypt were more splendid than the dwellings, and as they were places for regular worship, and were never used for habitation or business, they became temples.¹⁶ There were cave temples as well as cave sepulchres.¹⁷ Among the Tongans and Kaffirs, the grave of a high chief is a sacred place, where a man may not be slain, and where enemies must meet as friends, or at least without any act of violence.

When a numerous priesthood devote all their time to sacerdotal business, they acquire consecrated grounds and temples, among savages as well as in barbarous and civilized communities. In New Zealand and the Queen Charlotte Islands, there is no class of men devoted exclusively to priestly duties, and there are no temples, but there are sacred groves.¹⁸ The savage temples are usually in the midst of groves. The only aboriginal stone structures of Polynesia are the maraes, places of burial for the chiefs, and temples for worship. Some of these maraes are simple mounds of earth enclosed in a wall of stone, and have successive terraces or steps. The marae on Atahiva Point, Tahiti, is eighty-two yards long, twenty-nine wide, and fifteen high, rising in ten steps, each more than a yard high and in some places three yards wide. The highest terrace is four yards wide and sixty-six long.¹⁹ The enclosing walls are of coral rock cut into shape, but how cut no one knows, for it is supposed that the marae was erected before the arrival of the first Europeans, and before metallic

tools were known.²⁰ The only place where similar material can be obtained in the vicinity, is now three feet under water at low tide. The enclosed grounds of this marae have an area of about three acres, with numerous large trees, one species of which is a casuarina, and the rustling of its leaves in the wind is said by the temple priests to be the voice of the gods.²¹ In the enclosure there are houses for the priests and idols. Every one of the larger islands of the Tahitian group has its marae. In Ponape, the marae is four hundred and thirty yards long, and seven yards wide;²² in the Marquesas group, there is a marae one hundred yards long, twenty wide, and three high; and in Tongataboo, the marae has stone blocks eight yards long, four wide, and more than a yard thick.²³

The platform to hold the offerings, in the grave, huts, and burial grounds of Tahiti and Hawaii, have the size and shape of biers, and are incipient altars. The Bedouins pile stones over the graves and there sacrifice sheep and camels to the dead, using the stone heap for an altar.²⁴ The early Hebrew altars were of undressed stones, reminding us of those of their modern Semitic relatives.²⁵ The Central Americans make altars of stone and mortar over graves, and on them burn incense and make offerings.²⁶ The altars, at the entrance of the catacombs of Thebes are carved with representations of offerings, like those painted on the tombs, suggesting that the tomb was used for an altar, and that the latter was differentiated from the former.²⁷ The tumulus over the grave of a Chinese emperor, being too large for use as an altar, a small structure must be erected at its side to hold the offerings.²⁸

The rude stone monuments known as menhirs and

dolmens or cromlechs have, by many writers, been attributed to savages, but Fergusson, the highest authority in reference to them, thinks they were erected by barbarians and description of them is reserved for the next volume.²⁹

SEC. 149. *Religious Development*.—Like other departments of culture, savage religion is a human production. Neither in its origin nor its growth, neither in its dogmas nor its ceremonies, neither in its priesthood nor its influence, does it bear the marks of supernatural wisdom or goodness. Unlike the Pallas of the Grecian myth, it did not appear at the moment of birth, as a full grown divinity. Whatever may justly be claimed for divine revelation in higher conditions of progress, there is no proof, nor even the least evidence of any direct communication, from a supernatural source, of religious truth to the savage man.

The beginnings of religion, as we have seen were almost imperceptibly small; its early forms coarse and rude; and its ideas unsound; its later forms slow in their development; its sacerdotal representatives arrogant and violent; and its believers ignorant and credulous. It had no morality, no great first cause, and no immortality. Its spirits, its gods, its divine communications, its omens, its taboos, its divine penalties for the violation of taboos, its sorcery and remedies for sorcery, its diagnosis of and remedies for disease, and its sacerdotal authority had no basis save in a wild imagination.

We have found the first phase of religion in adoration of souls, which are conceived vaguely as having no blood relationship to the worshiper. This form of faith, based mainly on dreams accompanied by a timorous feeling, is found among such low savages as the Austral-

ians. A little higher is soul worship when associated with totemism; and still higher when accompanied by fetishism. After men have risen to tilling culture and have then advanced to the masculine clan, they abandon the worship of souls, and adopt that of their ancestors. They make offerings and sacrifices regularly at the grave, and build altars and temples.

After adopting compact tribal organizations, and despotic chiefs, they recognize national gods, establish hereditary priesthods, and adopt elaborate rituals of worship.

There is no evidence in favor of the theory that true religion was revealed to the primitive men and that it was then corrupted by the infirmities of humanity. All the presumptions point in the contrary direction. No other branch of culture has such peculiar guarantees against decay. No other has such a hold on popular affection. No other has been in the hands of a body of men so intelligent, and so steadfast in maintaining their ideas and customs. Political institutions are overturned more easily and more frequently than religions. In savage tribes and barbarous nations generally, the priests are the most powerful, most conservative, and most permanent class of persons. In the ruder communities, no such well-paid, jealous, influential, and well-organized class in the full vigor of years and experience has ever become the custodians and managers of the social and political affairs, as are the priests in many nations.

Religion has so much influence over the human mind; it has been accepted everywhere with such complete faith by the multitude, and in the higher phases of savagism, it has been so profitable to nobles, priests, and chiefs, that they certainly never could have allowed it to decay.

As a matter of fact we know that willingly they never did. The hypothesis of degeneration is as much a product of a wild imagination as is savage religion itself.

The assertion has been made by the Duke of Argyle and accepted by Max Muller that "Whenever we can trace back a religion to its first beginnings, we find it free from many blemishes that affected it in its later stages."¹ That idea has not found the least confirmatory evidence in the religions of savagism. Neither in Polynesia, nor America nor Africa have we found a religion free from blemish nor have we found one that was corrupted by advancing culture. In regard to the tendencies in the development of religion in barbarism and civilization, the proper time to express opinions, will arrive after the evidence has been submitted. In savagism, religion improves with time.

CHAPTER IX.

REVIEW.

SECTION 150. *Culture Services*.—The lowest form of culture, directly known to us, is that of non-tilling savagism, in which man possesses edge tools, missile weapons, articulate speech, tame fire, defensive groups, retaliatory justice, and soul worship. How long he had lived on the earth before he made these acquisitions, we do not know; but the history of his mental development, since he obtained them, is traceable more or less clearly; and its main events, before he learned to smelt metals, are told in this volume.

In looking back at the achievements of man in savagism, we find that he became an excellent hunter and fisherman. He supplied himself with clothes and dwellings. He acquired skill in agriculture and navigation. He accumulated stocks of food. He built large villages. He maintained communities, in which density of population stimulated thought, favored the lively circulation of ideas, and aided progress. He devised rules of politeness to guide the intercourse between equals, between host and guest, between chief and subject. He organized groups bound to defend their members, and he gradually enlarged them. He established slavery, nobility, and strong government. He invented defensive armor and

fortifications. He used strategy and made beginnings in tactics. He adopted theological creeds and ecclesiastical systems. He had ceremonies of worship, and rudiments of a code of morality.

This summary of the services of the savage to progress, shows that he laid the foundations and built an important portion of the superstructure in all the main departments of culture. The credit, for his numerous and valuable contributions, does not belong exclusively or mainly to any one country nor can we trace the origin of any one of them unmistakably to a special continent nor even to any race.

SEC. 151. *Grades of Culture.*—For the purpose of comparing the cultural conditions of some of the lowest tribes, the following table has been compiled. A blank, in the table indicates that information is lacking. N stands for no and Y for yes. The main tests, for the lowest culture, are the possession of four numerals (that is whether the tribe can count more than three), dogs, canoes, huts, tillage, chiefs, pottery, polished stone, cloth, and funeral rites. The lowest Californians are those of Lower California; the lowest Australians are those of Western Australia.

TRIBES.	Four numerals	Dogs.	Canoes.	Huts.	Tillage.	Chiefs.	Pottery.	Polished Stone.	Cloth.	Funeral Rites.
Bushmen	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Lowest Californians	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Tasmanians	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Lowest Australians	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Andamanese		N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	
Fuegians.....		Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Drift Europeans		N			N		N	N		N
Echinus Aleuts		N			N		N	N		N
Hill Veddahs..		Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y

Cook, Darwin, Fitzroy and Wallis thought the Fuegians the lowest of all tribes in culture. By Burchell that distinction was awarded to the Bushmen; by D'Urville to the Australians and Tasmanians; by Forster to the Mallicollos; by Owen to the Andamanese; by Peschel¹ to the Botocudos; by Bailey to the Veddahs; by Pickering² to the wild people in the interior of Ceram; by Fremont³ to the Piutes at Christmas Lake; and by Waitz⁴ to the Australians, Bushmen and Fuegians. Among these tribes, considered by various authors as belonging in the lowest grade of savagism, the only cannibals are the Botocudos, who are also the only tribe on this list, possessing the art of making pottery.

Some Australians have dogs but no canoes; the Andamanese and Fuegians have dogs but no huts; many western American tribes dwell in good huts, though they do not till the soil; among the Polynesians and Micronesians tillage preceded pottery; the Maoris have polished stone and tillage but no cloth nor pottery, and the Fijians and some South Americans have pottery but no cloth. The canoe made of plank indicates higher skill than that made of bark or of a single log; the oar is higher than a paddle, and the sail higher than the oar. But the lack of industrial improvements may in some cases be charged to the poverty of natural resource in a district, rather than to the stupidity of its human occupants. It was impossible to invent sail boats in deserts, or pottery in regions which produced no clay.

All the leading weapons made without metal were known to non-tilling savages, but the order of time in which they were introduced is not now discoverable. The simplicity of the spear suggests that it was the first of missile weapons to be shaped and polished with care.

We find it as the chief weapon of the Australians and Tasmanians, while the Bushmen, Lower Californians, Fuegians and Andamanese, on the same general level of culture, use the bow in preference, if not to the exclusion of the spear. The sling is common among the Fuegians and not among the Andamanese, Bushmen or Australians. The throw-stick and spear-sling, ingenious and effective devices for giving additional impetus to spears, are not found among the most advanced savages, as the Polynesians, but are limited to such relatively low tribes as those of Australia and New Caledonia. The Fuegians have fish hooks; the higher Chippeways and Blackfeet have none, though they have in their waters an abundance of fish suitable for the hook.

The following table shows certain cultural features of some advanced tribes:—

TRIBES.	Sail Canoes.	Slavery.	Nobility.	Despotic Chiefs.	Temples.	Hereditary Priests.	Tribal Deities.
Iroquois.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Creeks.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Dakotas.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Kaffirs.....	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Maoris.....	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Samoans.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Fijians.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tongans.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hawaiians.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tahitians.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

SEC. 152. *Some Characteristics*.—As a general rule, the lower the culture, the scantier the population. Waitz¹ quotes Foissac's estimate that tillage will support, on the same area, twenty times more people than pasturage, and that pasturage will support twenty times more than

the chase or the gathering of wild fruits and seeds. Lubbock² allows seventy square miles for each savage hunter, and perhaps bases his calculation on the statistics of the Hudson's Bay territory which, about 1850, had one million four hundred thousand square miles and one hundred thirty-nine thousand aboriginal inhabitants, or five persons, equivalent to one hunter, for seventy square miles.³ But much of that area is in a frigid climate, where vegetation and animal life are very scanty; and besides, the number of inhabitants represents the condition after there had been a great decrease in the number of wild animals by slaughter for pelts to supply the European market. The deserts of Australia, the African Sahara, and Central Asia and the enclosed basin of North America could presumably not support more than one savage family to fifty square miles; but these are regions of exceptional aridity and sterility. Aboriginal New York had about one inhabitant to two square miles, and this number is presumably near the average of fertile countries in the temperate or torrid zone.

Here and there we may find districts which would support a dense savage population without tillage. Such was a belt along the Columbia River for four hundred miles from its mouth where the salmon was exceedingly abundant. Another district of the same class was that extending from the Mississippi River three hundred miles westward between latitudes thirty-seven and forty-one, where fertile plains covered with luxuriant grasses in the track of the migrating buffalo, were favorite feeding grounds for them. The Redmen could cure the meat of buffalo and salmon to keep for a year, and could procure abundant supplies in the season of their migration.

The capacity of cultivated land to support population, besides being dependent on water supply, temperature, fertility, and method of tillage, varies much with the productiveness and nutritious quality of different plants. An acre of wheat may yield twelve bushels or seven hundred and twenty pounds, enough to maintain one average person for a year. The potato crop yields a hundred bushels, or when reduced to the same proportion of moisture, twice as much as the wheat, and enough for two persons.⁴ The date palm bears three hundred and sixty pounds of fruit to the tree, and an acre will feed five persons.⁵ The bread fruit will sustain eight persons to the acre,⁶ and banana twenty-five persons, its yield being one hundred and twenty times greater than that of wheat, and after deducting moisture, twenty-five times greater.⁷

In the beginning of his existence as a race, man's life was monotonous, short and insecure. He had little clothing and poor shelter to protect him against the inclemencies of the weather. His supply of food was often insufficient, and unwholesome. He was constantly surrounded by danger from cannibal men, from carnivorous brutes and from his own superstitious fears. His industrial capacities, his reasoning powers, his moral feelings, and his artistic perceptions were undeveloped, and so many of the pleasures furnished by them to civilized men, were unknown to him. As a race his condition was immature and even infantile. But even then, with all its drawbacks, life was precious to him. Conscious existence was the greatest of all blessings, and death the greatest of all evils. He rejoiced when he escaped from any imminent danger; he lamented when his friends had closed their eyes forever to the sunlight.

In consequence of the irregular and often unwhole-

some food supply, the frequent and severe famines,⁸ the scarcity of accumulated property that might be used in purchasing provisions, the lack of a generally accepted medium of exchange, the costliness and slowness of transportation, the continuous and general hostilities preventing migrations to districts with abundant supplies, and the customs of infanticide and habitual warfare, there is no perceptible increase of population in the average savage tribe from generation to generation.

In savagism, war is almost constant; life is short, insecure and relatively little prized; famine is frequent; regular toil is without respect or prominence; there is no governmental protection of right or punishment of crime; religion has no recognized connection with morality; the wife is little better than a slave; and the general mental condition is not much above that of the brute. In civilization the condition of men is much better as to all these points. Wars are less frequent and less destructive, the average duration of life is more than double; famines are rare; toil is reputable and productive; the popular religion has a high ethical standard; governments are watchful and efficient in protecting private rights; and numerous intellectual entertainments are provided for hours of leisure.

SEC. 153. *Departmental Relations*.—The time has come when we should turn our attention to the influences exerted by the different departments of savage life on one another.

Industry is the foundation and main force of culture. It occupies most of man's time. It furnishes the sole support of his physical existence. He might live in a brutish manner, without the aid of any other, but not without this department. In many respects, it exercises

a great influence on the other branches of life. By its successive advances, it enables and compels man to organize social and political institutions.

Among the branches of industry, the most important is tillage. It creates a stock of property which demands the protection of a strong political organization. It makes a demand for professional soldiers and gives them leisure for military drill. It builds towns which are the centres of social, political, intellectual, and ecclesiastical influence. It leads to the establishment of slavery, to habits of regular toil, and to the recognition of the respectability of agricultural labor. Through slavery it leads to hereditary nobility and to stronger political organization.

Military discipline which was the effect of agriculture, was, in its turn, the cause of many important changes in life. It demanded habits of order, obedience, and recognized responsibility. It gave dominion to practical judgment, to courage, to tact, and enabled the men possessing these qualities to occupy the most desirable countries. It gave increased security to life and property. It overthrew the feminine clan, and the small group; it established the masculine clan, the consolidated tribe, and powerful chieftainship.

The masculine clan, in its turn, overthrew soul-worship and established ancestor worship. The consolidated tribe led to the recognition of tribal divinities, with hereditary priesthoods, with temples and pompous ecclesiastical ceremonies. The church became a buttress of the State. The altar and the throne combined their forces to subjugate the multitude, and though their yoke was heavy and cruel, it was necessary to the cause of culture. Social institutions and general intellectual activity are

effects rather than causes in the advance of savagism. The greatest power is industry ; next to it is military discipline ; after that polity, and then religion.

When we considered separately the advance of industry, social life, language, morality, polity and religion, we found much reason for believing that each is a natural and necessary product of our mental constitution, and that each grew, in accordance with general laws, from its earliest beginning to the end of the stone culturestep, beyond which our examination has not extended. This evidence is fortified by other proof, furnished by the relations of the various departments of culture to one another. Those branches which are the least spiritual, and for which the least claim of supernatural origin and aid has been claimed, are also those which have exerted the most influence on general progress, and out of which, to a considerable extent, the others have grown. These are industry and military organization, which are the foundations of all the more advanced political, social, and ecclesiastical systems. They have rendered much assistance to religion and morals, and have received little in return. That which needs and accepts the help of natural influences must, itself, be natural.

The supposition that human culture, or any branch of it, is of supernatural origin, is contradicted by all the analogies, as well as by all the direct evidences of history and science. No eminent astronomer, geologist, chemist, biologist, or archæologist claims to have found on his domain one unquestionable act of supernatural power. Under the uninterrupted and exclusive jurisdiction of natural law, the celestial bodies shaped their globes, adopted their orbits, and regulated their speed ; the

earth formed its strata, continents, mountains, valleys, seas, and rivers; the elements united by chemical affinity, with definite proportions, into various minerals each possessing its peculiar and invariable crystallization-angle, color, and specific gravity; the physical and psychical forces inseparably attached to matter, changed their forms and conserved their energy; and plants and animals developed their species, until animated nature blossomed into the enlightened man. Nowhere in all this wide range of knowledge connected with the origin and early life of man and of his terrestrial dwelling place, has scientific or historical research been able to find anything that transcended the laws of nature. The telescope, microscope, and spectroscope, the scale and assay tube of the chemist, the hammer of the geologist and the spade of the archæologist, all make the same report. They have not anywhere found any effect that could be traced directly and immediately to a supernatural cause.

Besides, archæologists, ethnologists, and historians are agreed that the numerous events, attributed by savages to supernatural agency, are, without exception, the results of mere natural agencies. All the communications which the heathen priests claim to receive from disembodied spirits, all their auguries, all their omens, all the sorceries which they pretend to discover or to perform, all the supernatural possessions which they report,—all these are results of delusion or deception.

SEC. 154. *Queer Customs*.—The queerness of certain customs becomes more queer when we observe that they are found in regions widely separated from one another, and that in the intervening spaces, they are unknown or are considered absurd. The civilized man cannot easily believe that, in any condition of culture,

fashion should make it obligatory to wear a large and heavy block of wood or stone, as an ornament in a hole cut through the lower lip. In one case the hole and its bung were each five inches long and three inches wide; in another the weight was a pound. A labret of such size and weight, besides being a source of much discomfort to the wearer, must distort the face and make it disgusting to any spectator of refined taste. And yet among savages such things were indispensable to the woman of fashion, in Alaska, in Central America, in Southern Brazil, and in Central Africa.

Another custom which, for its discomfort and injury to good looks, and lack of any compensating advantage, may be placed along side of labret wearing, is the breaking out of permanent teeth, the sacrifice in some tribes extending to four or even six of the front teeth. In its extreme phases, this detestable practice is limited to Africa, though in its milder forms it extends to Melanesia and Malaysia. Akin to it, is the teeth filing process. Less productive of discomfort are the customs of flattening the head, and the nose, stretching the ears, cutting out part of the ear and part of the septum of the nose, pulling out the eyebrows and eyelashes, circumcision and the practices akin to it. Tattooing was a very painful process, but it was a test of endurance, and in climates where clothing was very scanty, was a decoration. The same remark applies to the marking of the face, limbs and body with cicatrices. The tortures inflicted on the young men before they could be admitted into the warrior class, in many tribes, seem almost incredibly severe to the civilized reader, and so do the trials of the participants in the divination dance of the Redmen to determine whether the coming season is to be favorable

to their military operations ; but they had the practical purpose of proving strength and endurance, which entitle the possessor to much more honor in savagism than in civilization. The couvade and son-in-law shyness, like other strange usages mentioned in this section, are found scattered over various continents and are unknown to extensive intervening regions.

These queer customs serve to illustrate the great differences between the tastes of low and high culture, but they give us little valuable light on the influences that have aided the course of general progress. We seek in vain for reasons why these customs should be limited to the areas where we find them. Whether they originated independently in every district where they now exist, or whether they once covered whole continents and afterwards fell into desuetude in many countries, are unsolved problems.

The extensive modern prevalence of the feminine clan in the widely separated regions of North America and Australia, and the traces of its existence in all the other continents, lead us to infer that men had occupied all the large divisions of the globe before they accepted the rule of paternal descent. The couvade and son-in-law shyness, being later in their origin than the masculine clan, must either have arisen independently in different countries, or long after the settlement of men in them, must have been communicated from one continent to another. Of the two suppositions, that of independent origin is the more probable.

SEC. 155. *Benefits of War.*—In every branch of culture, evolution has been marked by numerous successive improvements, each growing out of older forms, and all contributing to make up the aggregate of what we under-

stand by the word progress. Each, as compared with the older forms which it superseded, was good; and each as compared with the newer forms by which it was replaced, was evil.

In one sense at least, we may say of human institutions that "whatever is, is right." The fact that an institution has existed is presumptive evidence that it supplied a want, and in so far was good. If low and seriously defective, it aided in the development of something better. Its faults were instructive; its evils suggested and stimulated efforts to find remedies; it served as a basis for improvement.

One of the most potent means, by which nature has provided for the continuous improvement of the human race in the lower stages of culture, is warfare, the most cruel of human institutions, the greatest destroyer of life and property, and in many respects the chief enemy of order and industry. It seems contrary to all the rules of moral consistency that an institution so full of evil in its motives, methods, and results, should not only be the cause of many good effects but that it should be predominantly beneficent in its results.

Blood and tears seem to count for little or nothing in the competition of life. The highest end of nature, perceptible to history or science, is the development of the human species, but in contributing to this end the majority of individuals have a very small share. In humanity, as in organic life generally, germs greatly outnumber mature individuals. Under favorable circumstances, the woman may rear a dozen children; in no country does the average woman rear four. The germ has a possibility of being, but not a right to be born, and the newly born infant has a possibility but not a right of reaching

mature life. The man has no right to a compensation for suffering. His life is subject to limitations, with which he must become familiar by the aid of pain. This warns him from danger and compels him to engage with all his might in the struggle for existence. Its compulsion is cruel. He finds little mercy in frost, fire, hunger, thirst, flood, earthquake, poisonous serpent, carnivorous beast or cannibal man. He must fight to escape plunder, torture and enslavement.

In low culture there is little mercy for those beyond the limits of a small group. Tenderness towards others would be a waste of energy; a source of weakness. Nature not only permits but compels the savage and the barbarian to fight with the cruelest weapons, with devastation, with despotism, with slavery and with massacre. To those who lay waste, and plunder, and enslave and slaughter most relentlessly,—to the Iroquois and Dakotas among the Redmen; to the Kaffirs and Dahomans of Africa; to the Assyrians and Persians of Asia, to the Romans and the Teutons of ancient Europe, destiny has given the highest success.

The struggle for life is a necessity. Germs are too numerous for space, and in one way or another, most of them must be prevented from reaching their full development and over-crowding the earth. This rule applies not less to man than to quadrupeds, birds and fishes. Since man found no brute more formidable than himself, he was compelled to fight with his own kind. War is the necessary result of the competition of tribes; one of the leading features of man's struggle for life. It exterminates or subjugates the stupid, the cowardly, the physically weak and the politically weak. It gives the best parts of the earth to the nations of superior energy, capacity, and courage.

As tillage by slaves was necessary to the development of the highest savage culture, so war was indispensable to the establishment and maintenance of slavery, and to the compulsion under which the bondsmen submitted to regular and continuous muscular exertion.¹ Such toil is extremely distasteful to the savage warrior and he has never submitted to it willingly. Military discipline supplied the means of coercion.

We can easily perceive and distinctly trace many beneficent influences of war in low culturesteps. It compelled the early savages to dwell together in groups; it established the customs and developed the tastes of social life. It exterminated those men who persisted in brutishly solitary habits, like those of anthropoid apes. It suggested the necessity of mutual protection by retaliation. It demanded the recognition of chiefs, and gave them an authority which increased as battles became more frequent and more destructive. It compelled the feminine clan to give way to the stronger organization based on masculine descent. It made an urgent demand for bronze weapons after that alloy had been produced. All through savage life, it appears as an influence potent in stimulating industry, and in giving shape to social and political institutions.

SEC. 156. *Benefits of Slavery, etc.*—Until male slaves appeared, there was no class that devoted itself to tillage that made it a study, and that obtained good crops. The large returns, which it secured, gave motives for strict supervision; under the lash, steady toil began. As the food supply increased, population became dense. Masters, relieved from the task of hunting for food, gave more time to arms. Military discipline improved, and with it political organization. As slaves increased in value, can-

nibalism decreased.¹ In many respects, slavery exerted a good influence.

Hereditary nobility, one of the indirect products of slavery, provided a body of subordinate military officials who had common interests with the despotic chief, and who had power to render him much service in peace and war. Its general influence is to strengthen his power and to make it durable. Despotism is a phase through which all the older and more intellectual nations have passed in the course of their development.

SEC. 157. *Benefits of Religion.*—If we should fix our attention exclusively on the discreditable features of savage religion, if we should remember only the unreasonableness of its dogmas, the trickery of its priests, the credulity of its worshipers, the grave offerings, the fetishes, the idols, the omens, the ordeals, the poison, the human sacrifices, the consecrated torture, cannibalism and oppression,—if we should remember only these points, we would conclude that savage religions were extremely pernicious in their influence on human life.

But we must not restrict our attention to these matters. We must consider also that the early priests used a powerful influence to enforce obligations of mutual fidelity, to establish general principles for the guidance of public and private life, to preserve social order, to enlarge the ideas and to protect the rights of property, and to strengthen the authority of the chiefs. Mainly because ecclesiasticism has rendered such services, it has been recognized in every culturestep, as a valuable police institution, and in every age and country has been supported by public opinion.

Among savages the priests are the most intellectual class. They have long instruction and strict subordina-

ation. They have advantages of training not shared by other men. They preserve traditional rules, ancient legends, and poems, and the lessons of accumulated experience. They lay down fixed principles of ecclesiastical discipline, and political government, and they defend these principles against advancing progress as well as against inconsiderate innovation. As Spencer says, ecclesiastical institutions "have been indispensable components of social structures from the beginning down to the present time."¹

The funeral, one of the first ecclesiastical observances, brings the village or the clan together in a common worship, multiplies and strengthens attachments among the villagers or clan members, and suspends or composes their quarrels. The political dominion and the ecclesiastical organization keep pace with each other, in their onward march. The religion is as extensive as the allegiance, first clannish, then tribal, then national. The devotees of the same clannish or tribal god cannot be enemies to one another; those of different gods cannot be friends. The precepts of religion became the laws of the State, as the priests became the allies of the chiefs.

The assertion that the general influence of the lowest savage religions has been beneficial, does not imply an acceptance of the doctrine that the end justifies the means, or of the still more objectionable idea that there is no difference between right and wrong, as seen from a culture-historical standpoint. It means that human nature is imperfect and progressive; that therefore the good of one culturestep becomes evil to its successor; and that savage religions are adopted as ends not as means. We must not pronounce them predominantly pernicious merely because they have ceased to harmonize with the ideas of a later age.

SEC. 158. *Uses of Evil.*—We shall not justly estimate the beneficial influences of war, slavery and religion, in early culture, unless we have a correct idea of the relation of evil in general to mankind. We are so constituted that evil is a necessity to our intellectual and moral growth. It is the basis and the source of all good. Its absolute destruction is impossible and undesirable. It is an indispensable accompaniment of a progressive life. It is our only stimulant to exertion. It is the only spur of our ambition. It is the sphere of our occupation; the field in which we develop our capacities and gain our triumphs. Without it, life would be insipid, worthless and worse than brutish; it would be merely negative. It is the conscious struggle against evil that distinguishes the animal from the plant. If the time ever could and should come for the disappearance of evil from the earth, then mankind would sit down in a repose equivalent to intellectual and moral death. Wants increase with the mental growth of humanity, but in most cases, they are slight evils; and in their main characteristics, they are the preliminaries and necessary preparations for enjoyment.

No matter how much man has, he always wants more. So it has always been; so it will ever be. His needs are insatiable. His conflict with evil is marked by successes almost infinite in number, and generally inappreciably small in their benefits and yet beneficial. The sum of his encroachments on its domain is progress. Its indestructible and universal character is the only guarantee that life shall never lose its interest; that man shall never be without employment; that toil shall ever find its reward; that idleness and stupidity shall never become dormant influences in society; that the physical forces of nature shall continue to become more and more

subject to man's dominion ; that the worst political, social and ecclesiastical abuses, inherited from the past, shall be reformed ; that crime shall diminish ; that education, science, art, truth, justice, freedom, peace, kindness, mutual helpfulness and careful regard for the feelings of others shall grow more and more potent, and that material, moral and intellectual progress, arm in arm with their congenial associate, general enjoyment, shall continue their glorious triumphal march, with speed increasing in geometrical ratio, so long as mankind shall exist.

APPENDIX.

This appendix has three main purposes: first, to assist the reader in finding information, additional to that given in the text; second, to enable him to verify statements that may appear questionable to him; and third, to give deserved credit to those authors who have rendered valuable service in reference to the history of culture.

References are made by preference, to those authors who have treated the customs and institutions of savage life comprehensively. Such are Waitz, Spencer, Lippert, Klemm, Peschel, and Wood; and of these all, save the last, have given numerous citations. When I refer to them, I refer to all their authorities.

The books which, in the scope of their information, come the nearest to this first volume, are arranged ethnologically. That is, they take up each family or tribe separately, and tell us how they live and what they think. First in comprehensiveness and merit, among such works are those of Spencer, Waitz, Klemm, Wood, and Peschel. Separate branches of culture have been treated with much learning and original thought by Spencer, Lippert, Tylor, and Lubbock. There is, however, a lack of a comprehensive history of savage culture, and this book is offered in the hope that it may aid to supply the want.

At the end of the appendix will be found a list of the books to which I refer. In the citations, abbreviations will be used. Thus Spencer P. S. means Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*; Lubbock O. C. means Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*. In most of the citations, volumes are meant by Roman and pages by Arabic numerals, but there are some exceptions, as in citations from the Bible, from Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* and its continuations, to which reference is made by section; from Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* and Waitz's *Anthropologie*, which the reader will understand on examination.

NOTES.

Preface.—¹Muller S. L. ii. 4. ²"The problem of history is to trace the process by which the present has been evolved from the past." Hearn, 15. ³I hope that the arrangement of my book into periods, will be found to possess some merit. Upon the importance of a correct classification of the ideas in a history of culture, the following passage from Flint (128) deserves attention: "Now, nothing can be more important, in any attempt at a philosophical delineation of the course of history, than the division into periods. That ought of itself to exhibit the plan of the development, the line and distance already traversed, and the direction of the future movement. It should be made on a single principle, so that the series of periods shall be homogeneous, but on a principle so fundamental and comprehensive, as to pervade the history not only as a whole but in each of its elements, and to be able to furnish guidance to the historian of any special development of human knowledge and life. The discovery and proof of such a principle is one of the chief services which the philosophy of history may be legitimately expected to render to the historians of science, of religion, of morality, and of art. And if it fail to render this service, that can only be because it has failed to accomplish its own distinctive and proper work,—failed to grasp and follow the thread that guides through the labyrinth of history, and allows the mind to trace in some measure, its plan and to conjecture with some degree of probability, its purpose. But failure is very possible, success very difficult. No superficial glance can detect, nor happy accident disclose, the true principle of historical division, any more than of botanical or zoölogical classification." ⁴For a history of the word *kultur* or *cultur* (culture), as used in German literature, see Klemm C. W. 37. ⁵See definition of *industrie* in Littré.

NOTES.

SEC. I. *Man's Antiquity.*—¹For evidence that man has existed on the earth for thousands of generations, see Lyell (A. M.), Geikie, Croll, Dawkins (C. H.), and Lubbock (P. T.), Ch. xii. In reference to marks of human labor found in Swiss lignite in the glacial period, see Dawkins E. M. 155. ²Darwin D. M. i. 191, Wallace D. ³Waitz i. 125, 151.

SEC. 2. *Simian Relations.*—¹Waitz i. 106. ²*Ib.* iv. 321. ³Klemm C. G. i. 285. ⁴Waitz i. 112. ⁵*Ib.* ⁶*Ib.* ⁷Spencer P. S. 25, Waitz i. 111. ⁸Peschel 80. ⁹Spencer P. S. 22. ¹⁰Dawkins C.

H. 112. ¹¹Darwin D. M. Ch. i. ¹²Waitz i. 111. ¹³*Ib.* ¹⁴Peschel 79. ¹⁵Waitz i. 111. ¹⁶Cope 286. ¹⁷Waitz i. 120. ¹⁸*Ib.* i. 110. ¹⁹The superior strength of the savage women as compared with the men, has been observed by many travelers. Kohl. (4) says that among the Chippeways, they are more muscular. Cooper (95) observes that in Polynesia, they are the best divers. Wood (i. 434) tells us they are the best swimmers in the Pacific islands and the West Indies. Emin Pasha (229) remarks that in Central Africa, they carry heavier burdens. Livingstone (L. J. 196) considered them the best porters in South Africa. Similar testimony comes from Burton (G. L. 214), Du Chaillu (E. A., 76). Mohr (213), Houghton (100, 322), and Ernouf (270).

In reference to the early decay of savage women, see Catlin i. 121; Dodge O. W. I. 146; Cremony 46; Bonwick D. L. 85; Emin Pasha 95, 117. Berthet 482. Livingstone S. A. 142, F. Muller 98.

As to the physical peculiarities of different races, one of the best authorities is Quatrefages.

SEC. 3. *Size*.—¹Hartman 65, Emin Pasha 3, 316. ²Spencer P. S. 26. ³*Ib.* ⁴*Ib.* ⁵*Ib.* ⁶*Ib.* ⁷*Ib.* ⁸*Ib.*

SEC. 4. *Acute Senses*.—¹Melville T. 78, Wood ii. 208, Bowring 135. ²Lippert K. G. i. 73. ³Chapman i. 400.

SEC. 5. *Vitality*.—¹An Indian on horseback, shot at the junction of the pelvis and thigh, breaking both bones, rode one hundred miles; a white man would have fallen at once from the horse and never moved. Dodge H. G. 339. The Mexican Indian "recovers easily from wounds that would kill any European outright." Tylor Anahuac 48; Cremony 257. ²Waitz i. 141. ³*Ib.* 142. ⁴*Ib.* ⁵Monteiro i. 72. For the insensibility of the North American Indians to pain, see Klemm i. 264; for Alaskans, Lisiansky 242; for Patagonians, Guinnard 75; for Polynesians, Cooper i. 194; for Australians, Latham V. M. 243; for Bechuanas, Wood i. 325; for Damaras, *Ib.* 340; for Guiana, *Ib.* ii. 616. Pickering (64) says Polynesians never took cold till they began to wear clothes; and Keller (89) says of the aborigines on the bank of the Amazon, "Bathing in the river immediately after meals is a luxury invariably indulged by all the Indians, and I never remarked that it was attended by any evil consequences to them." ⁶Winchell 178. ⁷Domenech ii. 295. ⁸Spencer P. S. i. 29. ⁹Baegert Ch. vii.

SEC. 6. *Habits*.—¹Waitz vi. 729; Wood i. 256. ²Cook ii. 61. Melville T. 257. ³James 92. ⁴Scherzer iii. 414.

SEC. 7. *Savagism Disappearing*.—¹For the decrease of the aborigines in South America and the West Indies, see Waitz iii. 399, 449; iv. 332, 337; in the basins of the Amazon and Madeira Rivers, Keller 5, 11, Orton 316; for Arowaks and Caribs, Waitz iii. 300; for Patagonia, Guinnard 133; for Dutch Guiana, Palgrave D. G. 82; Brett 496; for North America, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1884-5, ii. 882, 908, 912; for California, Overland Monthly, June 1888; for Alaska under Russia, Waitz iii. 373; for Labrador, Hind i. 85; for Mosquito Coast, Squier C. A. 231; for Eskimos, Spencer D. S. vi. 1; for Equatorial Africa, Du Chaillu E. A. 41, 435, Burton G. L. 77; for Polynesia, Scherzer iii. 138, 225; Ellis P. R. i. 106; Waitz i. 180; for Hawaii, Kalakaua 23; for Lavavai, Moerenhout i. 143; for Fiji, Cumming L. C. 32; for Australia, Fison and Howitt 182; for South Australia, Forster S. A. 426; and for all savage countries, Quatrefages 419, 428. ²Ballou 32. ³Green 77. ⁴Commissioners of U. S. Indian affairs, Report for 1872. ⁵Waitz v. 149, 162. ⁶*ib.* i. 455; Melville O. 239. Prichard H. M. ii. 611. ⁷Dodge W. I. 295; *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, June, 1886. ⁸Livingstone L. J. 42.

Gerland (Waitz vi. 828) accuses the British Colonists in Australia of slaughtering the aborigines. The following passage is part of his denunciation: "The Australians are destined to disappear as a race—at least all in the neighborhood of the English colonies. They owe their destruction not to their own rudeness and incapacity for improvement, but to English civilization, which is pervaded not by benevolence but by the meanest and hardest greed, using refinement as a cloak, while leaving the ignorant aborigines without help, to fall into deeper demoralization. This is the answer to the doubts which Wallace felt in regard to European culture when he compared the friendly and honest intercourse of the natives in the market of Dobbo with the strife and trickery of Europeans. Those natives were rude but not debased; we are debased but not rude. The soil on which the oft and loudly praised prosperity of the colonies blooms has been manured with blood and the blackest crimes. The future belongs to them. History knows no law of moral retaliation, least of all in reference to the slaughtered colored man."

Gerland has never been in Australia; Anthony Trollope, who was there, and is a man of close observation and good judgment, justifies the British colonists for their general policy (*A. N. Z.* i. 74). He says the Australians cannot be civilized (*C.* 70, ii. 85).

Foster entertains the same opinion of them (S. A. 423). Hornaday (443), who had excellent opportunities to observe some of the Pacific islanders, says that to civilize is to exterminate them. Cremony (193) thinks the Apaches will never accept civilization.

Mrs. H. H. Jackson's *Century of Dishonor* is a complaint of four hundred printed pages against the government and people of the United States for the manner in which they have treated the aborigines. She spent much time and labor in collecting her material, and she cites many authorities to sustain her accusations of gross and systematic bad faith and cruelty. Not having investigated her evidence carefully, I will not venture to assert that she is wrong; but I do say that I have no confidence in her statement or conclusion. I have had occasion to examine her novel *Ramona*, written to give what she believed to be a true picture of the culture and the wrongs of the Mission Indians of California, and I found that I could not trust her, as to questions of either fact or law. Some of the reasons for my distrust are given in the *Overland Monthly*, June, 1888. That many and great wrongs have been done to the Indians in the United States by the whites is admitted by all competent judges who have lived near the aborigines, but many and great, and probably more and greater wrongs have been done by the Redmen.

The aborigines of Australia die of consumption when they are brought up in houses (Forster 420) as do those of California. *Overland Monthly*, June, 1888.

SEC. 8. *Savage History*.—The statement here made that "every savage tribe has remained, through its whole known career, in the same or nearly the same culturestep," should have been qualified so as to make it harmonize completely with the mention in section 12 of the rise of some Malays from savagism to barbarism. It is true, for the last four centuries, of all savage communities whose history is well known to us and which have not been influenced by a large admixture of alien blood.

SEC. 9. *Races*.—Klemm (C. G. i. 198) divides mankind into two races, the active and the passive. The active or white comprises the Aryans and Semites; the passive or colored comprises all others. For the former he claims strong will, mental activity, investigating disposition, fondness for innovation, boldness in navigation and migration, readiness to overthrow old governments and establish new ones, ambition to secure freedom for themselves while subjecting others to bondage, and capacity to carry science,

philosophy and general culture to their highest forms. The passive race is, according to him, stationary in population, dull in mind, and content with inherited ideas and institutions.

Klemm's classification has found little favor, and after forcible criticism it is rejected by Waitz i. 259, 387, 394. Latham, whom I follow, has three races, white, yellow and black. Pickering, a high authority, has four, white, brown, blackish brown and black. Blumenbach has five, Caucasian or white, Mongolian or yellow, Ethiopian or black, American or red and Malay or brown. Pritchard and Peschel have seven, and several other authorities have larger numbers.

I attach little value to the classification of races on the basis of the shape of the skull. The dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic forms are found in every ethnological family, as individual variations, and they are therefore very unsafe tests of race distinction. The Scandinavians generally have long heads and Slavonians broad heads, and yet both are Aryan.

Language is not a safe basis for classifying tribes in every case. For the number of languages see Waitz i. 279.

The best ethnological maps known to me are those in Waitz, the Iconographic Encyclopedia and Bastian.

SEC. 10. *Australians, etc.*—Good authorities in reference to all of the ethnological families are Waitz, Wood, Klemm, Peschel and Spencer, D. S.

SEC. 11. *Negroes, etc.*—Featherman has collected much information about the Nigritians as he terms them.

SEC. 12. *Malays, etc.*—¹Fornander claims that in blood and fundamental features of language the Polynesians belong to the Aryan family. ²For similarity of Hovas to Polynesians in customs see Waitz i. 432.

SEC. 13. *Polynesians.*—¹Waitz vi. 339. Of the Tahitians Lubbock (P. T. 469) says. "They may be taken as representing the highest stage in civilization to which man has in any country raised himself before the discovery or introduction of metallic implements." This statement should be qualified by the addition "in modern times." The Swiss lake dwellers in the stone culturestep had herds and pottery, **unknown** to the Tahitians, and were therefore superior to them.

SEC. 14. *Redmen.*—¹Latham V. M. 356. Bancroft iii. 553. The tongue of the Otomis in Mexico is monosyllabic, and is unlike any other in America. Bancroft iii. 737. ²Waitz iii. 57. ³*Ib.* i. 292.

SEC. 15. *Mound-Builders*.—¹Maclean M. B. 15. Something further about the works of the Mound-Builders may be found in the sections relating to fortifications and temples. The chief authorities in reference to the Mound-Builders are Maclean, Carr, Carr and Shaler, Jones, Lapham, Foster, and Squier and Davis. Lubbock P. T. Ch. viii. gives a good summary of the information. The Buraets of Siberia have hearths of beaten clay, similar to those found in the American mounds. Lubbock P. T. Ch. viii. Carr (M. M. V. 298) made a calculation that a Redman, with such tools as he had before the appearance of the white men in America, could, in one day, dig and carry a cubic yard of earth far enough for the construction of a mound 13 feet high and 40 feet in diameter. Such a mound contains 231 cubic yards and could be raised by one man in 231 days. Jones (170) thinks that 75 yards would be a year's work for an Indian.

No cast copper in America north of Mexico. Jones, 47. The Mound-Builders, the same in culture and blood as the Georgia Indians in the XVIth century. Jones 135. Lapham 25, 26, 29.

SEC. 16. *Aleut Mounds*.—¹Dall N. W. 51. ²*Ib.* ³*Ib.* 55. ⁴*Ib.* 81. ⁵*Ib.* 66, 70. ⁶*Ib.* 80. In a private letter to me, M. Dall says, "With blazing volcanoes all along the archipelago, they [the Aleuts] could not but have known of fire, whether they used it or not."

SEC. 17. *Pleistocene Europeans*.—¹Dawkins E. M. 155. ²Whitney. ³Dawkins E. M. 205. Lippert K. G. i. 334. ⁴Dawkins C. H. 341. ⁵*Ib.* E. M. 221, 222.

Summaries of the information about the Pleistocene Europeans will be found in Dawkins C. H. and E. M., Lubbock P. T., Lyell A. M. Ch. x. and Stevens.

As to shell mounds generally, see Stevens 193, 197.

SEC. 18. *Danish Mounds*.—¹Lyell 8-17.

Good summaries of the information about the Danish mounds may be found in Lyell A. M. Ch. ii. and in Lubbock P. T.

SEC. 19. *Swiss Lake Dwellings*.—The chief authorities are Keller, Lubbock P. T., Dawkins E. M. and Lyell A. M. Ch. ii.

SEC. 20. *Fire*.—¹The question whether any tribe, in modern times, has been ignorant of fire, has been discussed by Tylor P. C. Ch. ix., Lubbock P. T. Ch. xvi. and Lippert K. G. i. 513. ²Lubbock P. T. Ch. xiii. ³Lippert K. G. i. 279. ⁴As to kindling apparatus, see engravings in Tylor E. H. Ch. ix. and July 191. Flint and pyrites used to strike fire in Swiss lake dwellings. July 179.

Volcanic fumaroles on the Solomon Islands are used now for

cooking (Guppy, 86); as are solfataras and boiling springs in many countries.

SEC. 21. *Non-tilling Culture*.—¹For descriptions of the methods of making flint knives, with illustrative engravings, see Lubbock P. J. Ch. iv., Evans, and Carr and Shaler. ²Numerous prehistoric flint mines have been found near Brandon, England; where one of the shafts is thirty feet deep. A mine of chert, with a shaft six feet deep, in Licking County, Ohio, supplied material for knives and arrowheads to the Redmen in the vicinity.

The words palæolithic and neolithic were first used by Lubbock P. J. 2.

For list of stone implements in the museums of Copenhagen and Stockholm, see Lubbock P. T. 16.

For evidences of a time when the best edge tools were of stone in many countries, see Tylor E. H. Ch. viii. Sayce A. E. E. 2.

SEC. 22. *Tilling Savagism*.—Marsh, in his *Earth as modified by Man*, accepts Gomara's statement that the buffalo had been tamed in part of North America; but we are now familiar with all portions of the continent in which the buffalo could live, and there is no trace of its domestication anywhere. There is no reason to believe that Gomara had any good evidence for his assertion.

SEC. 23. *Spear, Bows, etc.*—¹For description and engraving of the spear-sling see Wood ii. 29, 206. Bonwick D. L. 43. ²For description of the throw-stick and the method of using it, with illustrative engravings, see Wood ii. 43, 706, 709. ³Waitz iii. 308. ⁴Joly 232. ⁵Bougainville says the bolas are effective at a distance of 300 yards, but this is evidently a mistake for 300 feet. Darwin (J. R. Ch. iv.) says they can be thrown effectively 180 feet by a man on foot, and 240 feet by a man on horseback, in the latter case being aided by his greater elevation and the impetus of the running horse. ⁶Klemm C. G. ii. 17.

Methods of poisoning weapons. Stevens 259-263.

Method of giving toughness to brittle wood intended for bows. Powers 373.

Method of making arrowheads. Stevens 77-85. Powers 374. Twenty arrows shot in a minute. Catlin i. 32.

Distribution of stone implements. Stevens 113-118, 187-192.

SEC. 24. *Clubs, etc.*—¹Tylor E. H. 205. ²Wood i. 255. ³Bancroft i. 361. ⁴Bourke S. D. M. 250. ⁵Baker N. T. 511. Scherzer iii. 31. ⁷Lippert K. G. i. 302.

For description of the Dakota shield and method of making it, Catlin i. 241.

Madras Hill tribes have boomerang. Hunter 82.

Engravings of Hawaiian weapons. Kalakaua 13.

SEC. 25. *Omnivorous*.—The supposition that man is naturally a vegetarian does not find the least support in the customs of savages. No tribe abstains willingly from animal food. The Chimpanzee is carnivorous and herbivorous. Romanes 368.

Intense desire for fat after restriction to lean meat, Darwin J. R. Ch. vi.

SEC. 26. *Bread and Meat*.—¹Jones 135. Herndon 76. Evans 224.

Wild lettuce flavored by ants. Powers 425.

SEC. 27. *Daintiness*.—¹Bancroft i. 55. Guppy 92. Livingstone L. J. 394.

SEC. 28. *Salt and Clay*.—¹Waitz iii. 431. Clark 325. Catlin i. 24.

SEC. 29. *Cannibalism*.—¹Wood i. 272. ²Dodge H. G. 419. ³Bancroft i. 490. ⁴Brooke i. 209. Pickering 304. ⁵In regard to the wide prevalence of cannibalism, see Lippert K. G. ii. 279, and Andrée 2-5. As to its existence in prehistoric times, see Geikie 377. Bunyabunya cannibalism Trollope 66. ⁶Powell 129. ⁷Lubbock P. J. Ch. xiii. ⁸Romilly 58, 59. ⁹Lippert K. G. i. 248.

SEC. 30. *Cooking*.—¹Authority lost. ²Waitz vi. 53. ³Lippert K. G. i. 359. ⁴Harris 16. ⁵Dall T. E. N. 81. ⁶Wilkes v. 95. ⁷Authority lost. ⁸Clark 115. ⁹Livingstone Z. 143. ¹⁰Catlin i. 124, Kane 78, Clark 219, Waitz ii. 443. ¹¹Kohl. 319. ¹²*ib.* ¹³*ib.* 320. ¹⁴Beechey ii. 399. ¹⁵Wood ii. 148, Fletcher and Kidder 188, 189. ¹⁶Livingstone L. J. 93. ¹⁷Thomson A. L. i. 157. ¹⁸Hooker 342. ¹⁹Powell 20. ²⁰Melville O. 338. ²¹Guppy 90.

How green maize is preserved. Kohl. 300.

How arrowroot is prepared. Pickering 326.

Method of making acorn bread. Powers 150, 187.

Description of bamboo boiling pot. Low. 37.

SEC. 31. *Meals*.—The Kaffir has only one regular meal daily, an hour before bedtime. The only nourishment taken at other times is sour milk. Muller 189.

SEC. 32. *Grinding*.—¹Lippert K. G. i. 292. ²*ib.* ³Schweinfurth ii. 424. Parkyns i. 307.

SEC. 33. *Water and Milk*.—¹Wood i. 103, ii. 208. Spencer D. S. iv. 43. ²Livingstone S. A. 59, ³Wood i. 147. ⁴Lippert K. G. i. 538.

SEC. 34. *Beer, etc.*—¹Parkyns ii. 341. ²Gibbon 307. ³Spencer D. S. iii. 3. Emin Pasha 207. ⁴Cumming H. F. 51. ⁵Cumming L. C. i. 90. ⁶*Pop. Sci. Monthly*, Dec. 1886, 209; St. Johnston 39; Barnes 49, 192.

SEC. 35. *Narcotics.*—Burton (L. R. 65) says that every man in Ujiji carries "a diminutive pot . . . nearly full of tobacco; when inclined to indulge, he fills it with water, expresses the juice, and from the palm of his hand, snuffs it up into his nostrils," which he then closes with his fingers, or with pincers, for a few seconds. ²Catlin i. 234. ³Tennent i. 114. Guppy (95) tried the betel and found nothing in it to praise. ⁴Humboldt Ch. xxiv. ⁵Waitz v. 183. ⁶Klemm C. G. i. 111. ⁷Humboldt Ch. ix. ⁸*Ib.* Ch. xxiv. ⁹Featherman i. 368. ¹⁰Herndon 388. ¹¹Klemm C. G. i. 111. ¹²Waitz iii. 312. ¹³Harris 323. ¹⁴Waitz iii. 473. ¹⁵Lippert K. G. i. 625. ¹⁶Latham 286. ¹⁷Bourke O. R. ¹⁸Baker C. 250.

On the method and effects of opium of smoking in Sind, see Burton S. R. ii. 121.

SEC. 36. *Hunting.*—¹Catlin i. 25, 76, 199. ²*Ib.* 253. ³Dall M. L. 107. ⁴Baker i. 455. ⁵Irving A. A. 259. ⁶Emin Pasha.

Nearly all the wants of 300,000 Redmen were supplied by the buffalo. Catlin i. 262.

SEC. 37. *Birds.*—¹Kane 234. ²Pickering 18. ³Bancroft i. 376. ⁴Tylor E. H. 172. ⁵*Ib.* ⁶Kane 58. ⁷Wood ii. 337. ⁸Hittell i. 265. ⁹Spencer D. S. iii. 3. Wood ii. 428.

Tame frigate bird taught to fly down at bait and thus entice wild birds into the net. Forbes 33.

Australians stretch a net across a gap, in a route taken by ducks, hide near it, and when ducks come along, flying above the net, throw a whirling boomerang above them, and imitate the cry of a hawk, whereupon the ducks, in their fright, fly into the net and are taken. Wood ii. 102.

SEC. 38 *Fishing.*—¹"The patent harpoon, almost universally used by the American whalers, in lieu of the old-fashioned article, is a copy in steel of bone and slate weapon which the Innuits [Eskimos] have used for centuries." Dall. N. W. i. 9. ²Kohl. 330. ³Kane 213. ⁴Bancroft i. 162. ⁵Wood ii. 594. ⁶Waitz vi. 728. ⁷Wood i. 699. ⁸Spencer D. S. iii. 57. ⁹Jones 336. ¹⁰*Ib.* 545. ¹¹Powell 174. ¹²Lubbock P. T. 450. Baegert Ch. iii. ¹³Romilly 133. Guppy 157. ¹⁴Wood ii. 364. ¹⁵*Pop. Sci. Monthly*, Dec. 1886, 204. ¹⁶Powell 275. ¹⁷*Ib.* 206. ¹⁸Ballou 105. ¹⁹Reference lost. ²⁰Jones 327. Pickering 88. ²¹Kane 254. ²²Low. 237.

Modes of fishing. Barnes 65, 149. Guppy 151.

Turtle killed by vertical arrow. Herndon 86.

SEC. 39. *Bees*.—¹Tylor E. H. 180.

SEC. 40. *Villages*.—¹Catlin i. 43, 44. ²Dawson 38. ³Waitz v. 71.

SEC. 41. *Huts, etc.*—¹Lubbock P. J. 450. ²Wood ii. 20. ³Fremont 212, Irving B. A. 259. ⁴Pickering 30. ⁵Stanley D. C. i. 385, 489. Waitz ii. 80. ⁶Kohl. 9. ⁷Catlin i. 81, Clark 373. ⁸Author's observation. ⁹Stanley D. C. i. 432. ¹⁰Dawkins E. M. 267. ¹¹Lippert K. G. ii. 204. ¹²Bancroft i. 427. ¹³Latham 285. Nordenskiöld 466. ¹⁴Spencer D. L. v. 42. ¹⁵Morgan H. 71.

No huts in portions of Malaysia. Pickering 304, 305, 306. Scherzer iii. 294. In Shanar, district of Hindostan, Leonowens 153. Among Veddahs, Baker C. 102, 104. Among Port Jackson Australians, Klemm C. G. i. 299.

SEC. 42. *Furniture*.—¹Featherman 393. ²*ib.* 560. ³Cameron II, 145, Baker C. 254. ⁴Lafitau ii. 61. ⁵Lippert K. G. i. 328. The numerous uses of bamboo. Thomson S. M. 318.

SEC. 43. *Baskets and Mats*.—¹Kane 210.

In reference to the baskets and mats of savages, see also Waitz iii. 93 534. Wood i. 22. Klemm C. G. ii. 349. Tylor E. H. 192. Bancroft i. 165 179. Foster 225, 229. Schweinfurth i. 102. Burton L. R. ii. 64. Royer 429. Kohl. 10.

SEC. 44. *Dogs*.—¹Galton H. F. 246, 247. ²Waitz iii. 83. ³Galton 108, 218, 250, 252. ⁴Waitz iii. 394. ⁵Spencer D. S. iv. 58, 59. ⁶Galton 252. ⁷*ib.* ⁸Bonwick D. L. 222. ⁹Lippert K. G. i. 491. ¹⁰Pickering 108. Baegert's silence about the dog suggests that it did not exist there. ¹¹Lippert i. 544.

Among the queerest pets are pythons large enough to kill and swallow goats or kids. Such serpents are petted by African women, who rub them with fat and pour fat down their throats. The pythons learn to spare tame animals, and go into the forest for wild game. Emin Pasha 339.

SEC. 45. *Pigs, etc.*—¹Pickering 76. Lippert K. G. i. 553.

SEC. 46. *Tillage*.—¹J. G. Muller 17, Morgan A. S. 25. ²Lafitau ii. 77. ³Peschel 155, 428. ⁴Letourneau 21. ⁵Icon. Encyclopedia i. 64. ⁶Waitz ii. 432. ⁷Herndon 88. ⁸Waitz ii. 82, 83.

SEC. 47. *Implements, etc.*—¹Lubbock P. T. 463. Waitz ii. 82, 83.

SEC. 48. *Milk-yielders*.—¹Peschel 425. ²Lubbock was the first

to call attention to the value of the milk-yielding animals in reducing the drain of lactation on women. Lippert K. G. i. 243. ³Lippert K. G. i. 539. ⁴Waitz ii. 83. ⁵Lippert K. G. i. 509. ⁶*Ib.* 507.

SEC. 49. *Boats*.—¹Worsaae 13. ²Lubbock P. T. 450, O. C. 507. ³Powers 47. ⁴Tylor E. H. 210. ⁵Bancroft i. 166. ⁶Brett 267. ⁷Burton L. R. 411. ⁸Cook i. 267. ⁹For full description of method of making birch bark canoes, see Kohl. 9, and *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1888. ¹⁰Waitz vi. 65. ¹¹Powers 215. ¹²The skin boats of the Eskimos are elaborately described by Klemm C. G. ii. 274. ¹³Pickering 76. ¹⁴Ellis P. R. i. 383. ¹⁵Waitz vi. 644. ¹⁶Tennent i. 327. ¹⁷Spencer D. S. iv. 33.

Tahitian boat building. Stevens 69.

SEC. 50. *Pottery*.—¹Tylor E. H. 271. ²Lubbock P. T. 494. ³Tylor E. H. 274. ⁴Peschel 168. ⁵Spencer D. S. xlv. 5. ⁶Wood i. 55. ⁷Klemm ii. 66. ⁸Foster 246. Keller L. D. 143, 220. ⁹Lippert K. G. i. 325. Tylor E. H. 273. Dall T. E. N. 80. Joly, 307.

SEC. 51. *Thread, Cloth, etc.*—¹Burton L. R. ii. 64. Schweinfurth i. 102, Waitz, iii. 93, 534, Bancroft i. 165, 179, Foster 225, 229, Wood i. 22, Klemm C. G. ii. 349, Jones 61, Tylor E. H. 192, Kane 184, 210, Emin Pasha 517, Gibbon 211, Keller A. M. 86.

SEC. 52. *Leather*.—¹Catlin i. 45, Clark 371, Stevens 550, Waitz iii. 96. ²Guinnard 75. ³Parkyns ii. 14. ⁴Nordenskiöld 480. ⁵Baker N. T. 181, Emin Pasha 236. ⁶La Pérouse, ii, 41.

SEC. 63. *Traffic*.—¹Burton G. L. ii. 20. ²Romilly 24. ³Bancroft i. 347, Spencer P. S. 256.

SEC. 54. *Metals*.—Maclean (M. B. 87) and Foster (252, 256) think some of the copper ornaments and weapons of the North American Indians were cast, but the preponderance of evidence and authority is against them. The articles supposed to have been cast are so small and rude that the method in which they were formed cannot be determined. They are few and of little industrial value. No moulds, no solid rings, no articles not producible by hammering have been found. See Annual Report Smithsonian Institute for 1884-5, 71.

SEC. 56. *Industrial Development*.—¹Lyell A. M. ²Tylor E. H. 187. ³*Ib.* 188. ⁴*Ib.*

SEC. 57. *Natural Progress*.—When a Bechuana first saw a ship he said "that certainly was never made by man." Waitz i. 457.

SEC. 58. *Promiscuous Group*.—¹Morgan A. S. 364. ²Lubbock O. C. Ch. iii. ³Peschel 232. Morgan A. S. 413. ⁴Lubbock O. C. Ch. iii. ⁵Morgan A. S. 430. ⁶Lippert K. G. ii. 13. ⁷*Ib.* 15. Palgrave E. A. i. 10. ⁸Lippert K. G. ii. 17. ⁹*Ib.* 15, 2 Kings xvii. 30. Lippert K. G. ii. 16.

The following tradition was found in Australia by Fison and Howitt (25): "After the creation, brothers, sisters and others of the closest kin, intermarried promiscuously until—the evil effects of these alliances becoming manifest—a council of chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted, the result of their deliberations being a petition to the Muramurā (Good Spirit), in answer to which he ordered that the tribe should be divided into branches and distinguished one from another by different names, after objects animate and inanimate, such as dogs, mice, emu, rain, iguana, and so forth; the members of any such branch not to intermarry but for one branch to mingle with another."

Since the Australians, previous to their familiarity with the white men, had neither a good spirit controlling human affairs, nor chiefs possessing much authority, we must suspect that this tradition, in the shape here given to it, is of modern origin. Its chief value lies in the recognition of the promiscuous group.

According to the ancient rule of Hawaii (Kalakaua 53) the highest rank was that of the reigning chief; second, his children by his sister; third, his children by his niece (presumably his sister's daughter); fourth, his children by his own daughter; fifth, his children by other women. This rule seems to be a remnant of the promiscuous group.

The chief authorities on the promiscuous group are Morgan A. S. and S. C.; Lippert K. G. and G. F.; Lubbock O. C. and Spencer P. S. Bachofen, who was the first to call attention to the subject, has little to interest readers who are familiar with later writers, such as Lubbock and Lippert.

SEC. 59. *Relationship Nomenclature*.—The following table compiled from Lubbock, who compiled from Morgan, is designed to show as briefly and simply as possible the progressive character of the systems of nomenclature in reference to a few collateral relationships. Some of Morgan's terms, copied by Lubbock, are here changed. Thus for male parent, father is substituted; for female parent, mother; for male child, son; for great or little father, uncle, and for little mother, aunt. The simple English word is used to convey the meaning of a phrase which might confuse the reader.

The abbreviations in the table are fa for father; mo for mother; br for brother; so for son; co for cousin; un for uncle; an for aunt; np for nephew; m s for male speaking; and f s for female speaking.

COLLATERAL RELATIONSHIP.	Hawai.	Mohawk.	Micwac.	Burma.	Wyandot.	Karen.
Mother's brother.....	fa	un	un	un	un	un
Mother's brother's son.....	br	br	br	br	co	co
Father's sister.....	mo	mo	an	an	an	an
Father's sister's son.....	br	br	br	br	co	co
Father's brother.....	fa	fa	un	un	fa	un
Father's brother's son.....	br	br	br	br	br	co
Mother's sister.....	mo	mo	an	an	mo	an
Mother's sister's son.....	br	br	br	br	br	co
Brother's son, m. s.....	so	so	so	np	so	np
Brother's son, f. s.....	so	so	np	np	np	np
Sister's son, m. s.....	so	np	np	np	np	np
Sister's son, f. s.....	so	so	so	np	so	np

A table compiled by Lubbock to show the titles given in five successive stages of the natural development of relationship nomenclature to the father's sister, her son, her son's son, and her son's son's son, is here presented slightly modified:—

RELATIVES.	Father's sister.	Her son.	Her grandson.	Her great-grandson.
Stage I.....	mother	brother	son	grandson
Stage II.....	aunt	brother	son	grandson
Stage III.....	aunt	brother	nephew	grandson
Stage IV.....	aunt	cousin	nephew	grandson
Stage V.....	aunt	cousin	aunt's grandson	aunt's great-grandson

In the first stage, we have the titles of the Hawaiians and Mohawks; in the second, those of the Micwacs; in the third, those of the Burmese; in the fourth, that of the Fijians; and in the fifth, that of the modern Euraryans. The comparison of these five stages proves the derivation of the family, as constituted now in civilized society, from the consanguine group. If the change had been in the contrary direction, we should have had systems of nomenclature like those on the following table from Lubbock (O. C. 199).

RELATIVES.	Father's sister.	Her son.	Her grandson.	Her great-grandson.
Stage I.....	aunt	cousin	aunt's grandson	aunt's great-grandson
Stage II.....	mother	cousin	aunt's grandson	aunt's great-grandson
Stage III.....	mother	brother	aunt's grandson	aunt's great-grandson
Stage IV.....	mother	brother	nephew	aunt's great-grandson
Stage V.....	mother	brother	son	grandson

The first and last of these stages are found in modern tribes, but the first instead of being found among the lowest savages is among civilized people, and the last instead of being among the highest in

culture is among the lowest. The second, third and fourth, which should have been the connecting links in the march of retrogression, are not found anywhere.

If the matrimonial system had changed from strict monogamy among primitive savages to the loose relations found in low culture by many modern observers, we should find the title of father given to the mother's brother, with that of cousin to his son. But such a combination is not to be found anywhere in the world. The change must have been made then in the other direction.

SEC. 60. *Feminine Clan*.—¹Morgan A. S. 149.

The chief authority on the feminine clan is Morgan, who first called attention to it, discovered its wide prevalence, and collected a great mass of evidence to prove its extensive prevalence among savages. His leading work on the subject is *Ancient Society*. Other works worthy of attention are Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, which gives a good summary of Morgan's ideas, Starcke's *Primitive Family*, and Lippert's *Kulturgeschichte* and *Geschichte der Familie*.

SEC. 61. *Totem*.—¹Morgan A. S. 161. ²*Ib.* 168.

On this subject Morgan is the leading authority.

SEC. 62. *Australian Exogamy*.—¹Fison and Howitt 36.

The highest authority is Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi*.

The following expression of opinion by Spencer (P. S. 50) deserves consideration, though I am convinced it is unsound. The "complex system of [Australian] relationships and consequent interdicts on marriage, . . . could not possibly have been framed by any agreement among them, as they now exist, but . . . are comprehensible as having survived from a state in which these tribes were more closely united, and subordinate to some common rule. Such also is the implication of circumcision and the knocking out of teeth, which we find among them as among other races now in the lowest stages. For when we come hereafter to deal with bodily mutilations we shall see that they all imply a subordination, political or ecclesiastical or both, such as these races do not now exhibit." To me, it is clear that the exogamous system of Australia was an offshoot of its feminine clans, which could not have arisen or prospered under a strong political or ecclesiastical dominion. I deny that bodily mutilations imply an extensive subordination.

SEC. 63. *Feminine Clan Survivals*.—¹Reade 208. ²Low 265.

³Lippert K. G. ii. 58. ⁴*Ib.* 61. ⁵*Ib.* 58. ⁶Lubbock O. C. 147.

⁷Lippert K. G. ii. 57. ⁸*Ib.* ⁹*Ib.* 58. ¹⁰*Ib.* 57. ¹¹*Ib.* 59. ¹²*Ib.* 38. Waitz vi. 654. ¹³Featherman 411. ¹⁴*Ib.* 469. ¹⁵*Ib.* 418. ¹⁶Waitz v. 107. ¹⁷Lippert K. G. ii. 48. ¹⁸*Ib.* 56. ¹⁹Ezek xxii. 2. ²⁰Gen. xxiv. 53. ²¹Judges viii. 19. ²²Smith 119.

The Waswahili woman owns the home, divorces her husband whenever she sees fit, and seldom waits long before she takes another. Such changes are not rare. New. 12, 67.

In Balonda land, the wife owns the dwelling; the husband moves to her village; he can make no contract without the wife's approval; he must supply his mother-in-law with fire-wood so long as she lives, and he must work in the fields.

The leading authorities on the subject of this section are the same as those in the feminine clan, and in addition to them W. Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and Wilken's *Matriarchat bei den Arabern*.

SEC. 64. *Masculine Clan*.—In reference to the masculine clan, see Morgan A. S. 155-174 and 362-364; and Fison and Howitt 241, 242, 274. The leading authorities are the same as for the feminine clan.

SEC. 65. *Capture*.—¹Lubbock O. C. 112, 115, 124. Wood ii. 556. Featherman, 422. McLennan A. H. 18-80.

Sir George Grey, as quoted by McLennan (60) says: "The life of a young woman at all celebrated for beauty [in Australia] is generally one continued series of captivity to different masters, of ghastly wounds, of wanderings in strange families, of rapid flights, of bad treatment from other females, among whom she is brought a stranger by her captor; and rarely do you see a form of unusual grace and elegance, but it is marked and scarred by the furrows of old wounds, and many a female thus wanders several hundred miles from the home of her infancy, being carried off successively to distant and more distant points."

F. McLennan (*Studies in Ancient History*) is the author who has given most prominence to the system of capture in early matrimony, and after him Lubbock O. C. Lubbock does not go so far as McLennan.

SEC. 66. *Polyandry*.—¹Spencer P. S. 297-303, Latham D. E. ii. 463. ²Hutchinson 63. ³Lubbock O. C. 101. Featherman 446, Waitz v. 106. The best authority on polyandry in Thibet is A. Wilson Ch. xxiv.

SEC. 67. *Polygyny*.—¹Lippert K. G. i. 76, Waitz i. 120, 135, ii. 120, iii. 108, Buckle P. W. iii. 39, Burton G. L. i. 78, 79 ii. 215, Johnston 425, Seeman 191, Reade 205, Bonwick D. L. 76, Seeman i. 136,

Dodge H. G. 313, Livingstone L. J. 55, Gray 185. ² Baker N. T. 263.

SEC. 68. *Girl's Position*.—¹ Waitz vi. 123. ² Spencer D. S. iv. 47. ³ Featherman 733. ⁴ *Ib.* 440, Lubbock O. C. Ch. iii. Waitz i. 108, Spencer D. S. iv. 27.

SEC. 69. *Wife's Position*.—¹ Reade 309. ² Waitz ii. 433, Spencer P. S. 280, Du Chaillu E. A. 197, 265.

Malthus (i. 39) observes that "one of the general characteristics of the savage is to despise and degrade the female sex. Among most of the tribes in America, their condition is so peculiarly grievous that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife is no better than a beast of burden. While the man passes his days in idleness or amusement, the woman is condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon her without mercy, and services are received without complacency or gratitude. There are some districts in America where this state of degradation has been so severely felt that mothers have destroyed their female infants to deliver them at once from a life in which they were bound to such a miserable slavery."

SEC. 70. *Marriage, etc.*—¹ Ellis P. R. i. 271. ² Waitz iii. 105. ³ Spence D. S. iii. 2. ⁴ Bancroft i. 437. ⁵ Parkman Preface. ⁶ Waitz i. 114. ⁷ Cook ii. 220. ⁸ Lubbock O. C. 55, Spencer P. S. 280, Harris 247. ⁹ Burckhardt B. W. 64. ¹⁰ Wilken 24. ¹¹ Du Chaillu E. A. 118. ¹² Lubbock O. C. 55, Hunter 77. ¹³ Spencer D. L. v. 42.

SEC. 71. *Brother Adoption*.—The chief authority is Trumbull, who gives many citations.

SEC. 72. *Couvade*.—¹ Lubbock O. C. 16. ² *Ib.* 18. ³ Klemm C. G. ii. 83. ⁴ Ploss M. K. 46. ⁵ *Ib.* 41. ⁶ 2 Sam xii. 16. ⁷ *Ib.* 22. ⁸ Lippert F. 215.

SEC. 73. *Infancy, etc.*—¹ Waitz, Klemm and nearly all authors who have described savage life. ² Clark 297. ³ Waitz i. 178. ⁴ *Ib.* v. iii. ⁵ Wilkes v. 102. ⁶ Waitz v. 108. ⁷ Lippert K. G. i. 208. ⁸ Klemm C. G. ii. 83. ⁹ Lubbock O. C. 34.

SEC. 74. *Son-in-law Shyness*.—¹ Turner 298.

The leading authorities here are Lubbock O. C. Ch. i. and Tylor.

SEC. 75. *Womanhood*.—¹ Abbott 371. ² Waitz i. 110. ³ Holub i. 302. ⁴ Powers 85. ⁵ Orton 322. ⁶ Bancroft i. 411. ⁷ *Ib.* 82.

SEC. 76. *Modesty*.—¹ Walker 23, Wood i. 411, Livingstone E. Z. 256, Thomson A. L. i. 271, Waitz i. 359, Klemm C. G. i. 185, 302, Guinard 116, Lippert K. G. i. 433, Gibbon 295.

SEC. 77. *Nudity*.—¹ Monteiro ii. 187, Klemm i. 302.

In some Polynesian Islands, the women smear themselves with the glutinous dark sap of a tree, and allow it to dry on the body and remain there for six days. When washed, the skin is much fairer than before. Wood ii. 386.

SEC. 78. *Clothing*.—¹The author's personal observation. ²Spencer D. S. vi. 60. ³Klemm ii. 41.

SEC. 79. *Ornaments*.—¹Schweinfurth i. 282. ²Stanley D. C. ii. 319. ³Schweinfurth i. 153. ⁴Spencer D. S. v. 57. ⁵Pop. Sci. Monthly Sept. 1885.

SEC. 80. *Hair Dressing*.—¹Wood i. 505. ²*Ib.* 531. ³*Ib.* 689. ⁴Livingstone S. A. 624. ⁵Turner 308. ⁶Schweinfurth ii. 7, Clark 201, Bonwick D. L. 109, Keate 29, Mouatt 305.

Clark thinks that the eyelashes may be pulled out because paint sticks in them.

SEC. 81. *Oil and Paint*.—Spencer C. I. 417, Wood i. 362.

SEC. 82. *Tattoo*.—¹Among the Redmen and Karens. ²Among the Maoris. ³Among the Congoese, Spencer D. S. iv. 23. ⁴Burton L. R. ii. 63. ⁵Waitz v. 66. ⁶*Ib.* vi. 41. ⁷Ploss K. 338. ⁸Lubbock O. C. 63. ⁹Stanley D. C. ii. 285. ¹⁰Wood ii. 225. ¹¹Baker N. T. 273, Guppy 135.

Process of tattooing in Samoa, Barnes 161.

SEC. 83. *Mutilations*.—¹Spencer D. S. iv. 23, Bock 474, Latham V. M. 150, Schweinfurth i. 294. ²Lippert K. G. i. 440. ³Holub ii. 259. ⁴Livingstone L. J. 372, 373. ⁵Forbes 313. ⁶Latham V. M. 150. ⁷Bancroft i. 334. ⁸Hornaday 393. ⁹Waitz v. 130. ¹⁰Ploss K. 312. ¹¹Authorities on skull flattening: Spencer D. S. vi. 19. Bancroft i. 180, Powell 221, Hall 568, Featherman i. 28, D'Albertis ii. 101, Berthet 181, Barnes 33, Thorburn 146. ¹²Nose flattening. Ploss K. Ch. xiv, Spencer D. S. iii. 10, 11; iv. 18, Berthet 183. Barnes 33. ¹³Spencer D. S. iv. 23. Monteiro i. 267. ¹⁴Lippert K. G. i. 413. ¹⁵Bonwick D. L. 27. ¹⁶Harris 298. ¹⁷Cameron 208. ¹⁸Jones 86. ¹⁹Schweinfurth i. 297. ²⁰Burton S. R. i. 326. ²¹Cook i. 263. ²²Livingstone L. J. 232. ²⁴Spencer D. S. iii. 61. ²⁵Waitz vii. 770, 780, 26, *Ib.* 781.

For mutilations generally, see Spencer 357-367.

Those who desire to study the authorities in reference to mutilations, some of which are not named here, may examine the following: Ploss K. Ch. xiv, Spencer C. I. 362, Waitz i. 111, ii. 251, 516, v. 18, 164, 560, 561, vi. 770, 780, 789, Wallace A. 358, Bonwick D. L. 121, 499, Burckhardt N. 331, 331, *Ib.* P. 434, Baker N. T.

124, Orting 326, 322, Burton G. L. i. 83, Emin Pasha 95. Anthropological Society Memoirs i. 327, 328, Cameron 240, Cook i. 327.

SEC. 85. *Capacity*.—¹Tylor A. 60. ²Lippert K. G. i. 92. ³Spencer P. S. 41. ⁴*Ib.* 43. ⁵*Ib.* ⁶*Ib.* ⁷*Ib.* 51. ⁸Authority lost. ⁹Spencer P. T. 34. ¹⁰*Ib.* 33. ¹¹*Ib.* ¹²Lubbock P. T. 513. ¹³Spencer D. S. iv. 32.

The following paragraph from Waitz (i. 479) seems worthy of attention :—

“Man has no natural tendency to progress. The modern idealistic doctrine of the development of his mind, under the influence of its independent and innate impulses, is a fiction which flatters his vanity though it defies leading facts in the history of his culture. His thought unquestionably created and maintained civilization, but this thought is not spontaneous, in either its beginning, its continuance, nor is it the function of a single individual, but is the result of the competing, conflicting and reacting struggles of human society, influenced by its surroundings and nurtured and matured by a controlling historical destiny.”

In this passage Waitz begins with a denial of man's innate capacity to develop culture, and ends with the admission that progress is the necessary product of “the struggles of human society, influenced by its surroundings.” Man is so constituted mentally that he must organize society. The question of what he might have been as a solitary animal independent of a material environment has no relation to historical experience or practical philosophy.

SEC. 86. *Preponderant Present*.—¹Spencer P. S. 41. ²*Ib.* ³*Ib.* ⁴Lippert K. G. i. 7. ⁵*Ib.* ⁶*Ib.* ⁷*Ib.* 39.

SEC. 87. *Early Maturity*.—¹Lippert K. G. i. 228. ²*Ib.* 61. ³Spencer P. S. 48. ⁴*Ib.* ⁵*Ib.* Waitz ii. 235.

SEC. 88. *Jollity*.—¹Waitz ii. 103, 135, vi. 106, Skertchly 191. ²Lubbock O. C. 517. ³Melville T. 169.

SEC. 89. *Politeness*.—¹Pop. Sci. Monthly Dec. 1886, p. 209. ²Baegert Ch. vii. He says the Lower Californians have no salutations. ³Spencer P. S. 346. ⁴Monteiro i. 241. ⁵Peschel 478, Waitz iii. 136, Crantz i. 271.

SEC. 90. *Salutations*.—¹Spencer P. S. 386. ²Featherman i. 439. ³Spencer D. S. iii. 12. ⁴*Ib.* iii. 3. ⁵Spencer P. S. 385. ⁶*Ib.* 383. ⁷*Ib.* 384. ⁸*Ib.* D. S. iii. 17. ⁹Lubbock O. C. 39. ¹⁰Spencer D. S. iv. 28. ¹¹Spencer P. S. 387. ¹²*Ib.* ¹³Wood ii. 267. ¹⁴Bancroft i. 777. ¹⁵Spencer P. S. 389. ¹⁶Waitz iii. 59. ¹⁷Spencer D. S. iv. 17, Peschel 237. ¹⁸Klemm C. G. ii 304. ¹⁹Rein 426. ²⁰Jagor

161. ²¹ Wood ii. 230, Spencer D. S. iii. 7. ²² Wood i. 523, 526.
²³ Waitz iii. 468. ²⁴ Bancroft i. 68. ²⁵ Spencer D. S. iv. 21. ²⁶ Hesse-Warteg 260. ²⁷ Wood i. 562.

The best authority on savage salutations is Spencer P. S. 392-398.

SEC. 91. *Education*.—Dodge H. G. 324.

SEC. 92. *Morality*.—¹ Peschel 280. ² Spencer E. I. 646. ³ *Ib.*
⁴ *Ib.* D. S. iv. 23. ⁵ Waitz vi. 303. ⁶ Lippert K. G. i. 93. ⁷ Low 248.
⁸ Waitz iii. 389

Buckle's assertion, that there has been no advance in moral ideas in thousands of years, deserves mention here. He says (H. C. i. 129) "there is, unquestionably, nothing to be found in the world, which has undergone so little change as those great dogmas of which moral systems are composed. To do good to others; to sacrifice, for their benefit, your own wishes; to love your neighbor as yourself; to forgive your enemies; to restrain your passions; to honor your parents; to respect those who are set over you; these, and a few others, are the sole essentials of morals. But they have been known for thousands of years, and not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies and text-books which moralists and theologians have been able to produce."

Buckle's "sole essentials of morals" which "have been known for thousands of years" were, for many centuries, understood to justify slavery, hereditary nobility, hereditary priesthood, despotic government, press censorship, religious persecution, prohibition of educating slaves and warfare for conquest. To assert that the general condemnation and overthrow or diminution of these great evils, in recent times, has not been in the aggregate, a great addition to morality is equivalent to saying that the people have no right to political or intellectual freedom. The science of ethics is like every other attribute of humanity, in one respect at least; it grows. It has grown in every phase of culture.

Darwin (D. M. ch. iv.) expresses the opinion that morality grows, and cites Lecky H. M.

SEC. 93. *Amusements*.—¹ Monteiro ii. 274. ² Klemm ii. 113.
³ *Ib.* 109. ⁴ *Ib.*, *Ib.* Moerenhout ii. 151. ⁵ Wood ii. 490. ⁶ Gill S. S. 65. ⁷ Dodge H. G. 333. ⁸ Klemm ii. 110. ⁹ Wood ii. 378. Ellis P. R. i. 221.

SEC. 94. *Poetry, etc.*—¹ Waitz vi. 92. ² Spencer D. S. vi. 10. For samples of oratory of the Tongans, see Waitz vi. 101; for oratory of Redmen, *ib.* iii. 141; for Lenape legends, Klemm ii. 183;

for Maori legends, Bonwick D. L. 190; for Hawaiian legends, Kalakaua 69-507; for poetry of Lenape, Klemm ii. 182; of Malagasy, Spencer D. S. iii. 62; of Khonds, *ib.* v. 56; of Karens, *ib.* 57; of Tahiti, Waitz vi. 120, and of New Zealand, Waitz vi. 140.
³ Scherzer V. N. iii. 128. ⁴ Waitz vi. 75.

SEC. 95. *Music*.—¹ Turner 125. ² G. Forster i. 291. ³ Wood i. 296. ⁴ Martineau Ch. iv. ⁵ Spencer D. S. iii. 62. ⁶ Wood i. 230. ⁷ G. Forster i. 429. ⁸ Wood i. 414. ⁹ *Ib.* 295. ¹⁰ Spencer D. S. v. 56. ¹¹ Ellis P. R. i. 198. ¹² Waitz vi. 171. ¹³ Guppy 141.

For notes of savage airs, see Wood L. i. 293. Klemm ii. 216. Schweinfurth ii. 75. Dodge O. W. I. 355.

SEC. 96. *Medicine and Surgery*.—¹ For Patagonian cure of croup, see Guinnard 147. ² Waitz iii. 82. ³ Wilkes iv. 464. ⁴ Bancroft i. 245. ⁵ Guppy 178. He quotes Aitken's *Medicine*, 6th Edition i. 859, to show that syphilis existed in prehistoric France. For its existence among the Mound-Builders, see Maclean M. B. 146; for Australia before arrival of whites, see Klemm i. 785. ⁶ Livingstone L. J. 56. ⁷ Forbes 69. ⁸ Parkyns ii. 224. ⁹ Spencer D. L. iv. 34. ¹⁰ *Ib.* 35. ¹¹ Waitz iii. 226. ¹² Wood i. 560. ¹³ Featherman i. 398. ¹⁴ Guppy 166. ¹⁵ Waitz iii. 399. Ellis P. R. iii. 43. ¹⁶ Cartailhac 83. ¹⁷ *Ib.* 87. ¹⁸ Jarves. ¹⁹ Waitz ii. 464. ²⁰ Cook ii. 124.

For a very remarkable remedy for tetanus, see Waitz (vi. 398), who cites D'Urville as his authority and Klemm (iv. 394), who obtains his information from Mariner.

The Monbuttoos smear the juice of the caoutchouc plant over the skin where affected by a dry cutaneous disease. Emin Pasha 443.

SEC. 97. *Vocabulary*.—¹ Max Muller S. L. i. 383. ² *Ib.* i. 353. "A complex train of thought can no more be carried on without the aid of words, whether spoken or silent, than a long calculation without the use of figures or algebra." Darwin D. M. 86. ³ *Ib.* i. 368. Romanes (430) thinks that speech "began with sentence-words in association with gesture-signs." Adam Smith thought first words were verbs; Dugald Stewart argued that they were nouns. Max Muller i. 41. Sayce (I. S. L. ii. 77) says, "Language is thus of interjectional origin, helped by the imitative instinct, and language, in the course of its development, created and moulded thought." Elsewhere (*ib.* 101) he says, "the further back we can trace a language, the poorer it seems to be." ⁴ Max Muller, S. L. i. 86, 117. Featherman 300, 639. ⁵ Max Muller, S. L. i. 266. ⁶ *Ib.* S. L. i. 265. ⁷ *Ib.* ii. 285. ⁸ Lippert K. G. i. 141. ⁹ Lubbock P.

T. 574. ¹⁰ *Ib.* ¹¹ Bonwick D. L. 160. ¹² Lubbock P. T. 574. ¹³ Lippert K. G. i. 141. ¹⁴ Bonwick D. L. 160. ¹⁵ Lippert K. G. i. 139, 140. ¹⁶ *Ib.* ¹⁷ Peschel 116, 117. ¹⁸ Max Muller S. L. ii. 355. ¹⁹ *Ib.* 35. ²⁰ Lubbock O. C. 440. ²¹ *Ib.* 439. ²² *Ib.* 438. ²³ Spencer D. S. vi. 56. ²⁴ Fornander i. 157. ²⁵ Tylor E. H. 165. Powell 255, Clark 27.

SEC. 98. *Sounds and Signs.*—¹ Darwin J. R. 206, Sayce I. S. L. i. 284. ² Spencer D. S. iv. 36. ³ Tylor P. C. 153. Featherman i. 181. ⁴ Max Muller S. L. ii. 39. ⁵ Spencer iii. 46. ⁶ Lubbock O. C. 518. Bonwick D. L. 152. ⁷ Peschel 114. ⁸ Lippert K. G. 142. ⁹ Max Muller S. L. ii. 177. ¹⁰ Lubbock P. T. 450. ¹¹ Max Muller S. L. ii. 202. ¹² Lippert K. G. i. 160. ¹³ Spencer D. S. iii. 45. ¹⁴ *Ib.* 44. ¹⁵ Tylor P. C. 148. ¹⁶ Lippert K. G. i. 160. ¹⁷ Tylor E. H. 144, 188. ¹⁸ Featherman i. 654. ¹⁹ Ellis W. A. L. 76. ²⁰ *Ib.* ²¹ Melville T. 256. ²² Spencer D. S. iii. 44. ²³ *Ib.* 45. ²⁴ Lyell, A. ii. 275. ²⁵ Spencer D. S. 169. ²⁶ Tylor P. C. 149. ²⁷ Lippert K. G. i. 160. ²⁸ Tylor E. H. 45.

The Annamitic sentence consisting of "Ba ba ba ba," is from Max Muller S. L. ii. 39.

SEC. 99. *Grammar.*—¹ Max Muller S. L. i. 288. ² Bonwick D. L. 147, Sayce (I. S. L. i. 375) says, "If the excellence of a language is to be decided by the number and variety of its grammatical forms, the palm will be borne off rather by the Eskimos or the Cherokees than by the dialects of Greece and Rome." J. L. Wilson (240) tells us that no language in the world is capable of greater precision in expression than that of Southern Guinea. According to Burton (G. L. i. 111) there are from 1,200 to 1,500 derivatives from one verb in the Mpongwe tongue. Waitz (i. 314) observes "that the grammatical construction of the tongues of the rudest tribes has a perfectly defined and strongly impressed regularity, as now universally admitted." The complexity in the inflexions of the verbs is often accompanied by remarkable poverty in the nouns. For this reason there is great difficulty among some Australians, as Wallace tells us (A. 51), in expressing many ideas common among civilized people. In such a tongue there is no simple nominative. The noun instead of being general is specialized by such limitations as that it is staying in, going to or coming from a place.

Max Muller (O. R. 68) says: "Languages which have cases to express nearness to an object, movement alongside of an object, approach towards an object, but which have no purely objective

case, no accusative, may be called rich, no doubt, but their riches is truly poverty." This remark applies also "to their dictionary. It may contain names for every kind of animal; again for the same animal when it is young or old, male or female; it may have different words for the foot of a man, a horse, a lion, a hare; but it probably is without a name for animal in general, or even for such concepts as member or body. There is here, as elsewhere, loss and gain on both sides."

SEC. 100. *Rapid Change*.—¹Spencer D. S., iv. 36. ²Max Muller, S. L. i. 62. ³*Ib.* ⁴*Ib.* 36. ⁵*Ib.* 43. ⁶Peschel 104. ⁷Featherman i. 594. ⁸Latham V. M. 262.

SEC. 101. *Intellectual Development*.—Dr. Ferguson (Max Muller S. L. i. 357) says, "The speculative mind, in comparing the first and last steps of the progress of language, feels the same sort of amazement with a traveler who, after rising insensibly on the slope of a hill, comes to look from a precipice of an almost unfathomable depth to the summit of which he scarcely believes himself to have ascended without supernatural aid." Romanes (300) observes that the anthropology proves that men have come from several or many distinct sources. That many peculiarities of speech had a local origin may be granted. Romanes (373) quotes the following sentence from Sayce: "When we remember the inarticulate clicks which still form part of the Bushmen's language, it would seem as if no line of division could be drawn between man and beast, even when language is made the test." That statement seems to imply that speech is as old as humanity and must have had a common origin with it. The grammar of a child just beginning to speak is like that of the Chinese.

The same author (258) says, "That the existing languages of the earth did originate in more than one centre is now the almost unanimous belief of competent authorities." In Sayce (I. S. L. i. 73) we read that, "The languages of the world cannot be carried back to a single source. There are at least as many original languages as existing families of speech." Notwithstanding the high authority of Sayce and Romanes, I must remark not only that I have seen no convincing evidence to prove that point, but that I think no such evidence can be produced until it is shown that the different races of men are not descended from the same original stock. The black man came from the beast; the yellow man from the black; the white from the yellow; and the languages of the yellow and white men from the primitive speech of the primitive black men. This is the natural course of growth,

Max Muller (N. R. 321) says: "I hold as strongly as ever that every inflectional language must have passed through an agglutinative stage, and that this agglutination is always preceded by the isolating stage."

Sayce (I. S. L. i. 75) remarks that, "The continued existence of isolating like the Chinese or of agglutinative tongues like the Magyar and the Turkish shows that the development is not a necessary one." Romanes (253) quotes that sentence and approves it; and I must venture to express dissent. The growth of the typical man to a height of four feet or more is a physical necessity of his nature, notwithstanding the fact that some dwarfs stop growing when they reach a height of two feet. The rule is determined by the general, not by the exceptional facts. Progress is a necessary feature of human life in language as well as in other departments.

SEC. 102. *Headless Groups*.—¹Spencer P. S. 205. ²*Ib.* ³*Ib.*

SEC. 103. *Freedom*.—¹Ward ii. 233. Hellwald i. 334. ²Lubbock O. C. 446.

SEC. 104. *Unstable Headship*.—¹Spencer P. S. 542.

SEC. 105. *Stable Headship*.—This subject is well discussed in Spencer P. L.

SEC. 107. *Assemblies, etc.*.—¹Spencer P. S. 464.

SEC. 108. *Savage Confederacies*.—¹Morgan A. S. 70, 129, 130, 136, 143, H. 37. ²*Ib.* 132, 140. ³Hesse-Warteg 223. ⁴Waitz v. 187.

SEC. 109. *Retaliation*.—¹Spencer P. S. 466. ²*Ib.* 533.

SEC. 110. *Retaliation Restricted*.—¹Num. ii. 30-31. ²Koran ii. 17. Among the Apaches, according to Cremony (293), the avenger challenges the murderer to mortal combat in open and fair fight. Such a method of settlement is without a parallel elsewhere, and perhaps the statement is an incorrect inference from some exceptional case. ³Spencer D. S. iv. 22. ⁴Jarves 59. Wood ii. 329. Spencer D. S. iii. 12. Waitz iii. 127. ⁵Icon. Encyclopedia i. 138. ⁶Featherman 455, 581, 603. Peschel 239. ⁷Spencer P. S. 523.

SEC. 112. *Succession*.—¹Spencer D. S. iv. 7. ²Featherman i. 104. ³Moerenhout ii. 13, ⁴Featherman i. 185.

SEC. 113. *Ordeals*.—¹Spencer D. S. iii. 15. Krapf East Af. 174. ²*Ib.* 173. ³Jarves 39. ⁴Spencer D. S. iii. 14. ⁵Brooke 331. ⁶Wood ii. 511.

SEC. 114. *Property*.—¹Spencer D. S. v. 36. ²Waitz v. 187. ³Bourke S. D. 135. ⁴Waitz vi. 224. ⁵*Ib.* 225.

SEC. 115. *Slavery*.—¹Waitz i. 211. ²*Ib.* ii. 469. ³Burton L. R. ii. 189. Richardson ii. 205. ⁴Spencer D. S. iv. 23.

SEC. 116. *Nobility*.—¹ Spencer P. S. 461. ² Waitz vi. 200. ³ *Ib.* v. 172-175. ⁴ Du Chaillu A. L. 420.

SEC. 117. *Political Development*.

SEC. 118. *War*.—¹ Wood ii. 207. ² Jones 7.

SEC. 119. *Battle*.—¹ Wood i. 356. ² Waitz vi. 744-746. ³ *Ib.* vi. 147. ⁴ Skertchly 455. ⁵ Stanley D. C. i. 400. ⁶ Waitz iii. 150. ⁷ *Ib.* iii. 151. ⁸ Dodge H. G. 275, *Ib.* O. W. I. 145. Kane 80.

SEC. 120. *Trophies*.—Spencer P. S.

SEC. 121. *Fortifications*.—For descriptions of the fortifications of the Mound-Builders, see Maclean M. B.

SEC. 122. *Initiation* —¹ Catlin i. 21. ² This weight is the author's guess, made many years after seeing such a skull. The weights vary much, and the heaviest were doubtless preferred. ³ Dodge H. G. 257, 260. Catlin i. 233. Pop. Sci. Monthly, June, 1886. Capt. A. W. Corliss, U. S. A., who had been stationed for years in the territories of the Dakotas, told the author that their mode of initiation bore more resemblance to that of the Cheyennes, as described by Dodge, than to that of the Mandans. For Blackfoot initiation, see Pop. Sci. Monthly, Aug. 1889. For Dakotas, Catlin i. 178, Long i. 276, Clark 71, 361. For Crows, *ib.* 135. For Hidatsas, *ib.* 194. For Arickarees *ib.* 196. For Poncas, *ib.* 363. For other tribes, *ib.* 73. For Chippeways, Kohl 228. ⁴ Waitz iii. 149. ⁵ *Ib.* 328. ⁶ Ploss 427. ⁷ Robinson 173. ⁸ Wood ii. 516. ⁹ Klemm C. G. ii. 113. ¹⁰ Latham V. M. 240. ¹¹ Bancroft i. 735. ¹² Spencer D. S. vi. 57. ¹³ *Ib.* v. 16. ¹⁴ Parkyns ii. 219, Baker N. T. 125. ¹⁵ Waitz i. 390. Livingston S. A. 164, Wood i. 325. ¹⁶ Waitz iii. 389, Spencer D. S. vi. 56. ¹⁷ Spencer D. S. vi. 58. ¹⁸ Wood ii. 616. ¹⁹ Burckhardt N. 397. ²⁰ Romilly 32. ²¹ Lafitau i. 297-300. ²² *Ib.* 303. ²³ Spencer D. S. vi. 13, 20.

Kohl (132) says the Chippeways have a severe initiation for priests.

SEC. 123. *Spirits*.—¹ Lippert K. G. i. 125, Spencer P. S. 146. ² Waitz i. 363, Lippert S. C. ³ Spencer D. S. iv. 18. ⁴ Featherman i. 51. ⁵ Lubbock P. T. 437. ⁶ *Ib.* i. 217. ⁷ Wood i. 348. ⁸ *Ib.* i. 257. ⁹ Lubbock O. C. 234. ¹⁰ Spencer P. S. 162. ¹¹ Featherman 82. ¹² Wilson 395, Tylor E. H. 7.

The chief argument to prove that the lowest savages have no religion, has been made by Lubbock. He says (O. C. 208), "If the mere sensation of fear and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than oneself, are alone sufficient to constitute a religion, then we must, I think, admit that religion is

general to the human race.⁴ But when a child dreads the darkness, and shrinks from a lightless room, we must never regard that as an evidence of religion.⁵ Moreover, if this definition be adopted, we can no longer regard religion as peculiar to man.”

Although probably not so intended, every sentence in that paragraph misrepresents the question under consideration. The feeling to be accounted for is not fear but fear of spirits; and since that sensation is not attributed to brutes, the mention of them is inapplicable to this argument. Neither is the “dread of darkness” relevant; there are good reasons for disliking to go where we cannot see, such as the fear of running against something and hurting ourselves. The admission, in the first sentence, would have been appropriate, to Lubbock’s position, if it had been thus expressed: “If the mere belief in spiritual beings, powerful enough to greatly influence human life, and fear of them, are sufficient to constitute religion, then we must admit that religion exists in all savage tribes.”

While denying the existence of religion in many tribes, Lubbock says: “The savage is, however, almost universally, a believer in witchcraft” (P. T. 581), that is in a supernatural power. Tylor, S. C. ii. 417-424, has replied very forcibly to Lubbock. Both arguments deserve to be read by those who wish to examine this question thoroughly.

Tylor (P. C. 15) says: “Most of what we call superstition is included within survival, and in this way, lies open to the attack of its deadliest enemy, a reasonable explanation.”

Tylor introduced the word “animism” to mean “the doctrine of spiritual beings,” a belief which, as he says (P. C. 385) “characterizes tribes very low in the scale of humanity and thence ascends, deeply modified in its transmission, but from first to last, preserving an unbroken continuity into the midst of high modern culture.” Many other authors have accepted animism as a valuable addition to the English language, but Lippert (S. C.) objects that while it expresses the philosophical conception of a future life, it fails to convey the idea of a worship of the disembodied spirits. He uses soul-worship (*seelenkult*) as preferable. Among savages the belief in spirits is always accompanied by worship.

SEC. 124. *Imaginary World*.—¹ Lip. K. G. i. 30. ² Waitz ii. 190. ³ *Ib.* ii. 152, Allen ii. 121. ⁴ Spencer P. S. 70, 71. ⁵ Waitz iii. 195. ⁶ Maine 35, Spencer P. S. 79, 83. ⁷ Waitz vi. 343. ⁸ Spencer E. C. 583, P. S. 56, 95. ⁹ *Ib.* 70, 71. ¹⁰ Du Chaillu E. A. 383, 384.

¹¹Spencer P. S. 99, 100. ¹²*Id.* 100. ¹³Low 260, 263. ¹⁴Spencer P. S. 93. ¹⁵*Id.* 87, Lubbock O. C. 235. ¹⁶*Id.* ¹⁷Dodge H. G. 283. Clark 325. ¹⁸Spencer P. S. 87. ¹⁹Lubbock O. C. 235. ²⁰Tylor P. C. ii. 20. ²¹*Id.* 112.

²²Scott's Madge Wildfire says, "Whiles I think my pair bairn's dead—ye ken very weel it's buried—but that signifees naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times, and a hundred till that, since it was buried,—and how could that be were it dead, ye ken—its merely impossible." In this case, the woman, as Tylor (*E. H. Ch.* vi.) says, "confounds imagination with reality." She does not distinguish between subjective and objective perceptions. She is like a class of persons who see visions in the fancy, and fancy they see them in the material world.

I was acquainted with Alice and Phoebe Carey, sisters, poets, and ladies of most estimable character. Both have been dead for many years. Both had visions in which they saw, heard and felt spirits. One of them Alice if I recollect aright, told me that these spirits appeared to her senses as real as did any of her acquaintances. To her, they were, in no sense, illusions. Of their real existence, independently of her fancy, she had no doubt. In the opinion of the learned men of our time, generally, such figures are the products of an abnormal condition of the brain; they are the creations of an unregulated imagination. As Pascal says, the imagination is "one of the deceitful powers;" it has a great influence on human life. Lecky (*H. M.* i. 59) says that the whole history of the intellectual progress of the world is "one long struggle of the intellect of man to emancipate itself from the deceptions of Nature." This is perhaps too broadly stated; but man is certainly misled very seriously, and in many different directions, by fancies which seem to be inseparable from the ignorance that accompanies not only the low but also the high stages of culture.

I believe in clairvoyance because I have had direct, and to me conclusive, proof of its truth. About 1872, Charles Foster, a noted spirit medium, made his first professional visit to San Francisco. Very soon after his arrival, I was one of four visitors to whom he gave a sitting. I had never seen him, nor he me. He had no opportunity, so far as I knew, of learning anything about me, or my relatives. He could not have expected me, for I had no thought of seeing him until five minutes before I started. On reaching his hotel our party stopped in an ante-room where we each wrote the names of about a dozen deceased friends on bits of

paper five inches square. These were folded over with the names inside, until they were about three-quarters of an inch wide and five inches long. All these papers were given to me; and after they were put into my hat, I could not, without opening them, have told which I had written, nor, if I had had mine separate, could I have told what name was on any one slip of paper. We went into Foster's room and were not introduced. We sat down with him at a round table about four feet in diameter. I turned out my papers on the table. He did not open one of them, nor did he hold one up in such a manner as to suggest that he tried to see what was in it. In the course of the sitting, he picked up one of the papers, which he held in his left hand while, with his right, he wrote the name John Shertzer; and then he gave both papers to me. I opened the closed paper and found that it was one on which I had written the name of a deceased uncle. I asked where he died. Foster requested me to write half a dozen places and put the right one among them. I made such a list, correct as I supposed. Foster scratched out all the names and said John Shertzer did not die at any place there named. I insisted that he did, whereupon Foster said he thought not, but if so, it was at Lebanon, Pennsylvania. It did not occur to me until afterwards that the death occurred at the village of Annville, in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, five miles from the town of Lebanon. I knew this fact at the time, but my recollections were confused, and for the moment I had forgotten. The death of John Shertzer occurred in 1854 and I am satisfied that Foster had never heard of him.

Foster picked up a piece of paper and said, "Here's the name of a man that was shot," and looking at me he added, "This is yours." I asserted that I did not put the name of any man that had been shot in my list. Foster, without opening the paper, wrote out the name William Shertzer, and then gave me both papers. I explained, I had spoken too hastily. Wm. Shertzer disappeared mysteriously in southern Ohio about 1838, and his relatives never knew how or where he died. He may have been shot.

General John McComb, now warden of the State Prison at San Quentin, was one of my companions in the visit to Foster. The latter, in the course of the sitting, said to McComb, "Thomas is here." McComb said, "I did not write the name of any Thomas." Foster replied that he thought he did. After some conversation with others, Foster again spoke to McComb and said, "The General is here." McComb remarked that he did not put in the name

of any General. Foster said: "Certainly you did. Here's his name." He picked out a paper from the pile on the table, and without opening it, wrote the name General Cazneau, a deceased militia general and insurance agent of San Francisco. I remarked that Cazneau's first name was Thomas. Foster caught both McComb and myself in two errors about matters of which we knew everything and he nothing. Besides, these were not the only instances of the kind that occurred in the course of the sitting. He made no mistake, and he replied to many questions for each of the party. No chance, no preparation, could have enabled him to succeed. He was aided either by clairvoyance or by spirits.

Foster claimed that he obtained his information from spirits. I believe that he had an abnormal or clairvoyant perception, and that the disembodied souls which he saw or heard existed only in his imagination. I have several friends in whose learning and wisdom I have great confidence, who had direct evidence similar to my own, and who, like me, believe in clairvoyance and not in spirit communication.

I sent a proof of this note to General McComb, with requests for corrections, and for leave to use his name. In response he says:—

"I have read the proof slips of an interview with Charles Foster, and my recollection of the facts agrees with your statement. As I am not a believer in spiritism, perhaps I should add that I was very much puzzled by the disclosures made by Mr. Foster, who was an entire stranger to me. You are privileged to use my name in verification of the facts stated by you."

Laycock (i. 176) says "that certain facts are familiar to the students of insanity, hysterical delirium, somnambulism, mesmeric clairvoyance, and so forth." This language implies that Laycock regards mesmeric clairvoyance as an abnormal, physical condition, not less genuine than insanity, hysterical delirium, and somnambulism; and to a certain degree, akin to them.

It is the existence of clairvoyance that has been the main support of the religion of spiritism in the United States, and that may have had a great influence in suggesting and maintaining the spiritual ideas in savage religions.

SEC. 125. *Devout Fear*.—¹Tylor P. C. ii. 209. ²Spencer E. I. 584. ³*Id.* P. S. 117. "No people," says Ballou (14), "could be more superstitious than the colored residents of Nassau. They shut up and double lock the doors and windows of their cabins, at night, to keep out the spirits." ⁴Lippert K. G. i. 118. ⁵*Id.* 112.

⁶ *Ib.* 118. ⁷ *Ib.* 113. ⁸ *Ib.* 118. ⁹ *Ib.* ¹⁰ Spencer P. S. 117. ¹¹ Waitz iii. 41. ¹² *Ib.* vi. 310. ¹³ Spencer D. S. v. 39. ¹⁴ Featherman, 204, 255, 288, 520, 549, 646. ¹⁵ Monteiro i. 247. ¹⁶ Parry 551. ¹⁷ Lubbock O. C. 220. ¹⁸ *Ib.* P. T. 578. ¹⁹ *Ib.* O. C. 221. ²⁰ *Ib.* 221. ²¹ Spencer E. J. 584. ²² *Ib.* D. S. v. 39. ²³ *Ib.* P. S. 117. Tylor P. C. ii. 117. ²⁴ Waitz vi. 330. ²⁵ Tylor P. C. ii. 178. ²⁶ *Ib.* Spencer D. S. v. 34. ²⁸ *Ib.* iii. 14. ²⁹ *Ib.* v. 15. ³⁰ *Ib.* E. J. 584. ³¹ Tylor P. C. i. 193. ³² *Ib.* ³³ Spencer D. S. v. 40. ³⁴ Wood i. 466

SEC. 126. *Next Life*.—¹ Spencer P. S. 101. ² *Ib.* 110-112. ³ *Ib.* 106. ⁴ *Ib.* D. S. iii. 6. ⁵ *Ib.* P. S. 110. ⁶ Lubbock O. C. 283. Tylor P. C. i. 429, 440. ⁷ Spencer P. S. 96.

SEC. 127. *Burial, etc.*—¹ Clark 90. ² Cameron 94.

SEC. 128. *Mourning*.—¹ Wood i. 232. ² Spencer D. S. vi. 52. ³ Deut. xiv. 1. ⁴ Bancroft i. 288. ⁵ Dodge W. I. 172. ⁶ Waitz vi. 401.

Writing of the tropical Polynesians Gerland (Waitz vi. 339) says: "Faith in spiritual powers was evolved in these islands in the simplest accordance with the promptings of nature, and the resulting heathenism was more complete than any to be found elsewhere. No other race has had in its history so few external shocks, to stimulate or check its spontaneous growth. Therefore it is that, mythologically considered, the Polynesians not only show us the original type of humanity, but also the course of its growth. They show us what religious ideas, under circumstances not obstructive to his cultural development, man can and must adopt in the higher phases of savagism."

SEC. 129. *Soul Worship*.—¹ Waitz vi. 330. ² Lippert K. G. ii. 293. ³ Spencer P. S. 373. ⁴ *Ib.* 143. ⁵ Jones 428. ⁶ Lubbock O. C. 382. Cumming H. F. 251. ⁷ Waitz vi. 370. ⁸ Spencer P. S. 388. ⁹ Krapf. 52.

SEC. 130. *Totemism*.—¹ Waitz vi. 336, 373. ² Lubbock O. C. 266-270. ³ Spencer P. S. 167. ⁴ *Ib.* 166. ⁵ *Ib.* ⁶ *Ib.* 167. ⁷ *Ib.* 172. ⁸ *Ib.* ⁹ *Ib.* 165. ¹⁰ *Ib.* 180-182. ¹¹ *Ib.* 182. ¹² *Ib.* *Ib.* 179. ¹³ *Ib.*

As a result of the idea that many divinities take up their residence in beasts, the Solomon Islanders think that a shark should have the man whom he has tried to catch. If the man escapes into a canoe, they throw him overboard. Guppy 71.

List of animals sacred in various African tribes. Waitz ii. 178, 179, 352.

SEC. 131. *Fetichism*.—¹ Lubbock O. C. 328. ² Waitz vi. 317.

³ Bancroft i. 61. ⁴ In shamanism "every object and force of nature is supposed to have the 'zi,' or spirit, who could be controlled by magical exorcisms of the Shaman. or sorcerer priest." Sayce A. E. E. 146. ⁵ Tylor P. C. ii. 153.

For Redman's fetish, or medicine, see Clark, 248. Catlin i. 36.

Much has been written to prove that shamanism is one of the main phases of religion in rude culture, and that it is limited to Asia. The main idea that the priest can control disembodied spirits and compel them to help or hurt the living is found among the fetish worshipers, and the line between fetishism and shamanism is vague and unimportant. Lippert (G. P. i. 252) discusses shamanism fully, and I think is the best authority in regard to it.

SEC. 132. *Ancestor Worship*.—¹ Spencer P. S. 147. ² *Ib.* 152. ³ Deut. xxvi. 14. ⁴ Spencer P. S. 152. ⁵ *Ib.* 142. ⁶ *Ib.* ⁷ Holub. 302.

SEC. 133. *Offerings*.—¹ Spencer P. S. 139, 368-377. ² *Ib.* Tylor P. C. ii. 32-34. ³ Spencer D. S. iv. 15. ⁴ *Ib.* P. S. 139. ⁵ Turner 20. ⁶ Spencer P. S. 373. ⁷ *Ib.* 108.

In Unyoro and Uganda "if the dead appear to their relations in a dream, an offering of flour and the blood of a sheep is brought to the clay vessels and the spirits are besought to discontinue their visits." Emin Pasha, 230.

SEC. 135. *Human Sacrifices*.—¹ Allen 328. ² Stanley C. ii. 181. ³ Baker i. 335. ⁴ Featherman i. 444. ⁵ Spencer P. S. 106. ⁶ *Ib.* ⁷ Wood i. 222. ⁸ Spencer P. S. 104. ⁹ Baker i. 335. ¹⁰ Cameron i. 110. ¹¹ Wood ii. 753. ¹² Spencer D. S. v. 39. ¹³ Waitz ii. 197. ¹⁴ Featherman i. 432. ¹⁵ Schoolcraft iv. 50. ¹⁶ Lubbock O. C. 366. ¹⁷ Featherman i. 20. ¹⁸ *Ib.* 477. ¹⁹ *Ib.* 695. ²⁰ Spencer D. S. iii. 38. ²¹ Seeman 236. ²² Waitz iii. 207. ²³ Featherman i. 236. Tylor P. C. ii. 250. Wilson 219. ²⁴ Leonowens 147. ²⁵ Lippert K. G. ii. 292. ²⁶ *Ib.* 270.

The left eye of the victim, in the human sacrifice, was offered to the King of Hawaii. Kalakaua 46.

SEC. 136. *Gods*.—¹ Lippert G. P. i. 245 ² Spencer E. I. 628-646.

SEC. 137. *Idolatry*.—¹ Spencer P. S. 154. ² *Ib.* ³ *Ib.* 155. ⁴ *Ib.* 156. ⁵ *Ib.* ⁶ *Ib.* ⁷ *Ib.* ⁸ *Ib.* 158. ⁹ *Ib.* ¹⁰ *Ib.* ¹¹ *Ib.* Lander i. 125. ¹² Spencer P. S. 156. ¹³ Waitz vi. 370. ¹⁴ *Ib.* 342, 369. ¹⁵ Tylor P. C. ii. 157, 161. ¹⁶ Spencer D. S. vi. 47. ¹⁷ Lubbock O. C. Ch. iii.

SEC. 138. *Divine Intercourse*.—¹ Waitz vi. 679. ² *Ib.* 340. ³ Baker N. T. 129.

SEC. 139. *Worship*.—¹ Moerenhout ii. 83. ² Bourke S. D. 255. ³ Spencer D. S. vi. 52. ⁴ Waitz iii. 180. ⁵ Jones 428. ⁶ Wood i. 686. ⁷ Lubbock O. C. 315. ⁸ Waitz iii. 180. ⁹ *Ib.* 181, 209. ¹⁰ Waitz iii. 300. ¹¹ Jones 23. ¹² Spencer D. S. v. 34. ¹³ Cumming H. H. ii. 164. ¹⁴ Spencer P. S. 370. ¹⁵ Waitz vi. 385.

SEC. 140. *Priests*.—¹ Lubbock (O. C. 370) says that "without temples and sacrifices there cannot be priests," and that among the lower savages "there are no priests, properly so called." This is in harmony with his opinion previously cited that many of the lower savages have no religion, and that faith in, and fear of, spiritual beings are not sufficient to make up a religious belief. ² Waitz ii. 196. ³ Spencer P. S. 474. ⁴ Little 157. ⁵ Spencer E. I. 602, 603. ⁶ *Ib.* 606. ⁷ Waitz iii. 385. ⁸ Kohl 132. ⁹ Waitz ii. 199. ¹⁰ Spencer D. S. iii. 14. ¹¹ *Ib.* E. I. 606. ¹² Waitz iii. 373. ¹³ *Ib.* ii. 402. ¹⁴ *Ib.* vi. 387. Spencer P. S. 197, 402.

SEC. 141. *Sensitives, etc.*—¹ Tylor P. C. i. 120. Wood ii. 290. ² Tylor P. C. i. 120. ³ Wood i. 188. ⁴ Waitz vi. 372. ⁵ Spencer D. S. v. 35. ⁶ *Ib.* P. S. 131. ⁷ Tylor P. C. ii. 377, 378. Clark 155. J. G. Muller, 182. Robinson 271. ⁸ Waitz iii. 544. Seeman 330. Tschudi 189. ⁹ Spencer P. S. 125. Catlin i. 222. ¹⁰ Spencer P. S. 132. ¹¹ Kohl 106. ¹² Waitz vi. 393.

Spirit rappers among Chippeways. Kohl. 278. Among Africans. Wilson 216.

SEC. 142. *Sorcerers*.—¹ Waitz vi. 679. Kalakaua 59. ² Waitz vi. 396. Emin Pasha 206. Kalakaua 42. Tylor E. H. 129. ³ Spencer. D. T. iv. 33. Waitz iii. 118. ⁴ Wood i. 196. ⁵ Peschel 264. ⁶ Spencer D. S. iv. 34.

Sorcerers change themselves into vampires or man-eating beasts. Emin Pasha 93, 261. Tylor P. C. ii. 175.

SEC. 143. *Sacerdotal Functions*.—¹ Waitz vi. 383. ² Wood ii. 133. ³ Spencer E. I. 630. ⁴ Jarves 40. ⁵ Dodge H. G. 275. ⁶ Wilson 76. Barton G. L. i. 101.

SEC. 144. *Areoi*.—¹ Waitz vi. 363. ² *Ib.* 366.

SEC. 145. *Revenue, etc.*—¹ Spencer P. S. 374. ² 1 Sam. xxi. 6. ³ Ex. xx. 25, 26. ⁴ Jud. vi. 19, 21. ⁵ 2 Sam. vii. 4-6. ⁶ Most of this paragraph is a condensation from Spencer E. I. 626.

SEC. 146. *Taboo*.—¹ Lippert K. G. i. 119. Wood i. 406. Guppy 32. Park 174. ² Low 260. ³ Waitz vi. 361. ⁴ Powell 113. ⁵ Thomson N. Z. i. 101. ⁶ Robinson 298. ⁷ Spencer D. S. v. 19, 36. ⁸ Waitz vi. 362. ⁹ *Ib.* ¹⁰ *Ib.* 323. ¹¹ Jarves 57. Wood ii. 189. Scherzer iii. 114. Thomson N. Z. 105.

SEC. 147. *Omens, etc.*—¹Bagehot 129. Emin Pasha 96. Dodge H. G. 275. *Ib.* W. I. 135. ²Chalmers and Gill 308. ³Waitz vi. 805. ⁴Waitz vi. 393. ⁵Wood ii. 565. ⁶Waitz ii. 417. ⁷Wood i. 465.

SEC. 148. *Temples, etc.*—¹Maclean M. B. 100. ²*Ib.* 221. ³*Ib.* 54. ⁴*Ib.* 46. ⁵*Ib.* 56. ⁶*Ib.* 57. ⁷*Ib.* 58. ⁸Spencer P. S. 137. ⁹*Ib.* Emin Pasha 93. ¹⁰Spencer P. S. 137. ¹¹*Ib.* ¹²*Ib.* 373. ¹³*Ib.* 137. ¹⁴*Ib.* ¹⁵*Ib.* ¹⁶*Ib.* ¹⁷*Ib.* ¹⁸Waitz vi. 373. ¹⁹*Ib.* vi. 377. ²⁰*Ib.* ²¹*Ib.* ²²*Ib.* v. 75. ²³*Ib.* 226. ²⁴Spencer P. S. 138. ²⁵*Ib.* ²⁶*Ib.* ²⁷*Ib.* ²⁸*Ib.* ²⁹Fergusson 27.

SEC. 149. *Religious Development.*—¹Max Muller C. G. W. i. Preface.

In many passages, Max Muller (S. R. 51, 104, 106, 108, O. R. 64, N. R. 219) accepts the idea that a supernatural revelation of the main truths of religion was given to savages. But he has not made a study of savage culture, and has never been a recognized authority in reference to it. In writing of it, he has made some gross mistakes. He has asserted (N. R. 219) that all religions teach morality. Of fetishism he has said that it represents "the very lowest stage which religion can reach." Again he has written of the fetish as if it were regarded as something supernatural and entirely different from the idol which is merely the home of a spirit or divinity. As the reader has seen in the text, the fetish worshiper and the idol worshiper are alike in worshiping a spirit supposed to make its home in the material object.

It is worthy of remark that Max Muller asserts that while the supernatural has been at work in a foreign domain of which he knows little, in his own specialty, philology, all the changes have occurred under the influence of natural law. He quotes (N. R. 237) with compassion Plato's opinion "that language could not possibly have been invented by man." After asserting that language is a natural product of the human mind, and that true religion was revealed to savages and then allowed to degenerate, he tells us (*Ib.* 313) that "a truly scientific study of religion is impossible unless we know the language which forms the soil from which religion and mythology spring." Is savage religion the supernatural fruit of the natural tree, language?

The theory of a divine revelation of fundamental religious truth to savages has been accepted by many other authors, including Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, F. Schlegel, De Maistre, Gladstone, and Whateley, but no one has undertaken to give evidences and argu-

ments to sustain his opinion. The reader can consult Tylor P. C. i. 36; Flint 414, 428, 463.

SEC. 152. *Grades of Culture*.—¹Lubbock P. T. 435, 436, 550. ²Pickering 304. ³Fremont 212. ⁴Waitz i. 390.

Lubbock (P. T. 553) gives a table of the possession of bows, slings, throw-sticks, boomerangs, bolas, fishhooks, and nets by various tribes, but I see little significance in it and therefore do not copy it here. Lippert's supposition (K. G. i. 306) that the lack of the bow among the Australians, Tasmanians, and most Polyne- sians is proof that their ancestors must have migrated from their continental home, before that weapon was invented, does not harmonize well with the fact that the Andamanese have bows with- out huts, tillage or polished stone, and that the Tahitians, Hawaiians and Kaffirs with advanced savage culture, and familiar with the bow, made no use of it save as a plaything, preferring the spear in war and the chase.

SEC. 153. *Some Characteristics*.—¹Waitz i. 42. ²Lubbock P. T. 281. ³*Ib.* 359. ⁴The potato supports twice as many people to the acre as does wheat. Buckle H. C. i. notes 46 and 167. ⁵A date tree yields 360 lbs. of fruit annually, equivalent to 7,200 lbs. for an acre. Bartlett 46. One square league sustains 70,000 date palm trees. Humboldt Ch. viii. Since there are 4,438 acres in a square league, this would allow only 15 trees to an acre, leaving a distance of more than 50 feet from tree to tree, whereas 35 or 40 is sufficient for old trees in full bearing. At 35 feet apart there would be 35 trees on an acre, and at 360 lbs. to a tree, a crop of 12,600 lbs. A sago palm tree will yield 300 lbs. of sago; but this is not an annual crop. Wallace M. A. 382, Waitz v. 128. One cocoa palm tree supports several families. Scherzer i. 365. It yields a ton of nuts annually. Tennent ii. 457. ⁶Authority lost. ⁷Brigham (353) says that 1,607 square feet of rich soil in Guatemala yield 4,000 lbs. of plantain. This is equivalent to 84,000 lbs. for an acre. Tylor (M. 303) says that "according to the lowest estimate" one acre of bananas will support as many people as twenty acres of wheat. The yield of plantain to the acre in Africa is estimated by Du Chaillu (A. L. 119) at 27,000 lbs. Buckle (H. C. i. notes 46 and 167) citing Humboldt, says that in the yield of nutriment from an acre, the banana is to wheat as 133 to one. Tropical fruits contain 12 per cent. of carbon; blubber contains 65 to 80 per cent. Buckle H. C. i. note 46. ⁸Waitz vi. 64.

For sources from which we have derived our cultivated plants see De Candolle and Hehn.

SEC. 156. *Benefits of War.*—¹Spencer P. 1. 582. The same author (*ib.* 438) says: "Neither the consolidation and reconsolidation of small groups into large ones, nor the organization of such compound and doubly compound groups, nor the concomitant development of those aids to a higher life which civilization has brought, would have been possible without intertribal and international conflicts. Social co-operation is initiated by joint defense and offense, and from the co-operation thus initiated, all kinds of co-operation have arisen. Inconceivable as have been the horrors caused by this universal antagonism, which, beginning with the chronic hostilities of small hordes, tens of thousands of years ago, has ended in the occasional vast battles of immense nations, we must nevertheless admit that, without it, the world would still have been inhabited only by men of feeble types, sheltering in caves and living on wild food."

Victor Cousin praises war as the "terrible but necessary instrument of civilization." He says (190) "the hypothesis of a condition of perpetual peace among men would be the hypothesis of absolute stagnation. * * * War is nothing save a bloody exchange of ideas; a battle is nothing but a struggle between truth and error; * * * a victory is nothing but the triumph of the truth of to-day over the truth of yesterday. * * * The frequent assertions that war is a game of chance and the fortune of battle very uncertain, is true if viewed in a narrow spirit but most false when considered upon general principles. Humanity never lost a battle. Every great victory has been achieved in the interest of civilization. * * * The conqueror is the better, and more moral than the conquered; and for that reason is the victor. If this were not true then morality and civilization would be in conflict; but that is not possible, since both are merely different phases of the same idea."

This praise of war is quoted here for the suggestiveness, not for the correctness, of its ideas. In many cases war does not deserve to be dignified with the title of "an exchange of ideas," and a great battle does not turn in favor of civilization any more than a meeting between a highwayman and a mechanic carrying the savings of years of labor. The assertions that the cause of progress "never lost a battle," or that "every great victory has been achieved in the interest of civilization," are extremely questionable considered

separately and are entirely unnecessary in support of the main proposition that war has rendered great service to culture.

SEC. 157. *Benefits of Slavery, etc.*—¹“Abject submission of the weak to the strong, however unscrupulously enforced, has in times and places been necessary.” Spencer P. I. 436. “Subjection to despots has been largely instrumental in advancing civilization.” *Ib.* 481.

“Conservation of ethnological families, material and moral development, primitive discipline, apprenticeship of liberty, indispensable novitiate and inevitable passage from barbarism to civilized life,—these are the titles of slavery to the gratitude of mankind.”—Wallon Introduction.

SEC. 158. *Benefits of Religion.*—¹Spencer E. I. 622, 651. Lipert (K. G. i. 28.) says: “Religion gave to the laws of morality those penal sanctions without which men could not have been educated up to the lower and middle rules of ethics; and these are indispensable to the development of the higher principles and to the creation of the moral instinct.” Carpenter (501) remarks: “The religion once true may become a lie; the polity once fraught with blessing may become a curse.”

Among the ancient authors who wrote of religion as a valuable police institution, are Polybius, Strabo, Livy, Dionysius and Pausanias. See citations from them in Milman, H. L. C., ch. i. This opinion has been shared by chiefs, kings and statesmen in every age of the world. For remarks about some of the evil influences of savage religions see Waitz i. 459, 469 and Burckhardt N. 405.

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END OF VOLUME I.











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A HISTORY
OF THE
MENTAL GROWTH OF MANKIND
IN
ANCIENT TIMES

BY
JOHN S. HITTELL

VOLUME II.
HEATHEN BARBARISM



NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
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A HISTORY OF MANKIND.

Heathen Barbarism.

CHAPTER X.

BRONZE.

SECTION 159. *Barbarism.*—The Aztecs, Quichuans, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Etruscans, and the ancient Egyptians, Persians, Jews, Teutons, and Celts were, and the modern Chinese, Hindoos and Mohammedans are, above the level of savagism and yet decidedly below the civilization of the Greeks of the Vth. century B. C., and of the modern Europeans. We need some one word to express the cultural condition of the peoples between savagism and civilization; and we have in English no better term for the purpose than barbarism, which is used in that sense by authors of high authority; though by others it is employed as synonymous with savagism. The word heathen is applied “to all nations except [Jews], Christians and Mohammedans.”¹ In preparing this volume for the press, it was found convenient to include in it all the leading barbarous nations save the Mohammedans and ancient Jews; and therefore the subject of this volume is “Heathen Barbarism.”

In the first volume we examined the cultural condition of man when his best edge-tools were of stone. We found that he had pottery, cloth, boats propelled by paddles and sails, tillage, herds of ruminant animals, tribal government, despotic chieftainship, slavery, nobility, rudiments of military discipline, and an idolatrous polytheism. He had not advanced to the smelting of metals, to the construction of cut-stone houses, to the building of cities, to the formation of orderly national governments, to the invention of writing, to the organization of well-drilled armies, nor to the adoption of a moral code as a prominent part of his religion. These deficiencies disappear in barbarism.

The study of savagism showed to us a multitude of small communities, each possessing many peculiar customs and institutions. A separate statement of the habits and ideas of each tribe would have required much repetition, which besides tiring would have confused the reader. Under these circumstances, convenience required that the main divisions of the subject should be based on cultural, not on political boundaries, and that the industry, society, polity and religion of the savages should each be treated comprehensively in its own chapter or chapters. But in barbarism a different arrangement is demanded. The political organizations are large and relatively few. The simplicity of savage life has given way to complexity; heterogeneity has succeeded to homogeneity. Arts, governments, and ecclesiastical systems have advanced by many differentiations. There is so much that is original, characteristic, and instructive in Aztec Mexico, Quichuan Peru, China, Egypt and Hindostan that each of those countries must be made the subject of a special chapter.

This volume will be devoted to the examination of the culture of the Aztecs, Quichuans, Chinese, Japanese, ancient Egyptians, Primitive Aryans, Hindoos, Babylonians, Assyrians, ancient Persians, Etruscans, Phœnicians, Celts, and Teutons. The barbarous nations of America are taken first because they were, industrially, in a lower culturestep than any of the others, until their empires were overthrown and deprived of special interest for the studies in which we are now engaged; and also because neither of these empires exercised the least influence on the development of any other nation. An isolation less complete, and yet very remarkable, appears in China, which therefore comes next on our list. For many centuries, Egypt remained in national seclusion; and not until the VIIIth century B. C. did it enter into intimate relations with other countries. Hindostan developed the barbarous arts at a later period, and under circumstances not traceable until it became part of the Persian Empire, which first established an intimate intercourse among many nations, and thus organized an international or general culture. In this empire the provinces of Persia, Babylonia, and Phœnicia occupied central and influential positions. The Etruscans, Celts, and Teutons are introduced to complete the list of heathen nations in the barbarous culturestep.

SEC. 160. *Bronze Tools*.—In portions of Europe, Asia, Africa, and North and South America, stone as the material of the best edge-tools, was succeeded by bronze. Before men made that alloy, however, they had long been familiar with copper, which they found in lumps of the natural metal. Its malleability, luster, and color gave it much value for ornaments. It was used for centuries east of the Mississippi, and perhaps in other parts of the

world, by savages who had no other metal. By hammering and grinding, they shaped it into plates, rings, pendants, and other articles. But its use had no perceptible influence on industry. It gave no superior efficiency to any important tool or weapon.

In the course of ages, when men learned to make fires hot enough, they discovered the fusibility of copper and its ores. Then they found that by mixing it with tin, they obtained an alloy which possessed the combination of hardness with elasticity, needed for knives, chisels, axes, swords, awls, hoes, and sickles. Bronze gave a highly-increased efficiency to their toil in many directions. It supplied facilities, previously unapproached, for digging up the soil, chopping down trees, shaping wood, and quarrying and cutting stone. By stimulating tillage, it increased the supply of food and made population more dense. It enabled men to build houses of cut-stone; it cheapened the construction of boats. It improved arms and military discipline. It elevated men from savagism to barbarism.

When discovered by the Europeans in the XVIth century, the Aztecs and Quichuans had bronze and no iron. In Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, England, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, the strata deposited and the sepulchers constructed, in the period next after the stone culturestep, contain tools, weapons, and ornaments of bronze but not of iron. The supposition that articles of iron once existed in these places, but have been destroyed by oxidation, does not account satisfactorily for the lack of that metal; first because there are no traces of the rust, and second because many of the implements in bronze would never have been made of that alloy if iron had been

known. In some prehistoric strata, bronze is found with stone shaped by art; in other strata, it is found with iron; but traces of both the stone and the iron industries are not numerous in strata of the same period. There are abundant evidences that in many countries the age of iron was separated from the age of stone by an intervening age of bronze.

In the Swiss lake villages of the bronze age, we find no coins, no inscriptions, no glazed tiles, and no articles of silver; but all these things appear on a higher stratum when iron was in common use. The early monuments of Egypt had pictures of warriors with red swords and spear-heads as if the material were not iron.¹ In the Iliad, the swords, spear-heads, shields and helmets are of bronze. Hesiod tells us that "men wrought in bronze when iron did not exist." The poets and historians of Greece, writing in historical times, said their ancestors fought with weapons of bronze. That was the material of a spear preserved in the temple of Phaselis, as the spear of Achilles.² Euripides wrote of the bronze-speared Trojans, and according to Virgil the companions of Æneus had bronze swords, and the reapers of the Carthaginian territory had bronze sickles. In the time of Herodotus, the Massagetæ of Central Asia had metallic weapons, but none of iron or steel. About a century before the Christian era, the Greek Agatharcides wrote that some bronze chisels had recently been found in an Egyptian gold mine that had been abandoned for many centuries. The Greek word for smith is "chalkeus," that is bronze worker, a survival of a time when bronze was the only material wrought in the smithy.³ Most of the Aryan tongues have the same name for bronze and different ones for iron, showing that the former metal was

known and the latter was not before the Aryan nations separated from one another.⁴

After iron had come into use, bronze, because of its greater antiquity, had a character of sacredness. In the time of Hesiod, the Greek priests used only bronze knives for sacrificial purposes, and in the last century of the republic the same custom prevailed at Rome. In the Pentateuch, iron is mentioned only four times and bronze (brass in the English translation) more than six times as often. In the construction of the tabernacle, the only metals to be used were gold, silver, and bronze. When an altar was to be erected by the Israelites after crossing the Jordan, the stones were not to be touched with "any iron tool," and yet the ten commandments were to be written, that is engraved on them.⁵ The engraving must then have been done with chisels of bronze.

The manner in which the forms of tools changed indicates that iron appeared after bronze. The shapes of stone implements were imitated by the early workers in bronze, and the shapes of bronze tools were copied by the early workers in iron.⁶ After iron came into use, blades of it were mounted on handles of bronze as if the latter were the more abundant and less costly material.

The Tinière River, which flows into the Lake of Geneva, has brought down from the mountains and deposited in the plain, a large mass of gravel, sand, and loam, in strata which belong respectively to the ages of iron, bronze, and stone, the last being the lowest in position, and earliest in date, of the three layers. The iron stratum includes glazed tiles and Roman coins, and began presumably about 500 B. C., when the inhabitants of Switzerland first traded with the Romans. The comparison of the thickness of the strata leads to the

inference that the bronze period lasted three thousand or four thousand years.⁷

Of the cultural condition of the Europeans, Chinese, Egyptians, and Western Asiatics in their age of bronze, we have no definite information. Nearly all our knowledge of these peoples comes to us from the iron culture-step, or from times in which iron may have been in use among them. We have great numbers of bronze tools, weapons, and ornaments from various countries, but these convey little instruction to us. In one hundred and ten British burial barrows, nearly fifteen hundred articles of bronze were found, and of these more than half were tools, a third were weapons, and the remainder were mostly ornaments. Of chisels, flanged celts, socketed celts, and palstaves (these celts and palstaves might be classed as small hatchets) there were nearly six hundred; of swords more than a hundred; of lumps of metal ready for the founder eighty-five, and of moulds ten.⁸ The Dublin Museum has eleven hundred weapons of bronze. The Swiss lake villages of Nidau, Cortaillod, Estavayer, and Corcelettes produced nearly four thousand articles of bronze, three-fourths of them ornaments.⁹ The museums of Denmark have 20,000 prehistoric articles of bronze, and those of Switzerland as many. In the bronze age it seems that bronze was shaped exclusively by casting, but afterwards by forging also.¹⁰ The moulds were of clay, stone, or bronze, and they have been found in England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Switzerland.¹¹ The crucibles were of clay, mixed with other substances, the material being the same as that used in our time.¹² Soldering was unknown, but the art of burning bronze on bronze, akin to welding, was practiced.¹³

The forms of tools continued to improve. Thus the

plain celt or small hatchet blade was succeeded by a celt with flanges which grasped a handle; a transverse stop ridge was put between the flanges to prevent the handle from slipping too far; then a socket was made for the handle, and finally an eye was cast on the socket for tying the celt to its handle.¹⁴

SEC. 161. *Superiority of Iron.*—As compared with iron, bronze is greatly inferior for general use in the industrial arts, and is more difficult to shape and temper, besides being, in our century, thirty times more costly. Moreover the ores required for its production are relatively rare, and the heat required to smelt them must be twice as great.¹ Tin is found in few countries and iron in nearly all. The latter metal can be welded, shaped under the hammer, and mended when broken, with little delay, heat, and labor, and without deterioration in quality. Not so bronze. It requires melting heat, a recasting for the repair of any break; and at every fusion, the proportion of tin is reduced and the hardness and elasticity of the alloy changed. Besides, in these qualities bronze is so far inferior to steel, that knives, axes, chisels, and swords would never have been made of the former metal if the latter had been equally cheap, abundant and manageable. The art of tempering and welding iron, which are of immense importance, may not have been discovered until after the metal had been familiar to men for many centuries.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AZTECS.

SECTION. 162. *Anahuac*.—In the beginning of the XVIth century the highest culture of North America was found on the high table-land of Mexico between the 14th and 22nd degrees of latitude. Though within the tropics, this region has an equably warm climate, with a mean temperature at the city of Mexico, of 52 degrees in January and 65 degrees in July, leaving a difference of only 13 degrees between the two characteristic months; whereas London, which has the most equable climate among the capitals of Europe, has a difference of 25 and New York one of 45 degrees. The moderation of both summer and winter in the valley of Anahuac is highly favorable to physical and mental activity and perhaps contributed to give to its inhabitants a higher culture than that developed in the basins of the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, Columbia and Sacramento.

When Cortes first landed at Vera Cruz, this high plain was occupied by about half a dozen nations of the Nahua blood, including the Aztecs, Acolhuans, Tepanecs, Chichimecs, Tarascos, and Tlascalans. Southward and south-eastward of them, between the isthmuses of Tehuantepec and Panama, were the Maya nations, who were, as is supposed, of the same ethnological family with the Nahuas and yet were different from them in their dialect and in

some of their institutions. The Mayas had invented alphabetic signs and in this respect were decidedly superior to the Nahuas; but in many respects, we know less about them. The name of Aztecs will be used here to include the Acolhuans and the Tepanecs, who were their allies and subordinates, in the most powerful and wealthy of the Nahua nations.

Before the Spanish conquest, the country was more populous than at present. When the city of Mexico was taken by Cortes it had as many inhabitants as it has now, about 300,000. The neighboring city of Tezcuco, the capital of the Acolhuans, then had as many people and now has only four thousand. In 1520 the valley of Anahuac had many other towns with more than 15,000 inhabitants and now has none. Clavigero¹ says that after the conquest there was a decrease of ninety per cent in the population, and according to one statement there were thirty great Aztec nobles each of whom could call out more than a hundred thousand soldiers; or 3,000,000 for all.² Waitz³ tells us that "the conquest of the capital led here, as later in Peru, to the destruction of the irrigating ditches, and thereby a large part of the country was converted into a desert. With the overthrow of the nobility and priesthood, all the higher knowledge and culture of the Aztecs disappeared; by the destruction of the chief city and the enslavement of the people, the useful and ornamental arts were ruined; and with the dissolution of the political and social systems, came a general demoralization of the people."

SEC. 163. *Crops*.—A great majority of the people devoted themselves to tillage. Maize was the chief article of cultivation, and after it came beans, pumpkins, maguey or American aloe, red pepper, tomato, cotton, nopal,

plum, cherry, lettuce, chian, cress, onion, tobacco, and in the warm districts, cacao, plantain, manioc, and cochineal cactus. A wooden spade, pressed into the soil by the foot, was used in loosening the ground. Irrigation was employed extensively and ashes were used for purposes of fertilization. Fields were inclosed with lines of stone or of maguey plants. In the lakes of Anahuac floating islands, each about three hundred feet long and twenty feet wide, were made by covering an interlaced frame of poles, first with reeds and then with soil. Such an island would support a garden, several small trees, a thatch hut, and sustain a small family. These floating homes might be moved about by pushing with poles or towing with boats, and as "an archipelago of wandering islands," so Prescott calls them, they made a lively impression on the minds of the Spanish conquerors.

The root of the maguey was roasted for food. Its sap was boiled down into a syrup or into sugar, or was fermented into an intoxicating drink. Its leaves yielded paper, thread, cord, cloth, and thatching material. Its thorns served as pins, awls, and needles. Prescott¹ remarks that it supplied the Aztecs with "meat, drink, clothing and writing material," and he adds that "surely never did nature enclose within so compact a form so many of the elements of human comfort and civilization." Valuable as the maguey was to the Aztecs and as it is to the Mexicans of the present time, the plant is cultivated in Europe and in California exclusively for ornament so far as my observation and information go. It is only in Mexico that people like the taste of its fermented and distilled juice, and its roasted root, and find a valuable fiber in its leaves.

Maize was eaten green, in hominy, in porridge, in thin

cakes or tortillas, and in bread. It was the staff of life to the Nahuas and Mayas. It was also used with or without honey to make a kind of beer; and the sap of its green stalk was boiled down into a syrup. The cacao was made into a palatable and nutritious drink which has now been adopted in all civilized countries. The Aztecs drank their chocolate cold; the Mayas took theirs hot. Red pepper occupied a prominent place in the fields and kitchens of the Aztecs as it does in those of their Mexican descendants. The vanilla collected from wild plants was prized for its flavor.

The people had no large ruminant animal, but they had tame dogs, deer, hare, rabbits, turkeys, pigeons, quails, geese, and ducks. The American buffalo, goat, and sheep ran wild in regions not far from the territory of the Nahuas, but were never domesticated. Fish were kept in ponds or brought by runners for the tables of the nobles from the Gulf of Mexico.

SEC. 164. *Weaving, etc.*—The garments of the poor were made of maguey fiber; those of the rich of maguey, cotton, skins, furs, and cloth interwoven with feathers. Cotton was spun in threads so thin that the conquerors compared its woven web to silk; and they thought the feather mantles of the Aztecs elegant enough for their Spanish monarch to wear, when he held his court in Madrid or Vienna.

The artisans included miners, smelters, smiths, burnishers, engravers in metal, gilders, quarrymen, stone-masons, stone polishers, cutters of gems, makers of mosaics, sculptors, enamellers, jewelers, knife-makers, lime burners, charcoal burners, brick-makers, potters, plasterers, boat builders, carpenters, dressers of skins, weavers, cacao grinders, bakers, brewers, cigar-makers, barbers,

salt boilers, paper-makers, india-rubber workers, and manufacturers of medicines and pigments. The productions of all these artisans were offered for sale not in shops open every day, but in booths open at occasional fairs, and in the capital city on every fifth day. Caoutchouc though known to them¹ was not prominent in their industry and therefore did not attract the attention of the Spanish conquerors.

Pottery was shaped by hand and glazed. It was the common material of vessels for cooking, and for holding the food of the poor at their meals. The rich had dishes and bowls of gold and silver. The patterns of the pottery were usually rude, often grotesque, never elegantly artistic. Lamps and tapers were unknown. The only artificial light was supplied by torches or fires.

SEC. 165. *Metallurgy*.—The Aztecs had an extensive metallurgical industry. They understood how to sink shafts and run tunnels; how to wash gold from alluvial deposits; how to use the bellows and furnace in smelting the ores of copper, tin, lead, and silver; and how to cast metals. They made blow-pipes, crucibles, and moulds. They had a little tin¹ and considerable quantities of copper, silver, gold, and lead. They prized the precious metals for personal ornament, household decoration, and household utensils. The value of the precious metals taken as spoil by Cortes was considered immense, but the sum is not now ascertainable. According to report, after giving one-fifth to the king, and dividing a large part of the treasure among his companions, Cortes went to Spain with \$600,000; and we cannot presume that he had retained more than one-tenth for himself.²

Among the articles made of the precious metals by

the Aztecs, were vases, plates, mirrors, bells, ear-rings, bracelets, armlets, anklets, cups, bowls, dishes, pots, and kettles, the last with fixed or movable handles. They manufactured figures in imitation of butterflies, birds, quadrupeds, fishes, flowers, and trees. They made parrots with movable heads, tongues, and wings, and monkeys with movable legs. They had scales and could tell the proportion of gold in alloys.³ They had discovered the principle of specific gravity, which was unknown to the ancient Egyptians and to the Greeks before the time of Archimedes. They had no solder, but they could cast silver and gold so as to unite in a perfect joint while the metals remained separate. They made solid plates, the opposite quarters of which were alternately of silver and gold. They also cast fish the alternate scales of which were of different metals. Las Casas saw many Aztec ornaments of gold sent to Charles V. by Cortes, and he declared them superior in workmanship to any he had ever before seen. Cortes writing to his sovereign about these jewels of gold and silver, feather-work, and gems, said that "in their novelty and strangeness," presumably of design and execution, they were "above all price," and were such as were not possessed "by any other prince in the world."

Cinnabar was mined for use as a pigment, but whether it was sublimated into quicksilver is doubtful.⁴ The Spanish accounts, written soon after the conquest, do not mention that metal among the productions of the country. Some recent authors have thought that a knowledge of mercury by the Aztecs would furnish an explanation of the fact that the Spanish goldsmiths could not imitate some of the Aztec jewelry, and that the conquest was followed in 1557 by the use of amalgamation in the

reduction of silver ores, a process previously unknown to Europeans.

SEC. 166. *Stone Work*.—Porphyry, basalt, marble, and granite were used extensively in architecture; onyx and brick occasionally. In some of their buildings the blocks of stone were fitted together with such accuracy that their joints were scarcely visible. Stone was often quarried and transported in large blocks. The ruins of Mitla contain rectangular pieces each eighteen feet long, four wide and three and a half thick, and round columns of polished porphyry eighteen feet long and three thick. The famous calendar stone is of porphyry thirteen feet square and three and a half thick. This block weighs twenty-four tons, and its transportation from its original bed thirty miles distant, with some rough country intervening, was no easy task. Onyx was cut in thin slabs to let a dim light in at the windows, but was used in very few houses. Chimneys were unknown to the Aztecs as to all other barbarous heathens before they came in contact with civilization. Floors were paved with tiles, or small blocks of alabaster, marble, or porphyry. The fronts of temples were ornamented with lattice-like and arabesque designs, and carvings of beasts and men in stone. Among the designs copied from animals in Yucatan were heads of elephants which may have been suggested by traditions or drawings of similar beasts seen in the New or the Old World. Lime, mortar, and burned gypsum were parts of walls and stuccoes. The arch was applied in ovens, steam baths, and a few small bridges, but not in dwellings, palaces, or temples.¹ Over doorways, the walls were supported by lintels of stone or wood, or by a gradual approach of horizontal layers of stone. A few streets were paved with stone.

Obsidian or volcanic glass was abundant and was used for many purposes. It was the common material for knives and razors; and pieces of it were fixed in wooden swords to give a cutting edge. It was polished for mirrors. The diamond and ruby were unknown to the Aztecs, but the turquoise, emerald, and amethyst were cut, polished, and bored, and used in mosaics; and these gems as well as pearls were set in rings and in the handles of weapons.

The most notable remains of Aztec architecture preserved to our time are those of mounds or truncated pyramids erected for purposes of worship. The material is earth with walls or casings of stone or brick, burned or unburned. There is usually no chamber or gallery in the mound. A staircase connecting horizontal terraces led to the summit, in such a manner that the person or procession ascending the pyramid must make a complete circuit of the structure on each of several stories. The level top of the pyramid had chapels for idols, and altars for sacrifice.

The largest of the existing Aztec pyramids is that of Cholula. Its base is four hundred and eighty yards, and its summit sixty-six yards square, and it has a height of fifty yards. The material, so far as examined, is unburned brick. Some writers suppose that a considerable part of the mass is a natural hill.² Four miles from Otumba is the pyramid of Teotihuacan, which is two hundred and twenty-seven yards square on the ground and sixty yards high. The material is gravel mixed with clay, and was encased with stone. Xochimilco has a pyramid of porphyry laid in mortar thirty-one yards high; Papantla has another of the same material, fitted together with remarkable accuracy and laid without mortar.

The latter structure is nineteen yards high. A pyramid of masonry at Izamal is two hundred and seventy yards square.

Of the palaces and dwellings of the Aztecs in the valley of Mexico, all have been destroyed, but numerous ruins of such buildings are found in Yucatan, the land of the Mayas, and we may presume that the two peoples had similar architecture in their homes. The Maya palaces had walls of cut stone, narrow rooms, many doors, few windows, no arch, and much external decoration, either carved in stone or made with stucco.

The royal palaces of the Aztecs have been entirely destroyed. The main palace of Montezuma, in the capital city, was more extensive than any palace of its time in Europe, and had accommodations for more than five thousand residents, including three thousand women in the seraglio. The palace of Tezcucó had three hundred rooms and covered an area more than half a mile square.

Other remarkable structures of the Aztecs were their aqueducts and dykes. The Chapultepec aqueduct, built to supply the city of Mexico with water, had two pipes or channels each six feet square. One could be cleaned while the other was in use. A stone aqueduct supplied water to the city of Tezcucó. Dykes were built to give access to the city of Mexico from the mainland and to protect it against inundation. One of these, seven miles long and twenty yards wide, was for part of its length covered with stones laid in mortar, and was protected at the side by piles.

We do not read that the Aztecs graded any roads, unless that name could be given to the dykes connecting the insular city of Mexico with the shores of its lake; but there were plainly-marked roads or trails leading to

all parts of the empire with stations at intervals of about six miles for couriers who conveyed news and packages, and often sea-fish for the imperial table. The six miles of each runner were to be made in little more than half an hour.

SEC. 167. *Trade*.—The mercantile profession was honorable and was adopted by many nobles without discredit to their rank. When Aztec merchants traveled beyond the limits of their own country, they were regarded by their home government as its agents for the collection of information. Any outrage committed on them was promptly avenged. They had a special divinity, a special ceremonial of worship, special funeral ceremonies, and special courts for the trial of their lawsuits.

So far as we can judge from the remains of their sculpture preserved to our time, the Aztecs had not developed much artistic taste. Their principal idols were rude and grotesque figures, without even an approach to accuracy in proportion of the human form or fidelity to the shape or expression of the human face. Some of the reliefs found in the temples of the Mayas are much truer to nature than anything now existing in the valley of Mexico, but even there the artists showed little originality or felicity of design, and perhaps were compelled by ecclesiastical influence to follow a few stiff conventional patterns. There was no artistic pottery in the country; and of their jewelry none has been preserved, or at least none of those articles which excited the wonder of Europe in the time of Cortes. The Aztec music had no harmony but several voices sang its airs in unison.

At the fairs the stocks of merchandise were spread out on the ground in packages, which could be readily put together for transportation in canoes or on the backs of

slaves. Fairs were held at different towns on different days, which were so arranged that the merchants could keep up a constant round of travel. Customers were attracted to these gatherings by dramatic, acrobatic, and sleight-of-hand performances. Every city had its large public square for fairs, and that of the Aztec capital had room for 100,000 persons. Shops were not kept open constantly for the sale of merchandise. The people depended on the fairs for their purchases. Every article had its district or spot in the square, and each vender paid rent in proportion to the space which he occupied. Cotton cloth and salt were the leading commodities. Officials, selected by the merchants, had general supervision of the weights, measures, contracts, and crimes of the fair, and they decided all suits summarily. Many of the payments were made by barter, but cacao beans, small pieces of cotton cloth, quills containing gold-dust and pieces of tin and copper, were mediums of exchange.

SEC. 168. *Social Condition*.—Social life and the household were organized and governed under rules similar to those dominant at the same time in Spain.¹ The treatment of the wife by the husband and of the children by the parents, the system of education, the occupations of men, women and children, the methods of private entertainment and public amusement, the demeanor at meals, and the standards of domestic virtue and social propriety, seemed to the conquerors, like those of their own country in many respects.

Women had more liberty and a nearer approach to social equality with man than in some Christian countries. The wife ate with her husband; she was wedded to him by a priest, sometimes in the temple by a sacred ceremony. She could not be divorced without a judicial

decree; the same grounds of divorce were available to her as to him; and though she usually spent her time in the house, she was permitted to be present at certain public festivities. Polygamy and concubinage were permitted but were limited to the nobles or rich.

The new-born child was sprinkled with water to wash away sin and protect it from evil; and at a later day was taken to a temple where a name was given to it by the priest. The boys were educated in the temples where the sons of the nobles remained from their tenth till their fifteenth year; and afterwards these young nobles went to a military school. The temples had nunneries for the education of noble girls, many of whom remained there till they were married.

The children were kept under a strict discipline. Among the poor both sexes were early taught the work that they were to do, and the rules of demeanor they should observe. The boys and girls in the temples were instructed in the art of writing and in the doctrines and ceremonies of religion. The girls of well-to-do parents were kept in the house and trained to be modest and chaste. Marriages were arranged by the parents.

There were traditional speeches which were delivered by noble parents to their children. The father speaking to his daughter said: "I pray God that you may live many years. But you must know how to live, for you will learn, my daughter, my dove, that the path of life is hard. Remember that you are of noble blood, and that your ancestors were princes. Remember that they founded this kingdom and have left you an inheritance of honor and glory. Remember that you have been loved as a precious jewel.

"Lay aside the plays of childhood and act like a woman

of noble blood. Do not lie abed by day. Rise, sweep, wash the mouths of the idols and burn incense before them. Prepare cacao, grind maize, spin, weave, and learn to cook delicate dishes suitable for noblemen. Thus you will be prepared to enjoy love and honor and riches if God should give you a husband. Apply yourself zealously to all womanly tasks, including spinning, weaving, painting, and dyeing. Learn all these things while you are young, while your reason is open and active, while your heart is like a gem and is pure from every sin. We, your parents, have begotten you, according to God's will. It is proper that you should be taught how to live before He calls us away, so that you may live in honor after we have gone. The gathering of herbs and of sticks and the selling of salt at the street corners are not suitable occupations for you. Some man will probably look upon you with favor and seek you in marriage, and if you should be ignorant of womanly work, would we not be blamed for your stupidity? If you are virtuous, you will be praised, and we shall be blessed; if you are wicked, you will be stoned. God knows which of these two results will come to pass.

"Pay attention, my daughter, to what I say. Take care that you do not dishonor your ancestors, that you do not defile their images which indicate their famous achievements. Avoid all dissipation. Do not fall into the mire; choose death in preference. If anyone seeks you in marriage do not reject him; prize the will of God who sends the wooer. Although you are our daughter and of noble lineage, do not consider yourself too good; otherwise you will offend God, who may then permit you to fall into a disreputable career. Do not choose a man as you would a mantle at the fair. Take the one that

seeks your hand; do not be governed by beauty; do not let passion run away with your reason. Do not allow the men to deceive you. Do not give yourself to anyone whom you do not know or who does not wish to marry you. Be faithful to your husband; do not leave him while he lives, even if he wishes to leave you, even if he be a poor farmer, or petty official or a common man. If he should be extremely poor do not despise or desert him, for God will provide for you."

The mothers had a traditional address to deliver to their daughters, and in it urged them to keep their dress neat and cleanly without much ornament, to be quiet, modest, polite, kind, and obliging, to avoid the use of paint on the face, to pay no attention to the words of strangers in the street, and to prize chastity as indispensable to the enjoyment of life. A similar traditional address delivered by fathers to their sons advised them to be just, polite, modest, peaceful, truthful, economical, faithful, and considerate of the feelings of others.²

At meals, the people sat on the ground or on low seats, round the cloth on which the pots or dishes were placed. Chafing-pans to keep the dishes warm were in general use and were soon copied by the Europeans, to whom they were novel. The wife and children ate with the husband and father, not after him as in most barbarous and some civilized countries. Forks were unknown. Napkins were common and hands and mouth were washed before and after meals.³

Human flesh was frequently eaten and was considered palatable, but its use, if it had not been offered in sacrifice to a god, was considered sacrilegious, and wars were never undertaken for the purpose of supplying their tables with such food. The 20,000 human victims offered

to their gods every year did not supply a pound of meat annually to each person of the Nahua blood on an average; but relatively few shared in the cannibal feasts, and some persons may have eaten twenty or thirty pounds of such food in a year.

The clothing of the laboring men in warm weather consisted only of a thin loin-cloth. When protection was needed against cold, a large waist-cloth superseded or covered the loin-cloth, and a mantle of cotton, padded cotton, feather-cloth or fur was added. The heads were bare. On the feet the poor wore sandals, the rich sandals or shoes of maguey or cotton. Women wore petticoats attached at the waist and gowns attached at the shoulders. The needle made of fine thorns or of bone was used, but most garments were made by cutting from the woven piece without sewing. Roots and the pulp of fruits were used in washing.

Flowers were cultivated, and were worn as ornaments on festive occasions. Distinguished visitors were welcomed with nosegays, the burning of incense,⁴ and the offer of tobacco, which was taken in snuff, and smoked in cigars and pipes.⁵ The temple grounds were asylums for the indigent whether well or sick, and charitable attention to these unfortunates was one of the duties of the priests.⁶ Mendicants were numerous, and were frequently treated with much kindness by the wealthy people.

In the beginning of the XVIth century, the largest botanical and zoölogical collections to be found anywhere were those of the city of Mexico. Much care had been taken to have specimens of all the most notable species. The menagerie included serpents, carnivorous birds and quadrupeds, and required six hundred men to keep it in order. Among their cultivated plants were ipecac and

jalap, which have taken a place in the pharmacopœia of civilization.

Among the common amusements were dancing, singing, games of ball, acrobatic exercises, juggling tricks, and dramatic and pantomimic plays. Dancing was regarded as an enjoyment for the spectators, not for the participants, and sometimes a band of a thousand dancers were employed by a great noble. Ball was played in courts or buildings erected for the special purpose.

SEC. 169. *Records.*—The Aztecs had a system of hieroglyphics so complete that it sufficed for keeping records of laws, land titles, tax payments, judicial proceedings, ecclesiastical rituals, moral precepts, historical events, and household accounts. It included signs for words, syllables, and letters, and the same sign might be interpreted in various ways, so the reader was often puzzled, and a sentence might be read with many different meanings. The name of the god Itzcoatl was written with the hieroglyph for knife "Itzli" (intended in that connection to be read Itz); the sign for a pot "comitl" (to be read in that connection "co"), and the hieroglyph for water "atl," the three signs making the word "Itz-co-atl." In other combinations the sign for "atl" might mean simply the vowel "a" as the sign for "etl" (bean) might mean the vowel "e." Alphabetic signs were relatively rare among the Aztecs, but were common among the Mayas.

Records were kept on coarse paper made of maguey or palm fiber, upon cotton cloth or parchment made of deer-skin. The maguey paper, the most common material, was made in strips ten or fifteen inches wide and many yards long; and such a strip folded together in a square form and an inch or so thick, with board covers, made a book which could not be read without unfolding.

Writings on cotton cloth were sometimes varnished over to protect them against mold. Tablets for reckoning and for notes were kept by merchants and nobles. Among their books were historical annals, periodical records, a criminal code, tribute register, a statement of marriage customs, dream and fortune-telling books, genealogical tables and calendars, with a list of days dedicated to various divinities and explanations of the sacrifices and ceremonies proper for each.

The system of numeration had the score for its basis. There were special words for the first five numerals; for twenty; for its square, four hundred; and for its cube, eight thousand. Other numerals were expressed in speech by combinations of words. In writing, a point meant, one; a flag, twenty; a feather, four hundred; a purse, eight thousand. A quarter, half or three-quarters of twenty could be indicated by drawing a flag and coloring a quarter, half or three-quarters of it; and similar fractions of four hundred and eight thousand could be written in the same way. Thus three-quarters of a purse, a quarter of a feather, and half a flag meant six thousand one hundred and ten. For large sums this method of writing figures was more convenient than that used in ancient Rome. No similar system of expressing numbers is found elsewhere.

Of the Aztec books few are preserved, and the art of reading their hieroglyphics has been lost. As Cardinal Ximenes destroyed the books of the Spanish Moors, so Juan de Zumarraga, first Archbishop of Mexico, gained a detestable fame by collecting all the procurable literary productions of the Aztecs, making a "mountain heap" of them and burning them to ashes.¹ The men familiar with the hieroglyphs were slain or reduced to slavery,

and the observance of ancient usages was discredited and discouraged.

SEC. 170. *Astronomy*.—The chronological system of the Aztecs is regarded as the highest evidence of their intellectual development. Their year consisted of eighteen months or chief subdivisions of the year, containing each twenty days, with five surplus days after the end of the last month to make up the three hundred and sixty-five days. Four years were combined in a quadrennial period, and thirteen of these periods made a cycle of fifty-two years, at the end of which they added twelve and a half surplus cycle days to the five surplus annual days. The addition of the half day was made by counting one cycle from noon, and the next from midnight. By this method, they gave to the year an average length of three hundred and sixty-five days and twenty-four-hundredths, which is nearer to the precise figure than the one accepted by the ancient Greek and Roman astronomers.

The month had four weeks of five days each; and thus the calendar, as Prescott remarks, “has the advantage of giving an equal number of days to each month and of comprehending entire weeks without a fraction both in the months and in the year.” The first year of the cycle began on the 9th of January, and the last on the 27th of December, and by deducting the five surplus days from the latter day we have the 22nd of December, or approximately the winter solstice, as an original starting point.

One of the most remarkable relics of Aztec industry is the calendar stone, which has a circular face eleven feet in diameter, cut into hard porphyry, with hundreds of figures arranged in half a dozen concentric rings.

The center shows the sun; next to it is a ring supposed by some authors to represent the two solstices and two equinoxes; then a ring with the twenty days of the month; another ring with the fifty-two years of the cycle; and other rings, the meanings of which are not clear. This stone was set in a horizontal position so that the meridian agreed exactly with the line from forehead to chin, through the middle of the sun's face. In the border of the stone there are holes for gnomons to be used in observation of the solstices and equinoxes and perhaps of the times of day.¹

SEC. 171. *A Martial Empire*.—The Aztec Empire extended from Colima in latitude 21 degrees to Locomazco in latitude 16 degrees. The boundaries were very irregular and excluded much between those parallels. Michoacan to the southwest of the valley of Mexico and Tlascala to the east, the kingdom of the Chichimecs to the north, and the Zapotecs to the south, were independent and hostile. The Aztecs, and their confederates and subordinates the Tezcucans and Tlacopans, were always loyal; the conquered provinces sometimes broke out in revolt.

The conquered lands, though divided among the sovereigns of the three allied nations, were governed by native rulers who promised to administer the government in accordance with the orders of the emperor. The people were not disturbed in their local customs except that they were required to erect a temple to Huitzitopochtli, to worship him on certain occasions, to pay tribute, and to furnish soldiers. The native rulers spent several months every year in the city of Mexico, and while absent were represented there by some son, brother, or other near relative as hostage. All the natives of the Nahua blood

had elective monarchs, hereditary nobles, numerous slaves, and communal ownership or control of most of the land not held by the nobility.

The Aztecs were a martial and conquering people, and if the career of their empire had not been interrupted by the appearance of the Spaniards with fire-arms, they would probably have brought all the barbarous nations in their vicinity under their dominion. They had an army of about 200,000 men in divisions of eight thousand, each division having its special standard and dress.¹ The common soldiers were armed with slings, spears, bows, and swords or clubs, and, for defensive armor, carried shields and wore quilted corselets, greaves, and helmets. The men were drilled to march in good order, and to keep close together. The standard was carried by the commanding officer, whose place was near the front. Those of his subordinates who abandoned him when he was in the midst of the enemy, were considered guilty of serious crime. Drums, trumpets, and shell-horns gave signals for different movements. Night attacks were frequent. Towns and cities were protected by walls, moats, and permanent garrisons. A defensive wall near Tlascala, crossing a valley from mountain to mountain, was seven miles long, twenty feet thick, and nine feet high. The pyramids and courts of the temples were used for military as well as for ecclesiastical purposes, and the height of the pyramids with their broad tops and narrow, winding staircases made them secure against storm by a relatively large force. When in active service, besides their arms and defensive armor, the soldiers carried cooking-pots, stones for grinding grain, and mats for bedding.

Heralds were treated as sacred characters. War was

not declared until three successive embassies had been sent with explicit demands for satisfaction, and not until the three demands had been refused. Priests accompanied the armies, interpreted the omens, announced the times propitious for battle, kindled new fires for burning incense and offerings to the god of war, prayed to their own god for success and to the god of the enemy to come over to their side, and then gave the signal for attack. Aggressive wars were undertaken to compel aliens to worship the Aztec gods, to obtain victims for human sacrifice, to capture slaves, and to extend the area of the empire.

SEC. 172. *Ranks*.—The people were divided into nobles, freemen, and slaves. Nobility was acquired by inheritance, imperial appointment, or popular election to the office of communal mayor. The hereditary nobles were of two classes, those with and those without estates of land. The appointed nobles were men who had distinguished themselves by eminent courage and ability in war, and had been placed by the king in possession of tracts of the royal domain which they held by life tenure. The highest rank belonged to those hereditary nobles with estates who had been honored by the king as great warriors. The second rank belonged to the appointed nobles; the third, to the mayors; and the fourth, to the hereditary nobles who had no land or no courage. The mayors were necessarily men of some education, for they were required to keep the records of the lands of the communes, with lists of the occupants, the precise situations and boundaries of the different fields, and the amounts of tribute or tax due and paid by each. They also made new assessments of land to the men of the commune, and made contracts on its behalf for additional

tracts. These mayors were presumably in many cases landless nobles. Some of the hereditary nobles had very large estates, and perhaps the force of 100,000 soldiers which it was said could be brought into the field by any one of thirty great lords, consisted entirely of tenants.

Slaves were numerous and were either captives taken in war, convicted criminals, children sold by their parents, or insolvent debtors. Many of those of the last class were enslaved for definite periods, at the end of which they regained their freedom. Slavery was not hereditary, and while it existed did not destroy civil rights. The slave could make valid contracts, marry a free person, and own property, including other slaves. Under ordinary circumstances he could not be sold without his own consent, and if he could reach the palace of the king he became free. The master who killed his slave except in self-defense was a murderer.

The country was divided into large estates of land, which were owned by the monarch, the high nobles, and the temples; and were occupied by communes which paid tribute to the owners. The freeman could not obtain land in severalty, but, in the agricultural districts, at least, he could always get the use of a tract for cultivation, by application to the mayor of his commune. Families could not be deprived of land in their possession unless it was left uncultivated for three years.

SEC. 173. *Imperial Office*.—The office of emperor was elective. When the monarch died, his successor was chosen from the imperial family by the four electors, who were members of the imperial council.¹ Military capacity, proved by experience and unquestioned by the army, was the most important qualification, and a brother of the deceased sovereign was often preferred to a son.

The newly-chosen emperor, having been informed of his election, went, followed by his court in procession, to the temple of the god Huitzilopochtli, where his body was painted black and his head was sprinkled with water as a symbol of purification. Then he was clothed with the imperial robes; the emblems of his sovereign authority were given to him; and incense was offered to him in recognition of his divine character. The high priest delivered an address including the following passages: "Receive with humble kindness those who come to you in anxiety and oppression. Neither speak nor act in passion. Hear quietly to the end the complaints made to you. Do not cut the speaker short, for you are the image and representative of God. He has intrusted our welfare to your care. He hears through your ears and speaks through your mouth. Punish no one without cause. Your power is like the claws and teeth of God, not to be used except in doing justice. Do what is right without regard to persons; such is God's command. Do not leave the punishment of evil to God. He has given you the power to do that. Take care that judicial proceedings shall be conducted without disorder or haste, and that nothing shall be controlled by passion. Never say, 'I am master and will do as I please.' Policy based on such an idea would bring ruin to your realm and disgrace to your royal office. Let not your might lead you into pride and arrogance; rather let it remind you of the low position out of which you have been lifted without merit of your own. Do not give yourself up to idleness, nor indifference, nor sensual pleasures. Do not squander the sweat and toil of your subjects. Do not misuse for unholy and foolish purposes the grace which God has given you. God

looks on the rulers of states, and when they go wrong, he laughs at them and says nothing. He holds us all in the hollow of his hand and rocks us to and fro, and amuses himself when we fall to one side or the other.”²

“My son, remember that your subjects have conferred this honor on you. Since you have been recognized as ruler, you must provide carefully for their welfare; look on them as your children, protect them from suffering, and shield the weak against the oppression of the strong. Before you are the heads of all your provinces and of all your subjects. Be a father and a mother to them. Guard them against bad government. All eyes are watching you. Command and enforce your commands. Manage military affairs with the closest attention. Discover and punish wrongdoers whether nobles or common people, and chastise all disturbers of the public peace.”³

The emperor prayed thus to Huitzilopochtli: “Merciful God, thou hast shown much favor to me. It would be folly for me to believe that my merit has induced Thee to lay the heavy burden of the government on my shoulders. What shall I say for my poor self? How shall I, who am blind and deaf, and cannot rule myself, how shall I rule Thy people? What I deserve is to wander in the dust. I need guidance for myself. Thou hast decided to lift me on high for the scorn of men, and I obey Thy will. Perhaps Thou hast not known me well; otherwise Thou wouldst have found a better person for the place. Or is it only a dream that occurs to me? O God, who knowest all my thoughts and givest all gifts, deign to make clear to me Thy words and Thy wisdom. I do not know the way that I ought to pursue. Show to me the light which should guide me. Let me

and those who follow me go not astray. Shield us against war and pestilence. Oh, how ignorant and incompetent I am! What will become of me if I should yield to dissipation and let the state go to ruin, or if I should become idle and careless? My God, I pray Thee, come down often to my house. I will wait for Thee here. With great longing I wait and beg for Thy word, which Thou hast breathed into Thy old friends and chosen servants, that with zeal and justice they may govern Thy state, the seat of Thy majesty and honor.”⁴

Having promised to comply strictly with his duties as explained to him, and made an offering of his blood drawn from several parts of his body, and sacrificed some quails, the emperor received the homage of the nobility and people in the court of the temple. This was his installation in office, but it was not until after he had led a victorious expedition into the country of some hostile nation, and had brought back a number of captives suitable for sacrifice, that he was crowned by the king of Tezcuco.

Two ministers, one for political and one for religious affairs, assisted the emperor in the discharge of his duties. Every important question was submitted to a council of state, comprising representatives of four classes of officials, and including the four imperial electors.

The monarch owned a considerable part of the land of the realm. Some of it was tilled for the production of the supplies needed for the royal palace; other portions were given for life to nobles or officials for their support. Some villages supplied the royal palace with a fixed quantity of cotton cloth; others with dogs, turkeys, pigeons, quails, ducks, maize, cacao, pepper, and so on, according to a schedule. All the tilled land was required to pay tribute to some official or noble.

SEC. 174. *Laws*.—The judicial system of the Aztecs was better than that of any other barbarous nation of either ancient or modern times, and indeed better than that of many civilized nations. As has already been stated, there were special courts for the summary trial of civil and criminal cases that had their origin in the fairs, the judges being elected by the merchants. For other cases, there were other tribunals. The commune elected a centurion or justice of the peace for each group of about one hundred families. He had jurisdiction over all their petty civil and criminal cases; and besides he was the collector of their taxes or tribute. The more important cases were tried in a district court, which had two judges; and from that tribunal there was an appeal to a Supreme Court, which had twelve justices and exercised jurisdiction over the whole empire. The judicial proceedings were all public, and records of them were kept. Every case was decided within three months. The judges of the district court and of the Supreme Court were appointed by the emperor to hold during good behavior;¹ and each with his office received an estate in land sufficient for his support. He was not allowed to accept any fee or present from litigants. The people had great faith in the integrity of the judges. Trials for crime were prompt and the punishments severe. Death was a common penalty, even for small offenses, when there was a second conviction. There was no class of professional criminals.

Many provisions of the Aztec law showed much liberality. The freemen or serfs were declared to have equal rights with the nobles in all cases of litigation. Slaves were entitled to judicial protection. Adultery by the husband was subject to the same penalties as that by the

wife. The husband could not discard his wife at his pleasure; both parties had equal rights to divorce by judicial decree. Widows, orphans, and helpless persons were fed out of the public stores.

The police regulations seem to have received much attention. The law forbade the throwing of filth into the canals in the capital city. The streets were "cleaned by day and lighted by night."² Without special permits the common people were not allowed to drink pulque, except at certain festivals.

SEC. 175. *Aztec Gods*.—The main features of the Aztec religion were the prominence of its moral code, and of the worship of ancestors and of the sun, the multitude of its gods and idols, its assertion of the equality of all men before the gods, and the frequency and number of its human sacrifices. It had a carefully-trained and powerful priesthood, numerous temples, an elaborate ceremonial, and a complete control of the faith of the people. All ranks accepted the sacerdotal fictions of the supernatural with unquestioning faith. They believed in an immortal life after death for all men and for all beasts, with a heaven in the East for the good and a hell in the West for the bad. The happiest future was to be enjoyed by brave warriors slain honorably in battle, by women dying in childbirth, by victims sacrificed to the gods, and generally by those men who, as high officials, had done credit to their station and valuable service to their country.

The number of divinities was estimated by thousands. There was one for every occupation, for every virtue, for every prominent natural object or phenomenon, and for every nationality and district. The soul of every man when he died, became a god; and the deceased father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were the chief objects

of worship in every family. In public, and by the priests, devotion was paid to the great gods who had never been human, but with the people, the chief objects of adoration were the minor ancestral divinities.

The divinity who received the most general worship was the sun. When the sun rose the priests said, "He begins his work," and in all the temples, no matter to which divinity dedicated, they saluted him with horn-blowing, incense, prayers, and sacrifices of quails. When the sun set, they said, "He has finished his work." According to a common legend, the gods collected at the beginning of time to decide which of them should govern the world, but as soon as the sun made his appearance all the others died. Fire was considered the sacred earthly representative of the sun, and was addressed by the same title, "Father of all the gods," and as "the oldest of the gods."¹

No such universality of worship was paid to any other divinity, not even to the deities within the domains of their respective nationalities. Tezcatlipoca was spoken of as the creator, governor, and all-pervading soul of the universe, the author of morality, the god of repentance and forgiveness. He was represented by figures of fire, river, arrow, and snake, as emblems of the four elements which he had created. His idols had four eyes, suggesting that he sees everything, and held four arrows, indicating his justice and the pestilences which he sends in the punishment of sin; and a wreath of smoke ascends to his ear as a symbol of the prayer of the penitent to whom he gives a merciful hearing.² At his annual festival sins were confessed to the priests and absolved by them. Flowers and incense were offered in his temples; and also bloody sacrifices occasionally, though, according to

some priests, they were inconsistent with the spirit of his worship. Notwithstanding the multitude of divinities, idols, and temples, many of the prayers had a monotheistic phraseology. The god from whom favors were solicited was addressed as if he were the only one whom the worshiper recognized. This habit of treating one, in a great multitude of divinities, as if he were omnipotent and exclusively divine, is common among polytheists.

In every department of life the great influence of their religion on the people was apparent. Their worship was not limited to the temples and to public occasions. It accompanied every important action. Before eating or drinking, a small portion was invariably offered on the hearth to the household god. The people never left their houses without adoring the domestic divinity by touching the earth at the doorway with the hand, which they then kissed. When an Aztec added after an assertion that it was true "as God sees me," he was believed. A very solemn and sacred form of oath was, "By the life of our father the sun and of our mother the earth." A new dwelling could not be occupied until it had been consecrated by a priest.³ The gods were supposed to attend and watch over human beings at all times and to give them omens indicating the results of every undertaking, great or small; and for these omens the people were always looking under the guidance of fancies which were often potent in proportion to the ignorance on which they were based. Before invading an enemy's country the Aztecs offered sacrifices to the gods of the land, and when they conquered a district they adopted and honored the local divinity. It was their highest duty to conquer all other nations and compel them to worship Huitzilopochtli, their god of war.

SEC. 176. *Aztec Temples*.—Temples were numerous; some of them large and prominent, others small. In the cities and chief towns there was at least one for every thousand of inhabitants. Izcucan, with three thousand houses, had one hundred temples. The court of the great temple in the city of Mexico was four hundred yards square, and it inclosed forty temple pyramids, each dedicated to a different god. Its buildings had accommodations for five thousand ecclesiastical attendants, and for a garrison of ten thousand soldiers, who were to occupy it in time of danger. The largest of the temple pyramids was one hundred and twenty yards square on the ground, with an area of sixty-five by eighty yards on the upper level. Each god had his own set of priests.

The inside of the inclosing wall was lined with cells in which certain nobles and officials stayed while undergoing a regular fast and penance of four days. Rooms, said to number four hundred, served for the instruction of boys and girls and for the shelter of indigent and sick persons. Other rooms were used for storing arms, musical instruments, incense, thorns, and relics of victims sacrificed, including human hides. One building was a lodging-house for guests of the emperor; another was a place for instruction in music. In the courts were a bathing-tank for washing away the sins of penitents after confession; and a large stone to which a prisoner, desirous of fighting for his life, might be chained. If he succeeded in defeating successively six assailants, he was entitled to his life and freedom. When this temple was taken by Cortes the main court, opposite to the western entrance, had a pyramid of 130,000 human skulls, the remains of so many victims there sacrificed to the gods.

Every temple or chapel in large temple grounds was consecrated to a special divinity, and had his idol in the most sacred chamber, with an altar before it for offerings. The divine images were generally in the form of men, but also of women, beasts, and monsters, and were of stone, wood, or burned clay, those of the latter material being usually hollow, and some of them so made that a priest could go into the figure and deliver his oracles or declare his auguries through the mouth of the god. Idols were also found at the sides of the streets, so that persons passing in haste could pay their devotions by a brief prayer or an obeisance. When a living sacrifice was offered, the mouth of the idol was always smeared with the blood, which was regarded as especially acceptable to the gods.

Among the temple implements was one called by the Spaniards a drum. It had four metal plates, presumably like gongs, each of which gave out a different tone, and when struck with great force made a noise so loud that it could be heard at a distance of five miles.

Besides the temples, there were other buildings occupied by sacerdotal communities, some of men and others of women, living under vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to the rules and superiors of their respective orders. The women inmates of these institutions could creditably leave at any time for the purpose of accepting an offer of marriage; and while they remained they spent their time in spinning, weaving, and other household labor, and in ecclesiastical observances.

Religious festivals were frequent and were conducted with much pomp. There was one on the last day of every month, and an important one on the last day of the year. The greatest was at the beginning of the cycle,

after several weeks of fasting, penance, and humiliation. According to their mythology, the world was to come to an end at the close of one of their cycles, and they acted as if they feared that each would be the last. Many confessed their sins, swept their houses, put out their fires, destroyed or cleaned their clothing and furniture, threw their millstones and ancestral idols into the water, and when the old cycle had come to an end marched in procession to a sacred hill, where the chief priest undertook to kindle a new fire on the breast of a prostrate slave. So soon as the smoke showed that the experiment would be a success, a glad shout announced that the gods had granted a continuation of life to mankind, and that all the sins of the past had been absolved. The slave on whom the fire had been kindled was burned with the new flame, which was then distributed among the people, so that each could carry it to his own home. Days of general festivity followed.

SEC. 177. *Human Victims*.—A multitude of human victims were sacrificed; the best authorities say about 20,000 annually. We are told that at the consecration of the chief national temple, in 1487, 60,000 persons were slain, and that in each of the great temples there was at least one human victim every day. The customary place of sacrifice was on the top of a temple pyramid, which was visible to a great number of persons. The victims were usually captive enemies, convicted criminals, slaves, and the children of slaves. The most common method of sacrifice was that the person was laid with his back on a convex stone, and while his legs, arms, and head were held by five priests, another cut open his breast, and took out his heart, held it up to the sun, rubbed the lips of the idol with it, and then threw it into a basin which

stood on the altar. If the victim was a prisoner of war the corpse was thrown from the top of the temple pyramid to the ground, where it was picked up by the owner, the captor, who took it to his house to be cooked and eaten. If the victim was not a captive, the corpse was carried down the steps and given to the person who had a right to it. The bodies of the victims were generally eaten at feasts in the private dwellings. Besides cutting the heart from the live person, other methods were used in human sacrifices, including drowning, starving to death, burning and flaying alive. When the maize began to sprout a boy and girl of noble blood were drowned; when it began to blossom, four children were starved to death in a cavern.

No sacrifice was more acceptable to the gods of the Aztecs than the life and blood of an enemy of their favorite nation. The offering of a human victim, especially a noted warrior of a warlike nation, proved the devotion of the worshiper, who in taking the captive risked his life and proved his possession of military courage, the highest of all virtues.

The victim was secure of a happy life in the future. From the time when he was selected for sacrifice, he was fed with abundant and delicate food; and for one of the festivals he was instructed in flute-playing and in his demeanor, and during the last month of his life he had four young girls for his companions. On the fatal day he wore the dress of the god to whom he was to be sacrificed, and while mounting the temple pyramid, he broke a flute on every step. At the occasion of the sacrifice, the chapel of the god was elaborately decorated with flowers and garlands, and there was singing, instrumental music, and dancing.

At the chief annual festival of Huitzilopochtli, a large cake mixed with the blood of a child, representing the divinity, was divided among the people, so that they might all eat the flesh and drink the blood of the god, in a holy communion. By participation in the feast, they assumed the obligation of fidelity and tribute. At this festival, water was consecrated, and preserved to be drunk by the commanders of important military expeditions before starting out on their campaigns.

The following is a copy of a prayer spoken at the beginning of a campaign: "Most kind and helpful Lord, invisible and intangible protector, by whose wisdom we are led and by whose power we live! Lord of battles! it is true and certain that a war draws near; the god of war opens his mouth; he is hungry; he wants to drink the blood of those who fall in battle. The sun and the god of the earth want to enjoy themselves. They want to regale the gods of heaven and hell with the flesh and blood of the mortals who will perish in the approaching contest. The gods of the upper and lower spheres are already looking to see who will conquer and who will be conquered, who will slay and who will be slain. They are watching those whose blood they will drink, whose flesh they will eat. But the noble fathers and mothers whose children shall die do not foreknow their misfortune, neither do their other relatives, nor the mothers who nursed them when they were infants, and suckled them with their own milk. Grant, O Lord, that those who fall shall be kindly accepted by the sun and the earth, the loving father and the mother of all. Thou hast not deceived them in requiring them to die in battle. Thou hast given them life that they might feed the sun and the earth with their flesh and blood! O most kind and

helpful Tezcatlipoca, O invisible and intangible Lord, we pray that those who may fall in this war shall be received with love and honor in the dwelling of the sun, that they may be gathered to our heroes who have fallen in previous wars, and that, like all the brave who die gloriously on the battle-field, they may forever share the celestial delights, and the perfume of the flowers that never fade, and the intoxication of endless pleasure, and that they may forever sing the praises of our ruler, the sun.”¹

SEC. 178. *Aztec Priests*.—The priests were organized in a hierarchy or disciplined body under a chief whose title was “Lord of Sacred Affairs.” They were divided into ranks, and laymen were admitted only into the lowest; and the higher grades could not be reached without a service of several years in each of those below. No amount of favor could obtain a violation of this rule. Promotions were made by imperial appointment. Most and probably all the priests were of noble and some were of princely blood. They wore a peculiar dress, smeared themselves all over every morning with black and red pigments, which they afterwards washed off; and they neither trimmed their finger nails nor cut nor combed their hair. Entrance into the sacerdotal profession did not bind them for life; they could at any time resume the character and occupations of laymen. Some of the priests lived a celibate life; others had wives.

Among their regular duties were the custody, cleansing, and decoration of the temples and temple grounds; the feeding of the sacred fire; the worship of the great gods with prayer, vocal and instrumental music, processions and offerings of incense, flowers, cakes, beer, beasts, and men; the education of the young; the keeping of the temple records; the observation and interpreta-

tion of the omens for public and private life; the calculation of nativities; the custody of the calendar; the announcement and supervision of the ecclesiastical festivals; the granting of absolution at confessions; the performance of sacred ceremonies at weddings, funerals, baptisms (at which children were sprinkled and named), and coronations; the practice of frequent penances; and abstinence from dissipation, from jovial amusements, and from a luxurious mode of life.

Among their regular penances were long vigils, a severe fast of eighty days every year, and frequent blood-letting from the tongue, lips, ears, and other organs, which were pierced with thorns. In the blood-letting, as in the sacrifices of animals and men, the main idea was that the gods wished to be fed, and especially with raw blood. At midnight as well as at sunrise, noon and sunset, incense of copal was burned to the sun, the priests turning successively to the four cardinal points of the compass, beginning with the east. The usual sacerdotal dress was a white gown over which was worn a black cloak fastened on the right shoulder. Every priest was devoted to the worship of a special divinity, and on certain occasions he might wear the dress and emblematic ornaments of his god. If a priest was smeared with blood from a sacrifice or grimed with smoke from incense, he did not wash off the smear or grime until nightfall.

SEC. 179. *Burial*.—The usual method of disposing of the bodies of the dead was burial. The grave was dug in the yard of the home, or of a temple; the body was clothed in the conventional attire of the god of his profession, and to his dress were attached pieces of paper, which, as charms, or by their instructions, were to protect him against the dangers that beset entrance into the other

world. Among these dangers were those of a great snake, or alligator, and of mountains which stand on opposite sides of his path and rush together. With a man, a sword and shield were put into the grave; with a woman, a spindle, and with both food and drink and a dog as guide and watchful sentinel.

A month after the burial, and again after a lapse of four months, the grave was visited by the near relatives for purposes of mourning; and for four years offerings of food were made to the dead at intervals. When a king or high noble died, he was burned, with his wives and slaves, and on the fourth, twentieth, fortieth, and eightieth days, human victims were sacrificed to him.

SEC. 180. *Aztec Ethics*.—Much of the ethical character of the religion has been indicated in the quotations made from the addresses delivered to the king when installed in office and to boys and girls when becoming young men and women. The priests said, "Keep peace with all; bear injuries with humility; God, who sees all, will avenge you." Again they said, "He who looks too curiously on a woman commits adultery with his eyes."

After giving extracts from the addresses delivered by parents to children and by priests to the emperor at his installation, and after deciding that they are genuine products of Aztec culture, not Spanish inventions, Waitz says that "these speeches are full of irresistible evidences of high social refinement and mild manners. We can accept and commend every sentence. Possibly among the Aztecs, as among us, the practice of common life differed much from the teachings of wise men, whose sublime doctrines the common people admired and impressed on their children; but this divergence is not sufficient to sustain the opinion almost universally ac-

cepted hitherto, that the Aztecs, notwithstanding considerable advances in material culture, were lacking in true civilization and moral and spiritual development. The fact that religion and morality were inseparably associated as they were in these addresses, has conclusive weight in this respect, and indeed no indication is more trustworthy and no measure more accurate for the culture in a community, than the degree in which the demands of a fine morality are supported by the popular religion and interwoven with the ecclesiastical teachings."¹

Waitz² adds that "a further evidence of the near relation between religion and morality among the Aztecs is to be found in the confession of all his sins required from every person, once in his life, to a priest. According to the Aztec faith, man came pure as gold from the hand of his Creator Quetzalcoatl. By his own will, which is not entirely free, for he is influenced by the star under which he is born, he defiles himself with sin. If he confesses all honestly to God, who sees the heart and the thoughts of all mortals, and if he promises never to sin in the future, he is pardoned. The pure source of divine mercy washes away the stain of sin, and he is born again to commence a new life. For the confirmation of his veracity, and instead of an oath, the penitent touched the earth with his hand, which he then kissed; and he undressed himself, a symbol of laying aside all concealment. After hearing the confession, the priest turned to the god Tezcatlipoca, to whom he addressed some words, and then he directed the penitent to fast, to draw blood from all his limbs, to be charitable to the indigent and sick, and to make an appropriate sacrifice of a slave if he could afford it. By compliance with the penances imposed, a criminal could escape punishment for a crime, but con-

fession was permitted only once in a man's life, and was usually kept back until he had reached an advanced age. Sins committed after the confession remained without forgiveness."

SEC. 181. *Aztec Culture*.—Considered as a whole, the culture of the Aztecs is wonderful for the inequality in the development of its different departments. They had no iron; and their tools and ornaments of bronze were so few that those preserved to our time are among the rarest of curiosities in the great museums. That alloy was so scarce with them that they did not use it for swords, daggers, or agricultural implements. Their poverty in hard metal fit for edge tools would lead us to infer that when discovered by the Europeans, they had only recently risen from the stone culturestep, and that we should find their general industrial condition, and their social, political, and ecclesiastical institutions, nearly as rude as those of the higher savages. And as a fact, we find them even ruder than the Tahitians, in their lack of shipping, in their cannibalism, and in the frequency of their human sacrifices. They had no domestic animal bred for burden, draft, wool or milk. In all these points they were low in their culture.

On the other hand, in many important points they were superior to any other barbarous nation, and even to many civilized states. Every child was born free. The slave could defend his life against his master, could own property and could make a valid marriage with a free person or a slave. Valor in battle might entitle him to freedom and to admission into the nobility. Marriage was a sacred contract, celebrated before a priest, and it could not be dissolved without a judicial decree, to which the wife was entitled on the same grounds as the hus-

band. There was a privileged nobility, but many of its members held it by life tenure only, and as a reward for distinguished public service. Every commune elected its mayor, who was a noble by virtue of the popular choice. Retaliation was prohibited, and justice was administered by an independent judiciary, with a careful division of original jurisdictions between communal and district courts under a national appellate supreme court. The high judges had adequate pay, held office during good behavior, and kept written records of all their cases. The mercantile profession was pursued by many nobles without discredit. The imperial office was filled by election from the imperial family, and at his installation the emperor was very distinctly told that he was expected not to give way to his caprice, but to protect the traditional rights of all classes of the people. The children of the nobles, girls as well as boys, were educated in the temples and were taught that there was little satisfaction for them in life without honesty and toil. Morality was intimately associated with religion; and the moral tone of the community was far in advance of its ecclesiastical ceremonies. The social system was quiet and orderly. The adoption by the government of a year more accurately measured than that of any other contemporaneous state, must have been based on long-kept records of careful observations of the heavens, records of which nothing is told us by Aztec history or tradition.

When we remember that this remarkable system of popular rights, this excellent judiciary, this superior moral and social tone, and this unequaled calendar, are found in a community which was just commencing to produce bronze, or at least had produced very little of

that, its only hard metal, we must conclude that the Aztecs were indebted for many features of their culture, not to their own internal development, but to the instruction of immigrants who had come to them from abroad, and from the other hemisphere. The nearest nation from which they might have received instruction was in the northwestern part of South America; but when we examine the culture of the Quichuans we shall see that there is little in common between them and the Aztecs except in those things which might have been derived by both from savage ancestors.

We may suppose that in the course of thirty centuries before the time of Columbus, many European, Asiatic and Carthaginian ships were driven by winds and carried by currents across the great oceans to the shores of North or South America, against the will of their crews; that among these crews there was now and then a man who survived for many years, and by superior knowledge gained much influence in his new home; that he introduced something of the skill, ideas, and customs of his native land; and that the arts and institutions thus established did not suffice to make an evenly-developed culture.

Under the influence of such presumptions, I follow Latham, Waitz, and Tylor in accepting Humboldt's opinion that Aztec culture was not entirely indigenous. Humboldt found that certain resemblances in the names of the Aztec and Chinese calendars cannot be explained satisfactorily by chance or by the theory of independent development. Tylor calls attention to the Aztec god with the body and limbs of a man and the head or mask of a jackal, reminding us of the Anubis of the ancient Egyptians. The same author observed at Xochicalco the head of a chief wearing a helmet with the neck and head of a

serpent projecting out in front, similar to a head-dress or cap represented in Egyptian art. There is a resemblance as to some points, and also a dissimilarity as to others, in the pyramids of the two countries. Those of the Nile Valley rise to a point and are tombs; those of Anahuac are truncated and are foundations for temples. In both countries the sovereign was styled "The Son of the Sun;" and in both the corpse was consigned to the tomb with a paper giving the soul directions what to say and do, when on trial in the world of spirits. Buildings in Central America were ornamented with carvings of heads of elephants or mammoths; but whether these forms were drawn from animals of the New or Old World we do not know.

SEC. 182. *The End of Anahuac.*—The Aztec Empire, strong as it was in many points, and especially in its military organization as compared with all neighboring states, soon collapsed when it was attacked by Cortes, though he had only four hundred Spaniards when he first entered the valley of Mexico, and had only seven hundred when he took the capital city by storm. He was aided by some thousands of Tlascalans, by the influence of his fire-arms and his horses, by the prophecies that a great national calamity was near at hand, and that one of their gods was to return to earth and reign over Anahuac, by the lack of complete harmony among the different provinces in the empire, and most of all by the success of Cortes in seizing the emperor Montezuma, who then forbade his subjects to resist the invaders. In the boldness of its conception, in the courage and skill of its execution, and in the magnitude of its success as compared with the smallness of its means, the conquest of Mexico is without a parallel in previous history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE QUICHUANS.

SECTION 183. *The Quichuan Empire.*—Four centuries since there was a large barbarous monarchy or empire in South America, south of the equator, extending two thousand miles along the western coast, and inland about three hundred miles. The eastern boundary was on the eastern slope of the Andes and the capital city, Cuzco, is situated on the bank of a tributary of the Amazon.

Several names have been given to the people of this empire. They have been called Peruvians, but this title is objectionable because it confounds them with the citizens of the present Spanish-American Christian state; and because Peru is only a small part of the old empire. The term Incas has also been applied to them, but this was their word for their royal family which included all their high nobility. Their language was called Quichuan and the best name for them as a people is the Quichuans.

Nine-tenths of the area and population were in the torrid zone, but the land rises steeply from the Pacific, and on account of their high elevation, most of the provinces have a genial climate. Indeed the most equably cool temperature on the globe is that of Quito, which has a mean of 58 degrees in January and 59 degrees in July; and those two are the coldest and warmest months in the year.

Quito, only a quarter of a degree south of the equator and nine thousand feet above the sea, was the second city of the Quichuan Empire in population and importance. The capital, Cuzco, nine hundred miles distant to the southward in a direct line and more than twelve hundred by any passable road, is 11,000 feet above the sea and has a temperature similar to that of Quito but not quite so equable.

SEC. 184. *Agriculture*.—The cultivation of the soil was the chief occupation of the people. They used hoes and spades of wood and bronze, and also an implement that may be called a plough, which was drawn through the soil by six or eight men, and was perhaps used mostly on ceremonial occasions, as at an annual festival when the king made a show of participating in agricultural labor. The dryness of much of the territory during a large part of the year, and the abundant supplies of snow in the higher Andes, made a demand, and gave facilities, for irrigation, which the people did not neglect. Great reservoirs were constructed in the mountains, and from them the water was led to the fields in artificial channels, which in some cases were forty or fifty miles long, and in places were cut through the hills or into the sides of steep cliffs, lined with stone in loose soil to prevent seepage, covered to check evaporation, supported on embankments, or taken across ravines in inverted syphons.¹ Some of the subterranean channels made for agricultural and household use by the Quichuans are in good order now, after the lapse of more than three centuries and a half, and after the loss of all tradition of the sources from which the water comes.² In districts which could not be irrigated and which had an arid surface with moisture abundant at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, the dry

stratum was taken off from as much as an acre at a place for the purpose of getting a productive field.³ Fertilizers, including fish and guano, were used, and the latter was brought to the mainland in large quantities from the Chincha islands.⁴

The principal objects of cultivation were maize, potato, quinoa, plantain, manide,⁵ cotton, tobacco, coca, agave, and bamboo. Some of these thrive in the cool, and others in the hot districts. The goose, the dog, an animal similar to the guinea-pig, and the llama were bred for food; and the last was shorn for its wool, and used as a beast of burden. In adaptation to the rocky declivities, stunted herbage, and frequent snows of the high Andes, it is as wonderful as is the camel to the sandy deserts of Arabia. The llama "carries a load of little more than a hundred pounds, and cannot travel above three or four leagues in a day. But all this is compensated by the little care and cost required for its management and its maintenance. It picks up an easy subsistence from the moss and stunted herbage that grow scantily along the withered sides and steepes of the Cordilleras. The structure of its stomach, like that of the camel, is such as to enable it to dispense with any supply of water for weeks, nay, months together. Its spongy hoof, armed with a claw or pointed talon to enable it to take secure hold on the ice, never requires to be shod; and the load laid upon its back rests securely in its bed of wool, without the aid of girth or saddle. The llamas move in troops of five hundred or even a thousand, and thus, though each individual carries but little, the aggregate is considerable. The whole caravan travels on at regular pace, passing the night in the open air without suffering from the coldest temperature, and marching in perfect order,

and in obedience to the voice of the driver. It is only when overloaded that the spirited little animal refuses to stir, and neither blows nor caresses can induce him to rise from the ground. He is as sturdy in asserting his rights on this occasion as he is usually docile and unresisting."⁶ To prevent any decrease in the stock of these useful animals, a law provided that none should be slain without permission from the government.

Maize was the staff of life, and was ordinarily eaten in bread or porridge. Fish was often eaten raw. Much of the flesh of the vicuñas and huanacos was used in a dry state. The llama, being larger than the goat, might presumably have been bred to yield much milk, but the idea of obtaining that fluid from their herds does not seem to have occurred to the Quichuans. They made fermented drinks with maize, manioc, and other vegetables; they used tobacco only in the form of snuff,⁷ and the nobles chewed the leaves of the coca, which were forbidden to the common people.⁸

The crops of grain, cotton, and wool, and the manufactures of cloth and arms, exceeded the requirements of the population in ordinary years; and the surplus was collected in public store-houses, which often contained a stock sufficient for the consumption of ten years. From these stores, any want among the people was supplied, and a tribute was taken by the provincial governor to the imperial capital at every spring equinox.

SEC. 185. *Various Arts*.—Like other work, weaving was done under official supervision. All the wool, cotton, and agave fiber were collected in public store-houses, and thence distributed among families, with orders to produce specified quantities and qualities of cord and cloth. The garments of the common people were

coarse and warm; those of the sovereign, priests, and other nobles, were, in many cases, very fine, and were dyed with brilliant colors, some of which were more beautiful than any known, at the time, in Europe.¹ The women did the spinning, weaving, and dyeing.

Their garments were pieces of cotton or woolen cloth, worn, without sewing, as waist-cloths, skirts, or mantles. They had sandals, but no shoes; bands or turbans on the head, but no hats. The people of every department, whether in military service or not, always wore a distinctive color or combination of colors in their clothing; and even if transferred permanently to another department, they and their descendants were required to adhere to their hereditary costume.

The Quichuans dressed skins so as to make them soft, but did not tan with astringent material. Having few trees near navigable water, they built no boats, but they made rafts of logs or reeds, sometimes rendered more buoyant with inflated skins; and they had both paddles and sails for propulsion on the water. Such rafts they used for fishing and for transporting guano from the Chincha Islands to the mainland.

Along the sea-coast, fish were caught in large quantities with net and hook. In the mountains, the wild vicuña and huanaco, animals similar to the llama, were hunted by parties under official supervision. As many as 60,000 men, distributed around a district, gradually approached a common center, where the game was to be caught or killed. At such a hunt 40,000 vicuñas might be captured. All were sheared, and many slaughtered; and then the young females and some of the young males were turned loose. The meat not needed for immediate consumption was dried. Each game

district had one such circular hunt in a period of four years.

The Quichuan Empire had no foreign commerce by sea or by land. To the east were savages who had nothing of exchangeable value; and with those northern or southern neighbors who might have some products valuable for traffic, there was almost continuous warfare. There was no coined money. All the necessities of life which they could not produce in their families were supplied to them by the government; all the accumulated surplus of their toil went into the hands of the officials.

Public roads connected all the towns with one another. Two main roads parallel with the coast line, each about two thousand miles long, extended through the empire from north to south, one near the level of the sea, the other high up in the Andes. These roads, which impressed Humboldt as among "the most useful and most gigantic works of human enterprise," were twelve or fifteen feet wide, with a paving of flat stones or of small broken stone laid in cement, which is in some places so hard that it stands as an arch after the soil beneath has been washed away by cross currents of water. Wheeled vehicles being unknown, steep grades and steps were not considered objectionable. Tunnels, bridges, embankments and side-cuts into steep cliffs were used. In crossing streams, the suspension plan of construction was sometimes adopted. For wide streams, cables of osier were twisted to a thickness of ten inches and a length of seventy yards. Such a bridge, the origin of which is attributed by Squier to Quichuan enterprise, crosses the Apurimac at a height of more than a hundred feet above the water, with a span of one hundred and forty-eight feet. On one side it is reached by a

tunnel several hundred yards in length. These roads were intended to facilitate the marching of troops, the journeys of officials, and the transportation of supplies.

At intervals of four or five miles on the main road were huts for runners, who carried official messages or packages at high speed, with a fresh man to take up the burden at every station. In this manner, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles was traversed in twenty-four hours. At distances of eleven miles there were large houses for the accommodation of high officials on their journeys.²

SEC. 186. *Buildings*.—Houses were built of adobe, stone, and wattle, and roofs were of thatch. Adobe was used in dwellings and temples, and in size and durability was unequaled elsewhere. In Egypt, the thickness never exceeded six inches; in Peru it was often a foot;¹ and if we may trust an engraving in Squier, and it seems to be taken from a photograph, some of the Quichuan adobes were five feet in each of the three dimensions.² Adobes of such magnitude made of the material used in Egypt and Mexico would be very troublesome to make and to handle. Perhaps the wall was built solid with adobe mortar deposited in a frame, the lines of separation now visible being the limits of each new lot of mortar. Not less remarkable than the size is the tenacity. In other countries, where there are twenty inches or more of rain annually, adobe walls, if left uncovered, within a few years sink down into a mere heap of dirt; but in Peruvian districts, where the rain sometimes comes in torrents,³ adobe walls thirty feet high⁴ have stood for more than three centuries without a roof, and have not only stood, but have also preserved their cornices and their sharp corners,⁵ and their decorations,

made in imitation of lattice-work, by letting some adobes project more than others. Such ruins are found from the level of the sea to an elevation of 12,500 feet, and from Quito to Lake Titicaca.

In some cases, a material similar to that employed in the adobes, instead of being shaped in moulds, was built into a house in a moist condition, so that its walls were uniform and continuous in their substance, without layers or mortar. The village of Azangaro, near Lake Titicaca, has such a structure dating from the period of the conquest. Its form is circular; its walls of clay are eleven feet high and fourteen inches thick.⁶ Whether the thatch roof be as old as the walls or not (tradition says it is), the durability of these clay walls, so thin and almost without mark of wear by the elements, is wonderful.

Stone cut and uncut was used. Rough stone was laid in a cement which looks like clay and yet holds like stone. Humboldt found a lime mortar in the Quichuan walls in what is now Ecuador. Prescott, accepting the authority of Velasco, Ondegardo, and Ulloa, says that "a fine bituminous glue" held the stones in a solid mass. After examining the walls found in a region extending through more than ten degrees of latitude, Squier, who gave the matter very careful attention, refuses to give credence to "the stories and speculations about some wonderfully binding and impalpable cement which is said to have been used by the Incas." According to him, the Quichuan architects, in erecting buildings of cut stone, "depended, with rare exceptions, on the accuracy of their stone fitting without cement, for the stability of their work."⁷ The exceptions which he mentions are the use of metallic dowell pins and clamps, and mor-

tices and tenons cut in the stone.⁸ In many countries barbarian architects who undertook to build of stone before the discovery of mortar, carefully fitted immense blocks in irregular shapes, and trusted to their weight to keep them in place. One of the best specimens of such cyclopean architecture now in existence is in the ruins of the fortress of Cuzco. One of the blocks in that structure is twenty-seven feet long, fourteen wide, and twelve thick; and the weight of another is said to be three hundred and sixty tons.⁹ Stones fifteen feet long, twelve wide, and ten thick, are numerous in the walls of that structure, and are accurately fitted to one another. Such blocks were transported long distances.¹⁰ Tradition said that 20,000 men were employed fifty years on the Cuzco fortress.

In some buildings the stones were cut with plain surfaces and eight rectangular corners; in others, they were cut with irregular corners, or with straight lines of contact and with rough surfaces, or rustic work on the face of the wall. In the best buildings, the stones are fitted together so closely that there is no perceptible mortar, and in most places not sufficient space to introduce a thin knife blade. Squier tells us that in no other part of the world had he seen "stones cut with such mathematical precision and admirable skill."¹¹

The corners and the doors might be of cut stone, while the body of the building was of rough stone laid in clay, and not unfrequently the courses near the ground would be of stone, with those above of adobe. The stone dwellings were usually one story high, with steep roofs and no windows, though there were doorways in the gables to give access by an external staircase or ladder to the attic or garret. Other dwellings had two

stories and an attic, so that there were three floors available for domestic purposes. The access to the second and third floors seems to have been from the outside. There were no chimneys. The doorways were closed with curtains.¹² The dwellings of the common people were small and simple, with walls of adobe, or wattle covered with clay.¹³

The Quichuan architecture was plain. As a general rule the buildings showed no large porticoes, cornices, or rows of columns or pilasters, no spires, no colossal statues guarding the door-ways, and few carvings on the outer walls. The principle of the arch was used in a few buildings and on a small scale,¹⁴ but never in making a support for a wall over a door-way in a palace or temple, nor in a vault over a large room. The door-ways were narrower at top than bottom, so that the lintel was short.

The stone used in their temple walls was porphyry, basalt, or granite, much of it very hard. Those kinds of stone and also marble and jasper were made into idols, cups, bowls, vases, and various ornaments for temples and dwellings. According to Waitz¹⁵ some of the Quichuan heads in stone and pottery show correct proportion and good expression. Emerald and turquoise were cut and polished. Pottery shaped by hand or in moulds was abundant.¹⁶ Large vases were made for storing grain under-ground, and for coffins.

SEC. 187. *Mining*.—Gold and silver were abundant, the former obtained by washing from alluvial deposits, the latter by smelting from vein stone. The monarch Atahualpa filled a room twenty-two feet long and seventeen wide to a depth of nine feet with vessels and ornaments of gold, and he promised to give four times as much silver in addition as his ransom, to his Spanish

captors, but they slew him before he had time to keep his promise. Silver, copper, and tin were smelted in furnaces built on patterns still in use in Peru and Bolivia. Cinnabar was prized as a pigment and was sublimated for its mercury.¹ Blast was furnished in their furnaces by bellows and blow-pipes. The value of various minerals as fluxes to aid the fusion of ores was understood. Hollow ware, ornamental figures, and tools were made of metal by forging and casting. For the latter purpose, patterns were made of wax and moulds of clay. Among the plunder taken by the Spaniards were ten golden statues of women and four of llamas all in life size. The Quichuans alloyed gold, silver, and tin with copper; their bronze contained from two to ten per cent of tin, according to the various degrees of hardness and elasticity required; and they hardened copper with silica.² They made plates and cups of gold, and trees and maize plants of gold with maize ears in silver. They could not gild, but they covered copper and stone with thin sheets of gold. They made plain and concave mirrors of metal, those of concave form being used to obtain fire from the sun. They soldered metals together,³ and they used scales for weighing metals and other substances.

SEC. 188. *Social Affairs*.—Marriage was compulsory for the man when he reached the age of twenty-four and for the woman when she was eighteen or twenty and was not permitted sooner. On a fixed day all the common people who were unmarried and marriageable met in the public square of every commune, and then and there the couples were wedded in the presence of the communal chief. The books do not tell us what was done in case of an inequality in the numbers of the young men and

young women of a commune or province, but in such case presumably the superfluity of another province could be utilized or the widows and widowers could be appropriated for securing an approximate level in the matrimonial market. The parties interested were allowed to choose their spouses, but if they did not agree, the chief chose for them, and refusal to submit to his decision was a crime. The Inca nobles were married in a similar manner in the presence of the emperor. Polygyny was permitted among the high nobles but not among the common people.

The country was divided into communes, each of which had its definite boundaries, and the tillable land in each was divided again by precise limits into three portions, one for the priesthood, one for the people, and the third for the emperor. The common people cultivated all; their labor on the tracts of the priests and sovereign was part of their tribute to the church and state. There was no individual property in land. The people's share was redistributed among them at the beginning of every crop year, when each married man got a share proportioned to the size or working capacity of his family, in about the ratio of two acres of irrigated land for each person capable of doing agricultural work. All children after reaching the age of six or seven were required to have regular employment in contributing to the productiveness of the country. Everybody among the common people who could work, must do his share of toil, but all who were helpless were entitled to support, and kind attention. The blind, the sick, the deformed, and the crippled were not allowed to lack abundant food, comfortable clothing, or shelter; and at least once a month such unfortunates were invited to a public dinner and festival in every

district. The government thus manifested its sympathy with suffering.

The cultivation of the imperial field in every commune was the occasion of a festival. On the days designated, the people—men, women, and children—assembled before sunrise in their gayest dresses, and did the work amidst continuous chants, which had the word “hailli” for the chorus, and conveyed the ideas of joy and triumph.

All the adult male subjects of the empire were required to learn the Quichuan tongue; and all the Inca males went to schools in the temples, where they received instruction in the laws, traditions, songs, religion, and quipus of the country. The quipus were cords, which by different knots, colors, and modes of combination, served to keep records of the number of the people, weapons, food measures, pieces of cloth, llamas, and so forth, in every commune, department, and province of the empire, and also of the laws, history, religions, doctrines, and ecclesiastical ceremonies. The knotted cords were of course inferior to writing for recording thought, but wonderful statements are made of the comprehensiveness and precision with which they conveyed ideas to those persons who devoted much time to their study. Instruction in the quipus was given to none save the nobles; the common people were taught that they must never aspire to rise above the condition of the laborer.

The Quichuans had a solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days, including twelve lunar months and some surplus days; and they had vertical columns to enable them to ascertain the solstices and equinoxes. Beyond these points we know nothing certain of their astronomy. They had dramatic performances. Their musical instruments were drums, pans-pipes, trumpets,

bells, and lutes with five or seven strings. Waitz says they had no counterpoint. Rivero asserts that they had two parts to their airs which were in the minor key. Their language had abstract words for thought, wisdom, beauty, spirit, and eternity, indicating a considerable degree of intellectual development.¹

SEC. 189. *Government*.—The government was a hereditary, theocratic, despotic monarchy. The sovereign was the chief priest, the head of the national religion, divine in his character, the terrestrial representative and son of the great national god, the celestial luminary, the sun. He chose his chief wife among his sisters, and her eldest son was the legitimate heir to the throne. In this manner the blood of the imperial family had remained unmixed for at least fifteen generations. The first Quichuan monarch, who was not, on both sides, the descendant of the pair with whom the Inca dominion began, was Atahualpa, and with him the dynasty came to an end. These monarchs, thus bred “in and in,” instead of being weak physically and intellectually, as we might have expected to find them, were noted for their career of success uninterrupted for centuries until they encountered the iron civilization of Europe. Besides his chief wife, the Inca sovereign had hundreds of concubines.

Next in rank to the sovereign was the Inca nobility, consisting of persons descended from the imperial family. These Incas filled all the high ecclesiastical, military, and political offices under the emperor. They paid no tribute, owned no land, serfs, nor slaves, and were dependent for everything on the throne. The second order of nobility consisted of the native chiefs of conquered provinces and their descendants. It was the established policy of the empire that such chiefs, if submissive, should

be retained in their offices, and that their power should descend to their sons. Usually the office went to the eldest son, but sometimes to one younger who showed superior capacity. Nearly all the inferior offices were held by these nobles of the second rank. They wore a peculiar dress, spoke a peculiar dialect, held all high offices, whether sacerdotal, military, or political, and were the only persons educated to take charge of the imperial offices.

The remainder of the people were serfs. Without the consent of their noble officers, they could not leave their communes even temporarily; they could not change their occupations, nor idle, nor marry, nor refuse to marry. The families were organized into squads of ten, each of which had a decurion whose duty it was to make periodical reports of all births, deaths, marriages, crimes, and other important facts in his jurisdiction to his immediate superior or centurion who was the chief of ten squads; he reported in turn to his immediate superior, the chief of ten centuriates; and he to his superior, an Inca, who was at the head of 10,000 families, and these Incas to the king. The lower officials were also prosecutors and judges, and were held to a strict responsibility for the preservation of peace and the punishment of crime among their respective subjects. This system kept the whole people under a most effective system of surveillance and maintained excellent public order. All the higher crimes were tried by noble judges, who were required to render a final decision in every case within five days. There was no rehearing and no appeal. Noble inspectors went from province to province, at regular intervals, to examine into the administration and see the condition of the palaces, temples, store-houses, and

people, and the conduct of the officials. Justice was administered efficiently and cheaply.

The government took charge of the bed and board, the body and soul of everybody. There was no private property. There was no money, the love of which is said to be the root of all evil; that is, for those who are not worried by the lack of it. There were no traders and no hired laborers. There was no idleness, and among the common people no choice of occupation or residence. Every man had his orders what to do, where to live, and how to dress. There were no disreputable classes. There was no professional criminal, no lawyer, no pauper, no millionaire, no prostitute, no politician, no old maid, no old bachelor. It was a happy land! Without the aid of the industrial wonders of the nineteenth century, without railway, steamboat, magnetic telegraph, or electric light, the people lived free from care under a government which prevented all competition among them, which assumed all their responsibilities, guarded all their interests, and was ever watchful of their welfare. Waitz, reviewing the general condition of the Quichuan Empire, says: "By the strong socialistic institutions, poverty and idleness were rendered as impossible as ambition and greed. Obedience to the law was universal, and although the people had not the least prospect of improving their condition by toil and economy, yet on the other hand no one could fall into indigence. All free movement of individuals, all private enterprise, all competition, all effort for further progress, was smothered, and the machine of state was carefully devised by the paternal supervision of the Incas, so that no spark of spiritual life should be kindled among the mass of the people."

SEC. 190. *Aggressive Policy*.—The Quichuans were a warlike, conquering, and consolidating people. No nation succeeded more completely during a comparatively brief career in founding by arms an extensive dominion on a basis of permanence, with a complete absorption of numerous and extensive heterogeneous elements. We have already seen that the chiefs of the conquered tribes were retained in power. Under Quichuan authority their dynasties obtained a permanence which they never had before. The chiefs then, had little to lose by submission to the Quichuan invaders. Nor had the people much to lose. They were protected against the constant warfare, the anarchical disorder, and the frequent famines that beset them in their independent condition. The construction of roads, irrigating ditches, and store-houses, brought advantages to which the majority could not be indifferent. The reduction of the mass of the people and especially of the native nobility to serfdom, with the obligation of regular labor under strict supervision, was probably the cause of some discontent, but under the precautions taken by the Quichuan officials, resistance was unavailing. When the authorities had any doubt about the fidelity of a province, they moved a considerable portion of its people into the midst of some loyal district, and filled up the vacant place with a trustworthy population. Such compulsory migrations by thousands of families were common events, and they served not only to preserve the peace but also to make the Quichuan tongue, arts, and ideas familiar to the whole people. Every department of the empire had its quarter in the capital whither the sons of the nobles were sent as hostages and students.

When the Quichuan troops invaded a country, they

treated it as if they already considered it a part of their kingdom. They did not wantonly destroy the property nor massacre the people. One of the Peruvian princes is quoted as saying, "We must spare our enemies, or it will be our loss, since they and all that belong to them will soon be ours." So soon as their authority was accepted, they gave to the conquered people more protection against injustice and tyranny and foreign enemies, than they had ever had before. The new subjects found themselves placed on a social and political equality with the mass of their conquerors. They were not plundered cruelly nor driven to work in exhausting slavery nor humiliated in any manner. They found that no degrading discrimination was made against them on account of blood or recent subjection. They were fed and clothed as well, and cared for as attentively as their Quichuan neighbors. Compelled to learn the language, to adopt the religion, and to submit to the officials of the Quichuans, they became Quichuans themselves in spirit, within a few generations.

Every monarch was a leader of armies and a conqueror, with no serious interruption in the career of military success, until the reign of the last Inca emperor. Whether all the sovereigns were brave and capable we do not know; but it is certain that their armies marched from triumph to triumph. Their troops were by far the best on the continent. At least twice a month all the healthy adult males, of an active age, were required to participate in a military drill, in a division which had its distinctive sacred standard. At the beginning of the XVIth century, the empire had an army of 200,000 soldiers.

The troops were armed with bows, spears,¹ slings

clubs of copper, and battle-axes of copper and stone ; and they wore corslets of padded cotton and helmets. For protection against snow, rain, and wind, they carried tents, and, while in the territory of their enemies, they erected extensive fortifications which indicated their prudence and purpose of staying. They had studied the principles of fortification, and understood it better than any of the barbarous nations of antiquity. All the faces of the fortress of Cuzco are so planned that "they can be covered by a parallel fire from the weapons of the defenders."² No other people thus built fortifications before the invention of gunpowder. In their warfare with the Spaniards, after the first surprise had passed, they showed much courage and steadfastness, and, unlike the Aztecs, after capturing the horses and arms of the Europeans succeeded in using them effectively.

It was with the aid of such a policy and within a period which, according to tradition, did not exceed five centuries, that the Quichuans extended their rule from Cuzco a thousand miles to the northward and as far to the southward. They maintained a population much denser than that found in the same region now. Tschudi conveys the impression that in large districts there are not now more than one-fifth as many inhabitants as there were when Pizarro invaded Peru.³ Rivero says that in one valley the population has decreased from 700,000 to twelve hundred, and that under Atahualpa the kingdom had a population of 10,000,000.⁴

SEC. 191. *Quichuan Religion*.—The religion was polytheistic and idolatrous. It recognized a creator and governor of the universe, variously styled Tupanqui, Pachacamac, or Viracocha, besides an almost infinite number of subordinate divinities, including the spirits of

all the heavenly bodies, of many notable topographical features of the earth, many meteorological phenomena, and the souls of all dead men. The chief object of worship was the sun, who alone of all the deities had a temple in every large town, and whose temple in Cuzco was the grandest ecclesiastical building in the empire, and the place where the chief acts of public worship were celebrated, the emperor himself officiating there as chief priest.

There was no incompatibility between the religion of the Quichuans and that of the surrounding nations. The idols of the conquered countries were taken to the temple or temples of Cuzco, and kept there in honor; and the people of the subject provinces were allowed to worship their idols and their ancestors; but they were also required to adore the sun as the divinity of the empire. Many of the divinities had a local character, and their priests were also subordinate priests of the imperial deities.¹

The ceremonies of worship were prayer with face towards the sun, singing, instrumental music, dancing, processions, offerings of fruits, flowers, incense, and fermented liquors, and sacrifices of llamas and on rare occasions of human beings. In the temples all the offerings were made by the priests; in dwellings every male head of a family made offerings to his household gods. The chief worship was that of the ancestral spirits.

Many llamas were sacrificed, and in Cuzco, on rare occasions six hundred on one day.² The sacrifice was followed by a feast, in which the meat of the victim was eaten, and a small portion of the consecrated food was distributed to everybody in the town or city, to the common people as well as to the nobles. All had the same

worship, and seem to have been equal before their gods. When a monarch was crowned, an heir to the throne born, or a military expedition sent out, a human victim was sacrificed, but no part of the flesh was eaten.³

All the high priests were nobles; and all of the high nobles were priests, but few of them devoted themselves exclusively to the sacerdotal profession. Their ecclesiastical authority was an incident of political rank, and they had no more thought of controlling the sovereign in matters of church than in those of State. Although religious ideas had a great influence over the people, the priests never attempted to get control of the government as they did in Egypt, India, and many other countries.

Some of the priests dressed in white, but there was no costume or sets of costumes distinctive of any grade of the sacerdotal occupation; nor was there any life-long and strictly ascetic monasticism, nor any chance for personal aggrandizement by exciting the admiration of the most ignorant people. The priest had power to absolve from sin after confession, which was required at least once a year from all the people; and he determined by lot whether the confession was truthful and complete. If not he imposed a severe penance.

Burial was the common method of disposing of the dead. The body was bent together in a sitting posture with the knees to the chin, wrapped with cloth, and seated upright in the grave with the face to the west. In some districts, it was sewed up in llama skins, or put into a large vase of pottery. In the Aymara region, peculiar, tower-like tombs, called *chulpas*, were erected for the dead. Usually these *chulpas* were of stone, pear-shaped, and largest near the top. Squier⁴ gives an engraving of one thirty-nine feet high, nineteen wide near

the top, and sixteen at the base. Some of the Aymara dead were buried in arched vaults; and at Ollantaytambo, tomb chambers were cut into the rocky cliffs.⁵ The high nobles were buried in vases of precious metal. The emperors were embalmed, and their mummies were preserved in the Cuzco temple. Meat, drink, weapons, tools, clothes, and ornaments of gold, silver, and gems, were put into the graves to feed the dead; and some tombs had pipes leading down from the surface, so that drink could be poured down frequently.⁶ At the funerals of the emperors and high nobles, some of their wives and servants were slain to keep them company into the future life. At the funeral of Huayna Capac, the last emperor who died before the arrival of the Spaniards, one thousand persons were sacrificed.

SEC. 192. *Quichuan Temples*.—Temples were numerous, and most of them were dedicated to the sun; a few to Yupanqui, the creator of the universe. The chief temple of the sun at Cuzco, called also the Golden Palace, was three hundred feet long and two hundred wide, and was built with an elegance of masonry for which Sarmiento knew only two equals in Spain. A thick sheet of gold, six inches wide, ran round the outside of the edifice as a frieze; and there was a similar decoration in every apartment. The room of the sun had a large plate of the same metal, shaped and engraved to represent the god of day, and decorated with precious stones, so placed on the western wall that at certain seasons the rays of the rising sun should shine upon it through a large, open doorway. On both sides of the golden luminary were the mummies of deceased emperors, embalmed with gums and spices, sitting on golden chairs. Another room, dedicated to the moon,

had a silver plate representing that heavenly body, and numerous ornaments of the same metal. Other chambers were dedicated to the stars, to lightning, and to the rainbow. Attached to the temple was a large garden, containing ornamental plants, and also imitations of trees, bushes, flowering plants, and animals in gold. The vases for fruits and flowers, the ewers to hold water for temple use, the pipes leading water into the temple, and even the tools for cultivating the temple ground, were of precious metal. Among the vases were twelve of silver, each more than eight feet high and ten feet in circumference.¹ The ecclesiastics employed in this building numbered four thousand.² The temples occupied the most central and beautiful sites in the towns; they were surrounded with grounds planted with trees, and were ornamented with idols in the form of men and brutes. The temple on Titicaca Island had six hundred men and one thousand maidens within its walls, and that at Guanuco had 30,000 men in its service, perhaps many of them as tillers of its soil.

The larger temples of the sun had convents filled with maidens, nearly all of Inca blood, selected by the high priests. In these convents, they were educated, and were employed in guarding the sacred fires, and in spinning, weaving, and doing other work for the imperial family. Though not priestesses, these virgins of the sun were required, under penalty of death, to preserve their chastity, and were guarded by eunuchs. They could never leave the convents unless to marry an emperor, or some Inca by imperial order, and no man save the emperor could lawfully enter the precincts of the convent. The great temple of the sun at Cuzco had fifteen hundred of these vestals.

Ecclesiastical festivals were numerous, and were celebrated with much pomp. Of these the most important, that of the summer solstice, required the participation of the emperor and most of the Incas at the temple of the sun in Cuzco. At dawn, they and a large concourse of people assembled in the great square, the high nobles being under canopies of feather-work supported by numerous attendants, to await the rising of the sun. So soon as his rays became visible on the tops of the buildings, the multitude shouted for joy, and the musicians greeted the beams with vocal and instrumental music. The emperor offered a libation of maize beer to the god of day as soon as he had appeared above the horizon, and all marched in procession to the temple of the sun, where llamas were sacrificed, and the entrails of one were inspected to obtain omens for the coming year; and then with heat from the sun's rays collected in a concave mirror, a fire was lighted and taken to the altars of all the sun temples in the city, to be maintained there until three days before the next solstice, when all were to be extinguished. In case the sun rose behind the clouds so that wood could not be kindled from his rays, the fire was made by friction. The blood of the sacrificed llamas was caught and mixed with meal into dough, which was baked promptly; and the loaves, broken by the emperor, were distributed to all the Incas, those present eating theirs in the temple, and those at a distance partaking of theirs as a solemn communion, soon after its receipt. With it communicants drank consecrated maize beer.

SEC. 193. *Quichuan Ethics*.—Morality had a prominent place in the Quichuan religion. The common salutations of the people were ethical maxims, such as, "Revere the truth," "Be industrious," and, "Respect

property." All suffering was regarded as punishment for sin, which might be much diminished by repentance, confession, and absolution, but could not be entirely atoned in this life. The happiness or misery of the soul in the next world depended on its conduct while in the flesh.¹

Among the companions of Pizarro was a certain Captain Lejesema, who, while among the first in a fight or a frolic, could also, when occasion required, look at life seriously. When the plunder taken in Cuzco was divided, it was the fortune of Lejesema to become the owner of the first prize, the image of the sun taken from the wall of the great temple. This was a large and heavy circular plate of solid gold. The distribution was made in the afternoon, and in the evening the victorious adventurers sat down to try their luck at cards. Before daylight many of them had lost everything, and among these was Lejesema. He could not keep his gold twenty-four hours. His conduct suggested the Spanish proverb, "Juega el sol antes que salga" —"He gambles away the sun before he has risen," that is, he wastes his opportunity before it arrives. When this Lejesema found himself on his death-bed, and looked back upon what he had done and helped to do, he regretted that he had contributed to establish on the ruins of the Quichuan Empire a much inferior social and political system. He left a will which is a very remarkable bit of testimony to the moral condition of the Quichuans. He says:² "Before beginning my will, I declare that for many years I have desired to inform his Catholic Majesty King Philip, our lord, knowing how true a Catholic and Christian he is, and how zealous in the cause of God, our Lord, for the purpose of easing

my own mind, because I took much part in the discovery, conquest, and settlement of these kingdoms, when we took them from the Incas, who possessed the land and governed it as their own. I wish to inform his Catholic majesty that the said Incas governed in such a manner that in all the land there was not a thief, nor a criminal, nor an idler, nor an adulterous or evil woman. The men had their honest and profitable occupations. The forests, mines, pastures, and game, and all kinds of natural wealth, were governed and divided in such a manner that each one knew and occupied his property without any danger of molestation or lawsuit. The affairs of war, though extensive, did not interfere with traffic, or mechanical work, or agriculture. Everything, the smallest as well as the greatest, had its regular and exact order. The Incas and their officers were respected and obeyed by their subjects as very able and good rulers. I hope that his majesty may understand that I make this statement to ease my conscience for the sin of having taken part in corrupting, by our bad example, such moral people as the Quichuans were. The Indians, both rich and poor, never committed either excesses or crimes. When they left their houses, they never locked their doors."

SEC. 194. *Culture and Collapse*.—Although the Quichuans and the Aztecs were separated by a distance of less than fifteen hundred miles of communication by land and by coastwise navigation, yet neither people seems to have any knowledge of the other. Each had institutions and arts peculiar to itself. The cacao, the turkey, the calendar, the matrimonial equality of the two sexes, the hieroglyphics and independent judiciary in the Aztec Empire, were peculiar to it, as were the llama, the potato,

the cacao, the quipus, and the paternal control of the people, in the Quichuan Empire. The llama and the potato would have been very beneficial to the people of the north, as would have been the turkey, the cacao, and the hieroglyphics to those of the south. Maize, tobacco, and manioc were common to both.

As it was said of the Aztecs, so it may be said of the Quichuans, that their traditions and the much higher development of their polity than of their industry, are evidences that immigrants from the Old World introduced certain institutions with which they had been familiar, or which had been suggested to them in their native land. It is highly improbable that the rulers of a nation which had recently commenced to produce bronze, and who had a small stock of it, should by their unaided wisdom have devised and enforced the Quichuan system of administration, by which the common people should be relieved from all care for their maintenance, and protected against the great evils of violence, crime, dissipation, idleness, pauperism, famine, and discord.

Wonderful were the constitution and rise of this empire; and its fall was not less marvelous. With a loyal population of 10,000,000, with a faithful army of 200,000 men, with a territory more mountainous and better suited for defense than that of any other large empire known to history, with a capital four hundred miles from the ocean, and 11,000 feet above its level, and behind a mountain ridge 15,000 feet high,—with such defenses we might suppose that the Quichuan Empire would have resisted a great invading army for many years, and that if conquered in its capital, the royal family and their adherents would have established and maintained themselves for generations in some portion of

their numerous high mountain fastnesses. We know how the Persians, and Parthians, and Jews, and Gallic Celts, and Spanish Goths, when vanquished, fled into their mountains, and fought and fought again, century after century, and sometimes triumphed, and never yielded save to formidable armies after numerous well-contested campaigns.

But among the Quichuans we find no such strong national vitality. Whether because their subjection to an exceedingly paternal government had rendered them incompetent to manage their own affairs or not, the fact is that their empire was overthrown by one hundred and eighty men. This little force, with which Francisco Pizarro undertook his conquest and secured his most important successes, was not half so numerous as that of the Spaniards at whose head Hernando Cortes marched into the valley of Mexico; and besides this larger force of Spaniards, Cortes was accompanied by six thousand valiant Tlascalcan allies, who were of immense service to him. The emperor Atahualpa, imagining that there was no danger from a petty band of white men, allowed them to advance unresisted and then paid a visit to them in camp. Pizarro immediately pounced on him and held him, the head of the empire, a prisoner. Instead of fighting to the death when the Spaniards attempted to seize him, he allowed himself to be taken alive, and thus gave his captors control not only of himself but of his subjects. The only source of all political and military power was afraid to use it, and in the confusion that followed, the empire of the Incas was overthrown forever.

This most pitiful collapse of what seemed to be a strong government and strong national feeling, was due partly to the peculiar position of Atahualpa. His father, the

last Quichuan emperor who died in possession of the throne, instead of bequeathing his whole empire to his eldest son by an Inca wife, divided it, giving the larger and southern part to Huascar, his legitimate heir, and the northern division to Atahualpa, who was a younger and illegitimate son by a Quito woman of inferior blood. Between these two monarchs, war soon broke out, and Atahualpa conquered, captured, and dethroned Huascar. The victor, pretending that he was willing to replace Huascar on the throne, invited the Incas to meet for the purpose of consulting about a new division of the empire. They, trusting his word, assembled, and were then massacred. Thus the great majority of the only class familiar with the business of government were destroyed, and the people were left without leaders to whom they felt much attached.

SEC. 195. *Muyscas*.—North of the territory of the Quichuans was that of the Muyscas, or Chibchas, as they were also called. In most of its features, their culture was inferior to that of their southern neighbors, and we know less of it. They had no bronze, no llamas, and no quipus; but they had a better chronological system than that of the Quichuans.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHINESE.

SECTION 196. *China*.—We now pass to the study of another people, not less remarkable and original in many features of their culture than the Aztecs and Quichuans, and like them, long isolated from other nations. Although the silk and perhaps other products of China reached Greece in the age of Pericles, Europe does not seem to have felt any noteworthy stimulus from Chinese industry until after the time of Mohammed.

In many respects, China is the most remarkable of nations. It is remarkable for its great age and its vast population; for the permanence of its political institutions; for the preponderance of its civil over its military officials; for the wide spread of education among its people since a remote antiquity; for the large proportion of men devoted to study; for the rule of giving all the high offices to distinguished scholars; for the constitutional and pacific character of the government; for many valuable inventions and discoveries in remote centuries; and for the cessation of such improvements in modern times.

It is a paradoxical nation. Many of its institutions lack the features which seem to be essential parts of similar institutions elsewhere. It has a language without a grammar; words without parts of speech; writing without

an alphabet; reading without spelling; type without a type foundry; paper without a paper mill; printing without a press; canals without locks; the mariners' compass without a compass-box or pivot; gunpowder without a gun; metallic money without gold or silver coin; laws without a word for liberty; poetry without meter; music without rhythm; love without a kiss, and religion without a god. As measured by the European standard of taste, the Chinese are perverse in many of their customs. With them white is the color of mourning and of gloom. They use white not black for shoe dressing. In speaking of persons, they mention the name of the family first, that of the individual last. Thus they would say not James Watt, but Watt James. With them the seat of honor is on the left. When friends meet, they shake not each the hand of the other, but each his own. They pay an agreeable compliment to a young man by calling him old. An affectionate son offers a stylish coffin to his aged father as an acceptable present for his birthday or the New Year's day. The men carry fans, play with kites, and wear embroidered petticoats; the women wear trousers and distort their feet not their ribs. They write in lines from top to bottom, not from side to side; they begin on the right not the left; they put their title at what is to us the back of the book, and there begin the numbering of the pages, and their foot-notes are at the top of the page.

The history of China goes back four thousand years. In that time it has undergone less change than any other nation within a thousand years. Egypt, the only other country which has approached China in the permanence of political institutions, disappeared from the map as an independent country two thousand years since.

Something of the great duration of the Chinese monarchy must be attributed to its situation. Along more than two thousand miles of its boundaries, it is protected against invasion by great deserts and high mountain ranges. The frontiers, where not guarded by such strong, natural barriers, are occupied by Siam and Eastern Siberia, which are or were neither rich enough to excite much cupidity, nor formidable enough to compel the maintenance of large armies for defense.

It is fortunate for China proper, as distinguished from the subject provinces, that it has been occupied since the beginning of its history by people having the same blood, tongue, faith, traditions, laws, and culture. Among them there were no such animosities of race or creed as in Europe, set Turk against Greek, Moor against Spaniard, Roman against Gaul, Teuton against Latin, Catholic against Protestant, Saxon against Celt, and Frenchman against Englishman and German. Although, in the course of their long career, they have had bitter experiences in foreign and domestic warfare, they have not been subjected to frequent incursions from abroad, nor to many rebellions at home, and they have been, relatively, the most peaceful of people.

If the maxim be true that those nations are happy whose annals are tiresome, then the Chinese should be counted among the happiest. Their history possesses very little interest. They have had no great military or political revolution. They have never had a republic, never a socialistic rebellion, never a great struggle for popular liberty, never a violent overturn of political or religious institutions, never a hereditary nobility, never extensive serfdom or slavery, never a dominant priesthood, never an inquisition. Twice they submitted to

foreign conquerors; to the Mongols in the XIIIth, and to the Manchoos in the XVIIth century; but in permanent influence, on the country, these conquests were little more than mere changes of dynasty. The victors adopted the language, laws, religion, and manners of the vanquished.

Other notable events in the political history of the country are the beginning of official examinations as conditions for reaching high office in the XIIth century B. C.; the increase and consolidation of the imperial power in the IIIrd century B. C.; the establishment of the present system of examinations in the VIIth century A. D.; the recovery, by Tonquin, of its independence in the XVth; the beginning of direct maritime commerce with Europe by way of the Cape of Good Hope, in the XVIth; and the opening of the country to Europeans in the XIXth century.

The area of the country is 7,000,000 square miles, as great as that of the United States. It includes 1,000,000 square miles of moist, fertile soil under tillage, much more than there is in Europe. A long ocean frontage, numerous great rivers, excellent harbors, and the proximity of many islands to the coast, facilitate and stimulate fluvial and maritime commerce. In the extreme heat of its summers and cold of its winters, it resembles the eastern slope of the United States, and these two regions are similar also in their positions on the western border of a great ocean; in the frequency and violence of their hurricanes; in the abundance of their magnificent rivers; in the wide area of their fertile soil; in the magnitude of their coal deposits, and in the possession of homogeneous populations. Among all the nations of the globe, China comes next to the United States in the

abundant resources for agricultural, mining, and manufacturing industry; but there is a vast difference in the culture of the two peoples. One is the type of progress, the other of the stationary condition; one the nation of the future, the other of the past; one is and the other is not in harmony with the spirit of the age; one has and the other has not scholars and business men competent for the task before them.

As the people were laborious, skillful in agriculture, and relatively peaceful, they had become numerous in ancient times, but there is much doubt about their number. After comparing the conflicting figures of different censuses, I estimate the population of China in 1700 at 125,000,000, and in 1880 at 400,000,000.

SEC. 197. *Original Arts*.—We might presume that a populous and toilsome nation, peaceful in their domestic and foreign relations during many centuries, occupying a fertile soil in a temperate clime, would make many improvements in the useful arts. Such improvements have been made by the Chinese, but many of their inventions and discoveries belong to a remote time, though the date of their origin is no longer discoverable. They practiced distillation and silk-weaving twenty-seven centuries before these arts were known in Europe. As early as 1100 B. C. they coined bronze. Sugar was made before 600 B. C. In 100 B. C. they had canals constructed exclusively for navigation; the magnetic needle, pisciculture, artesian wells, natural gas fuel, petroleum lamps, paper and lacquerware. In 600 A. D. they had explosive powder, cannon, porcelain, spectacles, tea as a common beverage, and as early as 1150 A. D. they had invented movable type, cards, and paper money, and had discovered that inoculation was a protection against

small-pox.¹ Before the date last mentioned, they had made some important invention or discovery for every century in a period of two thousand years; but since then not one. Why this cessation of their contributions to progress? Their productive originality ended about the time of the Mongol conquest, but that could not have been the cause, for it did not enslave the Chinese people, nor permanently reduce their number, nor impoverish them, nor destroy their national pride, nor materially change their institutions, nor divert their energies into new channels.

More remarkable than this arrest of their progress, in the useful arts, is the incompleteness of many of their industrial achievements, in which they took the first, usually the most difficult step, and then left to others the glory and the profit of the higher advance. It is wonderful that a populous and wealthy nation could coin bronze extensively for thirty centuries without ever coining gold and silver, while possessing those noble metals in considerable quantity and understanding their superior value. For many centuries, the magnetic needle was used in China by putting it on a small piece of wood, in a basin of water; but it had hardly become known to Europeans before their ingenuity poised it on a pivot, in a compass-box, under glass, and over a card divided into equal points, thus giving to the instrument a precision and a convenience previously unknown, and an applicability to many new purposes. In the hands of the Chinese, explosive powder was little more than a plaything, in fire-works, for centuries; in the hands of the Europeans, it led, within a few generations, to a rapid succession of important improvements in arms and the art of war. The Chinese invented sluices to connect the different levels of navigable

canals, letting boats slide down not more than five or six feet or drawing them up by capstans. When the Italians, in the middle ages, began to construct navigable canals, they devised the canal lock, which hoists or lowers a heavily-laden boat as much as twenty feet, keeping it in level water. The failure of the Chinese to invent the canal lock cannot be attributed to a lack of experience; they have more and larger canals than Europe and have used them twice as many centuries. Their grand canal is six hundred miles long; for a considerable distance two hundred feet wide; in one considerable stretch, twenty feet above the level of the adjacent country; and in other places it passes through cuts sixty feet deep. They discovered inoculation, and for nine centuries before it was known in Western Europe, applied it extensively, generally putting some of the virus from a small-pox patient on cotton wool in the nostril of a child. The Europeans had scarcely learned this valuable contribution to the science of medicine, before they superseded it by the still more valuable process of vaccination. Natural gas and petroleum were found by artesian wells in China about the beginning of the Christian era, but no such important industries with these subterranean sources of light and heat were developed there as in the United States. After many centuries of experience with type, the Chinaman continued to cut them by hand. After many centuries of experience in printing, he never made a press. He invented cards, but never devised a good game with them. He invented the arch, but never applied it in such magnificent domes, vaults, or bridges as are to be found in many Aryan countries.

SEC. 198. *Houses, etc.*—The houses of the Chinese are mostly of wood, small, low, and simple, without elegance

in their plan, construction, or furniture. There is no high artistic taste in any department of life. There is no appreciation of the relative values of size and color ; no fine statuary, painting, or architecture. Their carvings have no accurate modeling ; their paintings no perspective or fidelity in color to nature. Their house ornaments are fantastic, not tasteful.

The materials used in the dwellings of the poor are bamboo, wood, unburned brick, burned brick, and stone. Matting furnishes the material for many of the partitions. Roofs are of tiles or thatch. In the North, where the winters are severely cold, the people sleep on brick platforms or furnaces in which fires are kept.

The Chinese have never had a great architect, nor have they ever built a great palace, temple, castle, bridge, or tomb. There is a Chinese style of architecture, but it is curious rather than artistic, and finds its highest expression in the pagodas, which are ecclesiastical structures, and yet are useless for public worship, and not well adapted for sacerdotal residence.

Of these structures the most notable was the porcelain tower at Nanking, destroyed by the rebels in 1856. The body of the building was brick, with a facing of white, yellow, green, and red porcelain tiles. The shape was octagonal and the diameter on the ground forty feet, gradually decreasing to the top. The height was two hundred and sixty-one feet, with nine stories, at each of which was a projecting roof, every corner of which in every story had a bell. It was considered the most notable public building of the country, and though not remarkable for architectural beauty, had the merits of being original in its design, and striking in its appearance. There are similar buildings in other Chinese cities, but

while that of Nanking stood, it was considered superior to all its rivals. The most remarkable product of Chinese industry is the great wall of China, built in the IIIrd century B. C., to protect the Manchoorian frontier against invasion. Its length is fifteen hundred miles; and for long distances its height is from fifteen to thirty feet. The sides are stone; the inner mass is earth. Towers forty feet high, at intervals of a hundred yards, provide elevated stations of observation for watchmen and shelter to soldiers. This wall is not limited to the lowland; it crosses many hills, and in one place reaches an elevation of five thousand feet above the sea.

Their cities are large but not beautiful. Most of the streets are very narrow; and they are neither well paved nor clean. Everything that can enrich the soil is saved and transported through the streets in methods that are often very offensive to the eye and nose of the European.

SEC. 199. *Different Arts.*—Nearly all the land fit for tillage is used to produce food for man. None is reserved for pasture, and little for roads or purposes of ornament. There are no extensive public or private parks, no beautiful gardens about the homes of the poor or the rich. Williams estimates that the area cultivated is 1,000,000 square miles, or about two acres for each inhabitant.¹ The hills are terraced, and much land is irrigated by buckets or by pumps driven by hand.

China has few herds. Sheep, goats, cows, and horses are rare. Animal food is not abundant and consists mainly of fish, fowls, and pigs. Milk, butter, and cheese are unknown to the people; and so are woollen garments. No space is cultivated in grass. There are no coaches or heavy four-wheeled wagons. Freight is transported in boats, on the shoulders of men, in wheelbarrows,

and sometimes in carts drawn by asses. The roads are narrow, and never well paved.

The porcelain of China is unsurpassed in its excellence as an industrial production, but in the features of form and color it is surpassed by that of various European nations. The junks are clumsy in appearance but cheap in cost and good in sailing qualities. The aggregate tonnage of the water craft is supposed to be nearly equal to that of any other nation, and a large number of the people make their home in boats that never venture out to sea. It is said that there have been 80,000 boats at one time on the waters near Canton. The largest Chinese junks measure two thousand tons. The Chinese are expert fishermen with the hook and net; and they make much use of the cormorant, which catches fish for them, and, if not well trained, is kept from swallowing its game by a ring on its throat.

Many branches of Chinese industry are not highly developed. Most of the land transportation and loosening of the soil for cultivation is done by human muscle. Beasts of burden and draught, and mills driven by water and steam, were unknown until within recent years. There is no large manufacturing establishment, no complex machinery, no instrument of high precision of Chinese manufacture, no application of superior chemical knowledge to industrial uses.

SEC. 200. *Manners*.—In no other country is there so much social equality as in China. There is no hereditary nobility save that in the family of Confucius; there is no hereditary office save that of emperor. Great wealth and great poverty are extremely rare. Habits of industry are almost universal, and mendicants and loungers relatively few. The necessities of life are cheap;

and the style of living, with rare exception, simple among the rich and extremely plain among the poor. The Chinese have no magnificent private residences, no spacious parks, no beautiful drives, no elegant wagons, no horses bred with care for carriage or saddle, no luxurious hotel, nor much-frequented pleasure resort on mountain-top or sea-shore, no public gymnastic exercises, no games like cricket or base-ball, no dancing parties for the pleasure of the participants, no elegant galleries of painting or sculpture. In its general features, the life of the Chinese is bare, unpoetical, inelegant, and coarsely utilitarian. It is a continuous strain for the mere necessities of existence, including an education narrow in its aims and barren in its results.

The Chinese are polite. In all grades of society, children are reared strictly and instructed carefully in their manners. Marked respect is exacted from ignorance to learning, from youth to age, from private to public station, and from child to parent. An elaborate code, under governmental supervision, prescribes the forms with which officials must be approached, and the manner in which they must dress and keep their dwellings and offices. The demeanor of men towards one another is much influenced by rank, which, among scholars and officials, is indicated by dress or cap. They speak of themselves in terms of exaggerated depreciation. A man addressing an equal calls him "my noble master," and calls himself "your stupid slave;" he calls his friend's son "worthy young gentleman," and his own son "little bug;" he calls his friend's wife "the honorable lady," and his own wife "the mean one of the inner apartments." With all their politeness, they have no such phrases as "good-morning," "good-night," and "how do you do?"

At meeting they say "hail! hail!" at parting, "I pray you;" and when inquiring in general terms of a friend about his health, they ask, "Have you eaten rice?"

To many Europeans the ceremonious politeness of all classes of Chinamen, even the poorest, to one another, seems unreasonable and burdensome in its numerous and punctilious observances. Some travelers, however, find that in a comparison between the manners of the Chinese and the European poor the latter appear to a decided disadvantage.¹ Another observer thinks that the servility of the poor in China and the arrogance of the powerful are disgusting to the man who has a proper respect for the dignity of humanity.²

In China there are five social ranks based on occupation. First and most honorable are scholars; second, tillers of the soil; third, manufacturers; fourth, merchants; and fifth, the dishonorable, including slaves, jailers, executioners, actors, criminals, and their sons and grandsons. Dishonorable persons cannot be admitted into the class of scholars.

The Chinese show much aptitude for the combination and organization of their forces. They have many associations for business and charitable purposes. They have asylums for lepers, for the blind, for old men, for the sick, for orphans, and for foundlings; they have vaccine dispensaries, stations for the rescue of drowning persons, and soup kitchens for the indigent. Girl children are not unfrequently exposed and left to die by parents who do not feel able to support them, or they are sold as slaves.

The amusements of the people are few and simple. They include acrobatic, juggling, and dramatic performances, boat-races, wrestling-matches, kite-flying, and

playing shuttlecock, which last is struck not with a bat, or the hand, but with the foot. There is no gladiatorial fight, boxing-match, bull-fight, dog-fight, or bull or bear-baiting, no dancing-party, no gathering of both sexes for cards, no church fairs, no exhibitions of agricultural or manufactured products, no large picnics or excursions of both sexes. There is no weekly or monthly day of rest; and including those at the new year, there are not a dozen holidays in the twelve-month.

Fermented and distilled liquors, though known to the Chinese since a remote antiquity, have never been used by them extensively, and are not sold in dram-shops. The favorite narcotic of the Chinese is opium, which stupefies its consumer without taking him through a noisy or quarrelsome condition. It is the drug of a peaceful people.³

SEC. 201. *Matrimony*.—The Chinese are divided into about a hundred exogamous masculine clans, which average 4,000,000 members each, each clan having its distinctive name, which is part of the name of all its clansmen. Some of these clans extend through many provinces, and include persons who must go back at least thirty or forty generations to find a common ancestor. But no matter how remote the relationship, if they have the same clan name, which is known to all acquaintances, they cannot intermarry. There are large villages in which all the inhabitants are fellow-clansmen, and the men must go to other villages for wives. In the smaller villages the clan relationship is recognized as an intimate bond of social union and obligation, and it often influences the election of the local officials, the administration of justice, and the support of persons disabled by age or sickness.

Polygyny is permitted by law, without legal limit to the number of wives, but the first or main wife has a position much superior in social honor and legal rights to the others. The minor wives, by some writers called concubines, can be sold at any time; the main wife cannot be sold or divorced when she is in mourning for either parent, nor when she has no living parent to receive her, nor when her husband has grown rich after marrying her. Under other circumstances, and especially among the poor, whose wives are obtained by purchase, the husband can sell or divorce his wife at pleasure, and without the intervention of any court. It is discreditable to take many minor wives, or to take one while the first wife has a son living; but the rich men usually have several wives. The great majority of men have but one wife and remain faithful to her through life. Public opinion demands that every man should marry. Common maxims say that "there are three great acts of disregard to parents, and of these the chief is to die without progeny," and that "without sons a man lives without satisfaction and dies without honor."¹ Parents, especially fathers, are treated with great deference by children, as is the rule in all countries where ancestral spirits are worshiped. Women are considered greatly inferior to men in social dignity and rights, but the mother is honored by her sons and daughters-in-law. Girls are bred in seclusion and ignorance, and must accept the husband selected for them by their father.

The country is overcrowded with people, and infanticide is frequent.² The victims are usually girls. The law does not interfere, partly because the authority of the father over his infants is considered supreme, and partly because the excess of population is within the ob-

servation of everybody. Every family must keep a book with a record of all marriages, births, deaths, wills, and judgments of family councils, which are called together on important occasions.³ Each family occupies a separate house.

SEC. 202. *Music, etc.*—The music of China is a ludicrous combination of squall and racket. It is the harmony of bedlam. Dr. Johnson defines music as the least objectionable kind of noise, but he had never heard a Celestial orchestra. In the instrumentation of the Chinese, the predominant tones are those of a shrill trumpet, a gong, a cymbal, and a treble violin string. The effect of their song is almost equally strange; the women sing between squealing and screaming; the men without tenor or bass. Their airs are all in the minor key, and, save the cymbal and drum, all their musical instruments are, in pattern and tone, unlike those of Aryan countries. Although at their open ports the Chinese have been familiar with European music for centuries, they have made no attempt to learn its principles. And yet they consider themselves a musical people. They frequently hear semi-operatic pieces on their public stage, and their ears are trained from infancy in the different tones of their speech. They have a method of writing music, but, as compared with the European system, it is extremely defective on several important points.

There are no regular beats in Chinese airs; and many classes of European tunes which depend largely on their time, are unknown in China.

In their medicine, the Chinese are rude. They have no precise knowledge of zoölogy, anatomy, physiology, chemistry, or optics, and have contributed nothing of importance save inoculation to the art of healing disease.

One of their reputable medical treatises says: "If a man be restless and hysterical, when he wishes to sleep, and it is requisite to put him to rest, let the ashes of a skull be mingled with water and given to him, and let him have a skull for a pillow, and it will cure him."² Another sample of Chinese medical science is given thus: "To eat the flesh of a black horse and not drink wine with it will surely produce death. The heart of a white horse, or that of a hog, cow, or hen, when dried and rasped into spirit, and so taken, cures forgetfulness. If the patient hears one thing he knows ten."³ Equally learned is the zoölogical information that the bat lives to a great age, because "it has the habit of swallowing its breath," and that "it flies with its head downwards because its brain is heavy."⁴ The flying squirrel is described as "the only bird that suckles its young while it flies."⁵

In astronomy and mathematics the Chinese have never reached eminence. They do not yet use the Hindoo numerals in mercantile houses, but depend on the abacus, or counting-board, with which they add, subtract, multiply, and divide rapidly and accurately.⁶ Their astronomical observations go back to a remote date. Their twenty-eight constellations of the zodiac commence with Spica in our own constellation of the Virgin, and if, as is supposed, their zodiac was adopted when the sun was in their first constellation in the spring, then they must have named their stars seventeen thousand years ago.⁷

SEC. 203. *Speech*.—In general character the Chinese tongue is the simplest and most primitive of languages. Every word is a single syllable, as if it had its origin before men learned the art of combining sounds in polysyllables. The words, unlike those of European languages, show no signs of having been formed from older

elements. In English, "John's" is a consolidation of "John his," and "loved" of "love did," and "daisy" of "day's eye." Such consolidations abound in all the Aryan tongues. They furnished the materials for our conjugations and declensions. With their art we can trace the history of our modern English words through the mediæval English, Saxon, French, and Latin to an intimate relationship with the Sanscrit and Zend tongues spoken three thousand years ago or more in Hindostan and Persia. But the Chinese words have no history. They show no signs of growth. Each is the same now as when it was first accepted as the representative of an idea.

On account of the brevity of the words, their number is very small, being about four hundred and fifty; and one word must have many meanings, which are distinguished by different tones or by the addition of explanatory words. Thus a word like *pare*, would be followed by the word *cut*, *member*, or *fruit*, to distinguish the kind of *pare* meant in the special case. Four notes of the gamut are used in common speech, and the same word may have four different meanings according to the key in which it is spoken. By different intonations the four hundred and fifty fundamental words are increased to about twelve hundred and fifty distinct sounds.¹ It is often easier for the Chinaman to distinguish the same word pronounced in two different keys than different words in the same key; easier to distinguish *ming flat*, from *ming sharp*, than *ming* from *meng* in the same key.²

SEC. 204. *Writing*.—The methods of writing and pronouncing have not varied materially in more than two thousand years. Poems composed as early as 500 B. C. are read now in the characters and rhymes with which they were originally written.¹

The Chinese write with hieroglyphics, each of which means a word or the idea that would be expressed in English by several words. These hieroglyphics, 24,000 in number, were originally pictures, but in many centuries of rapid writing, have been so changed that most of them have lost all resemblance to the original designs.

The task of fixing such a multitude of arbitrary figures in the memory is an immense difficulty in the acquisition of Chinese scholarship ; it is the work of half an average human life. On the other hand, a few hieroglyphics can be learned with comparatively little effort, and as a consequence, nearly all the poor men in China can read the hieroglyphics relating to their own occupations, and can write their names. As means of obtaining a high education and of recording general ideas for public and private purposes, two dozen alphabetic signs are vastly superior to two thousand dozen hieroglyphics. Only two thousand hieroglyphics are used in the penal code ; and a knowledge of three thousand is considered sufficient for the purposes of persons not professional students.²

The Chinese hieroglyphics are divided by Williams into six classes.³ The first class consists of imitative symbols or pictures showing the articles plainly. The second class is that of suggestive symbols, such as the sun above the horizon (indicated by a line) for morning ; and something in the mouth (a dot in a square) for sweetness. The third class is one of combined ideas, as woman and broom for wife ; dog and mouth for bark ; and two trees for forest. The fourth class, including some that might come in the second, comprises inverted significations, as a hand turned to the right for right, and a hand turned to the left for left. The fifth class is that

of uniting-sound symbols, using the character of one thing to mean something different in nature but the same in name. The sixth and last class is that of figurative symbols such as the hieroglyphic of home to mean mother, and of heart to mean mind or sentiment.

For conciseness and force of expression, hieroglyphics have some advantages over alphabet writing. Dr. Morrison tells us that the Chinese sentence often darts upon the mind with a vivid flash, a force, and a beauty of which alphabetic language is incapable.⁴

All schools are private institutions. The examiners are officials of the government, the teachers are not. There is no state fund for education, no state department of instruction, no compulsory attendance in any educational institution. In proportion to their means the people are very liberal in paying teachers for their boys; and there are schools and seminaries for girls, but the women generally are allowed to grow up in ignorance, perhaps as more consonant with woman's loveliness, and certainly as more conducive to her submissiveness. The less she knows, the more faith she has in her husband, and often she is the only person who has any faith in him, in China as well as elsewhere.

The Chinese "first teach children a few of the principal characters (as the names of the chief objects in nature or art) exactly as we do the letters, by rude pictures, having the characters attached. Then follows the Santse-king, or 'trimetrical classic,' being a summary of infant erudition, conveyed in chiming lines of three words or feet. They soon after proceed to the 'Four Books,' which contain the doctrines of Confucius, and which, with the five classics subsequently added, are in fact the Chinese Scriptures. The Four Books they learn by heart

entirely, and the whole business of the literary class afterward is to comment on them or compose essays on their texts. Writing is taught by tracing the characters, with the hair pencil, on transparent paper placed over the copy, and they commence with very large characters."⁵ On account of the multitude of phonograms to be learned, a Chinaman cannot read better at twenty-five than an English boy at ten or an Italian boy at eight.

Since ancient times every provincial capital has its circulating library, and its teachers for children and advanced scholars. In Euraryan countries one of the main purposes of the educational system is to make additions to the stock of knowledge, but not so in China, where the only object generally kept in view is to impart the knowledge already possessed to as large a portion as possible of the rising generation.⁶

Although the writing of the Chinese demands a vast amount of time for mastery, the system is one that must have required the labor of many men for many centuries to bring it into the completeness which it had reached as early as the VIIth century B. C. An eminent scholar has expressed the opinion that it "is one of the most extraordinary monuments of patient industry and refined analytic skill that record the labors of man."⁷ Unfortunately for the Chinese, their language is one which will perhaps never be written otherwise than it is at present. Felton says: "The sounds of their words are indistinctly articulated; consonant, vowel, and nasal, run into the pronunciation so curiously that it is very difficult to represent them by alphabetic characters."⁸ When it becomes clear to the Chinese people that they must use the alphabet, they may find that the easiest method of doing so will be to adopt the English tongue first.

The Chinese have their poetry, but without any metrical effect. "The verses contain a particular number of words and set pauses in each line, but there is nothing like an interchange of long and short sounds. Among the Greeks, the fall of the smith's hammer, the stroke of the oar, and the tread of the soldier in armor, suggested some poetic measure, and their music exhibits a world of curious meters. But nothing of the sort can be heard in China, amid all the sounds and noises that salute the ear in a noisy country." 9

SEC. 205. *Imperial Power*.—The government is an aristocracy of scholars, under an unwritten constitution, which is understood and revered by the people, observed by the officials, and accepted submissively by the monarchs. Alone among nations with long careers, it has never had a large class of serfs or slaves. Alone among modern nations, it has preserved its constitution unchanged through many centuries. In the security of life and property no barbarous nation in the Old World has equaled China. Until within the last three centuries, it had the only permanent government without a large hereditary privileged class.

The authority of the emperor is limited by many constitutional provisions, among which the most important are, first, that the local affairs of the communes shall be managed exclusively by officers elected by the people; second, that all the higher provincial and imperial officers shall be taken from the scholars who have succeeded in passing the competitive examinations; and third, that no office save that of emperor shall be held by a hereditary title. His power is further limited by public opinion formed in the schools and communicated to him in his lessons as a boy. He is taught in the words of Confu-

cius, that the ruler is responsible to the people for the proper performance of his duties; and in the words of Mencius, that the people are the most important element in the country, and the ruler the least important; and that the people have the right to depose and slay a tyrant.¹ The following maxims are found in the sacred books: "The emperor and the subject who break the law are alike to blame." "He who subdues by force is a tyrant; he who prevails by kindness is a king." "The hearts of the people speak the commands of Heaven." "An invader will find allies in a country oppressed." "The sovereign who gains his subjects' hearts strengthens his throne." "The bow may crack and the people may revolt."²

The chief executive officer of every commune, department and province, is responsible for the maintenance of order in his jurisdiction, and in like manner the emperor is responsible to the people and to Heaven for the prosperity of the empire. In 1832 a great drought afflicted China, and the emperor, considering the general misery a punishment for his sins, presented a written penitential memorial in the temple of heaven, and published it in the official gazette. He said: "The sole cause is the daily deeper atrocity of my sins; but little sincerity, and little devotion. Hence I have been unable to move Heaven's heart and bring down abundant blessings. . . . I ask myself whether . . . in raising mausolea and laying out gardens, I have distressed the people and wasted property. Whether in the appointment of officers I have failed to obtain fit persons, and thereby the acts of government have been petty and vexatious to the people. Whether punishments have been unjustly inflicted or not. Whether the oppressed have found no means of

appeal. . . . Whether or not the magistrates have insulted the people and refused to listen to their affairs. . . . Prostrate, I beg imperial Heaven to pardon my ignorance and stupidity and to grant me self-renovation ; for myriads of innocent people are involved by me, a single man.”³

The imperial power is exercised through a cabinet consisting of a collection of councils or boards, each having control of a department of the administration. The cabinet has supreme power over legislative, executive, and military affairs.

Once in three years a report is made upon the merits and demerits of all the prominent civil officials of the government, and upon the information there given, the emperor issues an edict, with commendations and condemnations, promotions, degradations, retirements, and expulsions.⁴ In many respects the high officials are held to a strict responsibility, and he who provokes his subjects to open rebellion subjects himself to capital punishment.⁵

SEC. 206. *Examinations.*—Literary competition is the only road to political honor. All the high offices of the government, under the emperor, are given to men who pass with success through literary examinations under government inspectors. There are three successive examinations ; first and lowest, that for the grade of bachelor, held every year in each of the one thousand five hundred and eighteen districts of the empire ; second, that held every third year in each of the eighteen provincial capitals for the grade of master ; and third, that held once in three years in Peking, for the grade of doctor. The competition for the master’s diploma is open to bachelors only ; that for the doctor’s diploma, to mas-

ters only. Failure in an examination does not disqualify for another trial. Many of the applicants are middle-aged men who have failed repeatedly. In the list of ninety-nine graduates at a provincial examination, Dr. Martin found that sixteen of the new masters were more than forty years of age, one was sixty-two, and one eighty-three. Not unfrequently father and son are found competing for the same degree. The total number of bachelors for the empire may be 14,000 annually, selected from 100,000 competitors; of masters, twelve hundred, and of doctors three hundred at the triennial examinations; of masters four hundred, and of doctors one hundred for each year. Success in the district examination is considered a great triumph for the individual, and a great honor to his family. The bachelor's diploma puts the man on the road to power and wealth, and entitles him to wear a cap indicating his membership in the first social rank, that of scholars, and protecting him forever against corporal punishment or torture, which may be inflicted on all persons of inferior rank, even on the wealthiest merchants. It is estimated that the number of competitors for the grade of bachelor every year is 2,000,000 on the average, a much larger proportion of the population than undertake collegiate studies in Europe. "When the announcement of the successful candidates [for masters] is published," says Medhurst, "the multitude rush forward to gain the intelligence, and hand-bills are printed and circulated far and wide, not only for the information of the candidates themselves but their parents and kindred also, who receive titles and honors in common with their favored relations. Presents are then made to the triumphant scholars, and splendid apparel is prepared for them, so that they soon become

rich and great. To-day they are dwelling in an humble cottage, and to-morrow they are introduced to the palaces of the great, riding in sedans or on horseback, and everywhere received with the greatest honors.”¹

The doctors, immediately after receiving their diplomas, are invited to another examination in the imperial palace, where a fourth degree, that of the Hanlin doctorate, is conferred on about twenty of their number. This diploma entitles its holder to membership in the Hanlin College, the members of which are attached to the imperial court in various honorable positions, including those of historian and poet, or they are sent to the provinces as managers of the examinations for the degree of master.

The branches in which the examinations are held are the jurisprudence, history, and statistics of China, and the writings of Confucius. This list of studies excludes all the science, European history, literature, and engineering taught in the higher educational institutions of Christendom. The scholarship of the Chinese has a scanty range of instruction and suggestion; like their speech and writing, it is a remnant of remote antiquity; it has been preserved several thousand years after it should have made room for something better. Mathematics, astronomy, and geology learned from Europe, are required in examinations for a few offices demanding scientific knowledge, but these studies have no place in the general scheme of education, and are of no service in attaining high political position.

Notwithstanding the serious defects in the course of instruction, the rule of making study the only road to high political power and social honor, has ever had an excellent influence on the people. On the one hand,

it has inspired them with a fondness for books, and given them a preference for the kindly sentiments associated with literary tastes; on the other hand, it has made them averse to arbitrary power, class privilege, and war. A nation which selects its doctors of learning with so much care as does China, and then reserves for them all its high political positions, save that of emperor, must have some decided merits in its government.

The beneficent influence of making education the chief road to honor, power, and wealth, has attracted the attention and obtained the commendation of many European observers. Sir George Stanton says: "One of the most remarkable national peculiarities of the Chinese is their extraordinary addiction to letters, the general prevalence of literary habits among the middling and higher orders, and the very honorable preëminence which from the most remote period has been universally conceded to that class which is exclusively devoted to literary pursuits." ²

Dr. Martin remarks that "in the genuine democracy of offering the inspiration of a fair opportunity, China stands unapproached among the nations of the earth;" ³ and Williams ⁴ says it is "the only pagan nation with democratic habits under a despotic theory of government." According to Davis, ⁵ the proportion of the community exclusively devoted to letters is much greater than in any other country, amounting from twenty to thirty per cent among the men.

SEC. 207. *Local Administration*.—The empire is divided into provinces under provincial governors; these into departments; these into communes; these into centuriate districts of one hundred families; and these into minor divisions of ten families. The least division is un-

der a decurion, who must know the manner in which all his subjects live, and must expose and prosecute their crimes, or become responsible for them. The centurion is responsible for his subject decurions; and thus there is a continuous chain of responsibility, making a police system said to be unequaled in its efficiency.¹

Each province has a governor clothed with extensive powers. The leading provinces are under the government of viceroys, each of whom levies his own taxes, maintains his own army and navy, and has a final court of appeal for suits arising under his jurisdiction.² He must not be a native of his province, nor marry or own land in it, nor have a son or brother holding office under him, nor must he continue to be governor in one province for more than three years. While he is in office an inspector from Peking examines his administration and makes a written report on his official conduct. At the close of his term, the governor must make a written report on the official conduct of his subordinates. These reports are always printed, and, being often very plain in their denunciations of misconduct and incapacity, have much influence on the careers of public men. The governor who acts oppressively exposes himself to popular petitions for his removal, and to denunciations in public meetings. To such expressions of popular indignation, he must offer no resistance. An attempt by him to break up such a meeting or to punish the leaders in it might prove more dangerous to him than to any other person. Popularity is a great aid, and the want of it a great obstacle, to promotion.

With the aid of "strict surveillance and mutual responsibility among all classes" the government succeeds in giving passable satisfaction to most of the people. The

poor stand in great fear of the government, and so indeed do many of the rich.”⁴ The inter-marriage of the Manchooks with the Chinese is forbidden, and the two nationalities are used to make a division of power, the former holding the military and the latter the political offices; and many judicious provisions serve to check the ambition of those officials who might like to establish independent governments.⁵

The salaries of office are in most cases insufficient, and it is expected that the officer, if not wealthy before his appointment, must exact unlawful tribute. The private citizen involved in any governmental business usually approaches the person in charge of it with a present; and the men in the lower offices frequently receive messages from their superiors that on a certain day gifts will be acceptable.⁶ In such cases there is an implied promise that the superior will, if possible, protect his liberal subordinate against punishment for corruption. Williams tells us that the officials and the people of China are bad almost beyond belief; and yet he assures us that the governmental business of the provinces is administered admirably. Common rumor says that the lawful salary is not more than one-tenth of the average income of the high offices.⁷

A censor speaking of the police says: “They no sooner get a warrant to bring up witnesses than they assail both plaintiff and defendant for money to pay their expenses, from the amount of ten taels [dollars] to several scores. Then the clerks must have double what the runners get; if their demands be not satisfied they contrive every species of annoyance.”⁸ This statement becomes probable when our attention is called to the fact that the numerous military, police and servants, connected with

many of the offices have no regular salary, and some of them are dependent for support on what they must receive as gifts or bribes.

Corrupt as the administration is unquestionably in many of its features, the mass of the people are safe in their person and property. Davis says the greatness and prosperity of the empire rests on the impartial distribution of the offices;⁹ and he quotes a similar opinion from Milne. Staunton thinks that repeated acts of flagrant injustice do not escape with impunity, and on this point Williams seems to agree with him.¹⁰

Much care is taken to inform the people about their political rights and duties. Instructive discourses are read once a month in public to the inhabitants of every village and ward. The penal code is printed in cheap form for general circulation, and is composed in simple language, so that its meaning shall be clearly understood. Sir George Staunton, who translated it into English, said of it: "The most remarkable thing in this code is its great reasonableness, clearness, and consistency, the business-like brevity and directness of the various provisions, and the plainness and moderation of the language."¹¹

The government has made a practice of selling admission into the rank of bachelor, with the right of wearing the cap indicative of the rank and all its privileges except that of competing for the diploma of master. Some inferior offices have also been sold, but these sales seem to amount to but little relatively.

SEC. 208. *Person and Property*.—There are no explicit legal guarantees of the rights of person or property. As already stated, the language has no word for liberty.¹ No habeas-corpus process or similar legal proceeding provides for the release of persons imprisoned illegally. No

section in the code protects witnesses or persons accused of crime against torture, which they often suffer, though it is not among the punishments inflicted on criminals after conviction. The judicial proceedings are, in many cases, harsh and the penalties of crime cruel, but on the other hand the trials are prompt; the witnesses are not worried by frequent delays and new trials; and the accused and their friends are not plundered to their last dollar by criminal lawyers.

Chinese law permits a peculiar system of bondage to which the term slavery cannot be applied without the risk of conveying false impressions. This bondage has its origin in a sale by the parents, or in a judicial sentence for crime. The parents have power to sell their children, but very rarely do so, unless under the compulsion of deep poverty, and then the children sold are mostly girls under ten years of age. The most common motive for purchase is the desire to get domestic servants; a less common motive is the wish of a wealthy man to have a concubine or subordinate wife. If the bond-girl becomes a servant, the master must provide her, before she reaches the age of twenty-five, with a husband, who, from that time forward, has complete control of her. Bondage never passes by inheritance from the mother to her children. It is different with the bondmen. His sons and his grandsons, not his great grandsons, nor his daughters, nor his granddaughters, are in bondage. With her consent, the husband may sell his wife to be the wife of another man, but she does not enter into bondage. The male slave, when thirty years of age, is entitled to a wife, and it is the duty of the master to provide one for him. The male slaves are very few; female slaves are common in the families of

the wealthy, ten or twenty being sometimes found in a house. There is no serfdom in China.

Taxes are light and uniform. The land outside of the towns and cities is held in fee-simple by the tiller of the soil, in small tracts. Most of the owners are individuals, some few are villages and clans. There is no very large estate, no entail, no primogeniture, no influence to make any notable change in the tenure or distribution of land. The law of inheritance gives a double portion to the eldest son, and the remainder is equally divided between the other sons; and the father often bequeaths his estate to the eldest son in trust for the equal benefit of all the sons.² The emperor can confiscate private property, but never does so unless under urgent and exceptional circumstances, and then he allows no compensation to the sufferers. Nominally he is the owner of all land, but the possessory title of the people is equivalent to fee-simple, subject to the sovereign's right to confiscate without indemnity.

Complaints and responses by litigants must be in writing; but there is no profession of the law, and the judge, in trying a case, listens only to the parties directly interested, and then to witnesses. Evidence is taken without oaths. Cases are never decided by ordeal, nor is official action ever determined by auguries or other appeals to supernatural power.

SEC. 209. *Confucius*.—Three forms of religion prevail extensively in China, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The last is of Hindoo origin, and an account of it will be given in another chapter. Taoism has neither well-defined creed, nor a well-educated or well-organized clergy, nor any notable influence on the government or among the educated classes. Its priests devote them-

selves to ceremonial services demanded by the ignorant and superstitious, and thus what may be called the religion of Taoism is maintained as a mere matter of form. The Chinese Buddhists, Confucians, and Taoists have very little ecclesiastical animosity. They say, "Religions are many, reason is one; we are all brothers."

Confucianism, peculiarly Chinese in its character, was taught, not as an original doctrine but as a compilation of the wisdom of many antecedent centuries, by Confucius, who lived from 551 to 479 B. C. It is the faith of the scholars, and of the imperial government. Though not the religion of the majority of the Chinese people, it may be called the distinctive religion of China. Its main doctrines are that you must be virtuous; that you must worship the spirits of your ancestors; and that you must not bother yourself about any other divine existence or about a future life. Virtue, as understood by Confucius, includes every feeling that contributes to excellence as a relative, a friend, a neighbor, a citizen, or a fellow-man. He laid down the golden rule in a negative form by saying, "Do not to others what you do not wish done to yourself." He preferred virtue to life. He said, "I love life and I love justice, but if I cannot have both, I would give up life." He thus expressed his preference of virtue to popular applause: "I have the fidelity of a dog, and am sometimes treated like one. But what matters the ingratitude of men. They cannot hinder me from doing good. If my teaching be disregarded, I still have the consolation of knowing that I have done my duty." He asserted that the satisfaction of doing right, and the return which it generally obtains from men, are in themselves sufficient rewards for virtue. He advised his pupils to be virtuous for virtue's sake; and he defined

universal virtue as comprising justice, benevolence, and constancy. In his opinion faithfulness and sincerity deserved to be considered as of primary importance for a well-regulated society. He taught that wealth and office are not requisite to the highest happiness, and that it was important that the people should not be blinded by their glitter. One of his sayings was that "to recognize that poverty comes by the ordinance of heaven . . . and in the face of difficulty not to fear, is the valor of the sage."¹

To Confucius any kind of success obtained by the aid of injustice was detestable, and honesty was admirable, no matter what might be the fate of its devotee. He said, "The general of a large army may be defeated, but you cannot defeat the mind of a peasant determined to do right." In his opinion, death itself might become a triumph to a poor and friendless man if inflicted on him because he insisted on doing his duty. He would have us conduct this life as if it were certainly the only one, as if no late repentance could wipe out early wrong, as if mean selfishness would surely be punished by our contempt of ourselves, and by the contempt and neglect of our neighbors, and as if our constant regard for the welfare of others would entitle us to the esteem of the community, and would secure to us, from most of our acquaintances, responsive kindness. Confucius did not know how to enjoy life without contributing to the happiness of others, nor did he attach much value to mere official precept without example. He wanted virtue to begin at home, and in the highest circles. He said: "It is not possible for a man to teach others who cannot teach his own family. Therefore a ruler, without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for the state.

. . . From the loving example of one family the whole state becomes loving ; and from its courtesies, the whole state becomes courteous."²

He found within himself a predominant impulse toward the right, and he recognized it in others. According to him, "all men have compassionate souls ; all have hearts ashamed of vice." He had a high idea of human dignity ; he wanted his pupils to respect their own consciences ; to constantly aspire to live as superior men ; the character which he constantly held up before his pupils as the ideal which they should strive to approach even if they should despair of attainment.

SEC. 210. *No Supernaturalism.*—He rejected the idea that a belief in rewards and punishments hereafter is necessary as a sanction to social order here. Finding no satisfactory proof of the constitution or even of the existence of a supernatural world, he taught his followers to take no account in their actions of any considerations save those of a natural character. He protested against the acceptance of baseless fancies and hereditary superstitions unproved save by vulgar traditions. The essence of knowledge as he defines it, is to apply it when you have it, and when you have it not, to confess your ignorance. When he was asked about the immortality of the soul, he replied, "I do not know life, and how should I know death?" When asked where the souls of the ancestors are, he replied: "They have gone from the earth. Think of this and you will know what sorrow is." When asked whether ancestors should be worshiped, he said: "It is not proper for me to reply explicitly to this question. If I should say that the ancestors are grateful for the honors paid them ; if I should say that they see and hear and know what passes

among the living, then pious people, full of filial devotion, might neglect their own lives for the purpose of devoting themselves exclusively to the dead, and of serving them in the next world. If, on the other hand, I should say that the dead know nothing of what the living do, then children might neglect their duties to their parents, withdraw themselves into their own selfishness, and tear the holy bands which bind one generation to another. Continue, therefore, to pay the customary honors to your ancestors; act as if they were witnesses of all that you do; and seek not to know more of a future life.”¹

To a pupil who asked whether the human mind continues to have a conscious existence after death, he replied, “You need not know now whether it has or not; if it has, you will learn the fact at the proper time.” He did not object explicitly to the worship of ancestors; perhaps his reasons for silence on that point were that his general teaching covered the ground, and that it was useless to waste his time in fighting a custom universally accepted in his time, merely because it had been universally accepted in previous times.

In China, as elsewhere, superstition is the associate of ignorance; and there, as in other barbarous countries, the telling of fortunes, interpretation of omens, and performance of exorcisms, are sources of profit to pretenders, who, in good or bad faith, claim to possess divine commissions. In reference to such persons Confucius said: “The wise man does not fear the omens, and while performing his duties, he knows how to protect himself against evil. To abstain from wrong-doing, and to live virtuously, are the best omens for the people and for the prince who should be as a father to them. . . .

Good or bad government is a surer sign of the happiness or misery of the people than the most wonderful natural phenomenon."

His influence checked such sacerdotal tendencies in ancestral worship as elsewhere reached high development. When he was sick, a suggestion that prayers should be offered for his recovery provoked the remark, "My prayer is constant." His conduct was such an unceasing devotion to virtue, that any formal solicitation on his behalf would be an imputation that the ruling spiritual powers, if such there be, lack intelligence or goodness.

In his time, no book purporting to be a divine revelation was known to the Chinese; and Confucius found no basis for faith save his perception and his reason, and no motive for virtue save his innate moral constitution and his personal interest. Guided by these, he taught a system of ethics that must ever command the respect of the good and the wise. Alone among the founders of religions, he neither claimed a divine character or commission, nor taught men to do anything to influence the fate of their souls after the death of their bodies. He made neither threat nor promise. He took no advantage of ignorance or credulity. He made no occupation for a professional priesthood. He left no pupils interested in misrepresenting his doctrines and building up a corrupt ecclesiastical system.

SEC. 211. *An Honored Sage*.—Though occasionally neglected and even insulted, Confucius was recognized during his life as one of the leading teachers of his country, and by many persons he was treated with respect and honor. He had distinguished pupils; he held high offices. Soon after his death, in 478 B. C., his greatness

was extensively recognized, especially through the labors and influence of his eminent follower, Mencius, by whom he was exalted as the wisest and best of men. He is now called "the throneless king." Within two centuries and a half after his death—that is more than two thousand years ago—a title of hereditary nobility was conferred on his eldest male heir in the direct line, and this title, preserved to the present time, is the only hereditary nobility in China, and the oldest and most honorable title to nobility on the globe. After more than twenty generations there are now 40,000 descendants of Confucius possessing careful records of their pedigrees. Every provincial capital has a temple to Confucius where scholars and officials worship the spirit of the sage. "From the time of the emperor, Kaou-Ti (206–194 B. C.), to the present day, Confucius has been, outwardly at least, the object of the most supreme veneration and devout worship of every occupant of the throne. Temples have been erected to his honor in every city of the empire, and his worship, which was originally confined to his native state, has for the last twelve hundred years been as universal as the study of the literature which goes by his name. The most important and sacred temple is that adjoining his tomb in Shangtung, on which all the art of Chinese architecture has been lavished. . . . Second only to this temple is the Kiootszekeen at Peking, the main difference being that here there are no images. . . . To this temple the emperor goes in state twice a year, and having knelt and six times bowed his head to the ground, he invokes the presence of the sage in these words:—

"Great art thou, oh perfect sage. Thy virtue is perfect and thy doctrine complete. Among men there has not

been thy equal. All kings honor thee. Thy statutes and thy precepts have been preserved faithfully. Thou art the pattern of this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been set out; reverently we sound our drums and bells."¹

Brougham² observes that "for a long succession of ages there has been a veneration paid to the writings and memory of Confucius which is without any second example in the history of our race."

SEC. 212. *Chinese Ancestors*.—Ancestor worship occupies a more prominent place among the Chinese than in any other modern community. The common people among the Confucians worship nothing save the souls of their ancestors; the scholars and officials worship their ancestors and the spirit of Confucius; the emperor, besides worshiping his ancestors and Confucius, also pays his adorations to Shangti, a term which, according to the best authorities, means heaven. No word in the Chinese language distinctly conveys the idea of a divine creator and governor of the universe. The conception of such a being has no place in any religion widespread in China. There is no common recognition of a god; no mention of him in their ordinary devotions; no appeal to him in their courts; no oaths by him in their outbursts of anger.

Nearly every dwelling, even among the poorest people, has a room called "the hall of the ancestors," though it may be used mainly for ordinary occupation. It has a table with ancestral tablets, each a painted board perhaps a foot long and three inches wide, standing upright on a pedestal, with an inscription giving the name of a male ancestor, the time when he lived, and his private or public station. Before these tablets, on regular occasions,

the male members of the family, especially the adults, bow, pray, and make offerings of food, flowers, incense, and paper images of money, clothes, tools, weapons, oxen, and men. It is supposed that the souls of the ancestors enjoy the spiritual substance of the offerings, the material portion of which can afterwards be taken away and eaten by mortals just as the priests and people have done and do in all other countries where sacrifice is or was a part of worship.

Besides the worship of ancestors at the funeral and in the home, it is celebrated at two annual festivals, one in April and the other in August. At the April festival, "the whole population, men, women, and children, repair to the family tombs, carrying trays containing the sacrifices, and libations for offering, and the candles, paper, and incense for burning, and there go through a variety of ceremonies and prayers. The grave is also carefully repaired and swept, and at the close of the services, three pieces of turf are placed at the back and front of the grave to retain long strips of red and white paper; this indicates that the accustomed rites have been performed, and these fugitive testimonials remain fluttering in the wind long enough to announce it to all the friends as well as enemies of the family; for when a grave has been neglected three years, it is sometimes dug over and the land resold."¹

The August festival is called "burning clothes," for on this occasion "pieces of paper folded in the form of jackets, trousers, gowns, and other garments, are burned for the use of the suffering ghosts [during the approaching winter], besides a large quantity of paper money. Paper houses with proper furniture and puppets to represent household servants, are likewise made; and Medhurst

adds that 'writings are drawn up and signed in presence of witnesses, to certify the conveyance of the property, stipulating that on its arrival in hades, it shall be duly made over to the individuals specified on the bond. The houses, servants, clothes, money, and all are then burned with the bond, the worshipers feeling confident that their friends obtain the benefit of what they have sent them.' . . . This festival like all others is attended with feasting and music. In order still further to provide for childless ghosts, their ancestral tablets are collected in temples, and placed together in a room set apart for the purpose, . . . and a man hired to attend and burn incense before them."²

The cleaning of the tombs for the annual festival to the dead is enforced by the penal code, as well as by public opinion, and is therefore rarely neglected. As an illustration of the spirit in which the ancestors are worshiped, a prayer made at the festival of the tombs is here copied:—

"I, Lin Kwang, the second son of the third generation, presume to come before the grave of my ancestor, Lin Kung. Revolving years have brought again the season of spring. Cherishing sentiments of veneration, I look up and sweep your tomb. Prostrate, I pray that you will come and be present, and that you will grant prosperity and honor to your descendants. At this season of genial showers, I desire to recompense the source of my existence, exerting myself sincerely. Always grant your protection to me. My trust is in your divine spirit. Reverently I present the fivefold sacrifice of a pig, a chicken, a duck, a goose, and a fish, also an offering of five plates of fruit, with libations of spirituous liquors, earnestly entreating that you will come and view them.

With the most attentive respect this announcement is presented on high.”³

The dead are buried, not in large cemeteries but in separate lots, preferably on barren hills, on or near the land of the family. At the burial “crackers are fired, libations poured out, and prayers recited, and afterwards papers folded into the shape of clothes, houses, money, and everything which he can possibly want in the land of shadows (which Davis calls a wise economy) is burned for the use of the deceased.”⁴ If the family be too poor to buy a coffin, a son will sometimes sell himself into slavery to get one; and if the deceased died in debt his coffin may be seized by his creditor; and then relatives or friends make great efforts to pay.

SEC. 213. *China's Place*.—China has a small place in the culture of the present. Occupying a large space on the map of the world, and including more than a fourth of all the people on the globe, it does not take the lead in any branch of science, or of useful, ornamental, or literary art. Its language, its writing, its learning, and most of its industrial processes, are superannuated survivals of a remote past. They are so much inferior to the forms of culture in the same branches in other countries, that they cannot even serve as a good basis for future progress. The welfare and credit of the nation demand that they should be discarded as soon as possible, so that the people may enter into the race of progress without being impeded by an oppressive load of antiquated evils.

But while China is relatively insignificant to the culture of the present, she occupies a very important place in the culture of the past. She was the first country to invent or use the mariner's compass, the navigable canal,

the artesian well, the petroleum lamp, natural gas fuel, coined money and paper money, distilled liquor, pisciculture, cast iron,¹ iron suspension bridges, the hand-roller cotton gin,² water-tight compartments in ships, distillation,³ sugar,⁴ porcelain, lacquer-ware, spectacles, paper, movable type, printed books, tea, and silk. This list of original contributions to industrial progress is one that entitles the Chinese to rank with the British and the Americans in advance of all other nations as inventors. The Chinese were possibly the first to cultivate rice, cotton, oranges, sweet-potatoes, and to invent the spinning-wheel and the water-wheel as a source of mechanical power.

China promises to hold an important place in the culture of the future. Her scholars do not know the vast superiority of Euraryan civilization in every department of thought; and their ignorance, prejudice, and national pride are fortified by selfish interests. The introduction of new ideas will bring with it new men and new institutions. The old system of instruction will have to be modified if not abandoned; and the change will be accompanied by an agitation for a new method of writing, and perhaps for a new official language. Hieroglyphical writing and a tongue which cannot be written with an alphabet are burdens too heavy for a nation to carry while keeping up with the foremost in the race of progress.

The Chinese of to-day have many of the qualities needed for the attainment and maintenance of national greatness. They are toilsome, sober, economical, faithful, peaceful yet not cowardly, teachable, observant, and skillful in the handling of tools and the management of men. They are competent merchants, bankers, and con-

tractors. As merchants in San Francisco, Sydney, and Melbourne, their credit is better on the average than that of their white competitors. They have much capacity for organization and succeed in every branch of industry which is open to them on equal terms, and which promises a good profit. The existence of such qualities and capacities among the common Chinese in California implies the existence of similar qualities and capacities among their countrymen in their native land ; and they imply further that their nation will gain a prominent place in the industry and intellectual activity of some coming age.

SEC. 214. *Japanese Society, etc.*—The industry of Japan is similar to that of China, and so is the food and the architecture. Most of the dwellings are very cheap, those of well-to-do merchants not costing more than two hundred dollars, while that of a poor laborer who supports himself and family comfortably, as comfort is understood in their country, may cost fifty dollars. Every family has a separate house. Furniture is very simple. Among the common people, there are no tables, chairs, bedsteads, spring frames for beds, hair mattresses, feather pillows, costly rugs or carpets, large mirrors, or elegant bureaus. The dishes used at meals are usually of very cheap crockery, though the wealthy have costly porcelain. Food is conveyed to the mouth by chop-sticks, as in China. The dishes at meals rest on a mat on the floor, and while eating the people kneel, sit down, or rest on their haunches.

A long gown open in front, but worn so that one side laps over the other, is the principal garment of both sexes. Among the well-to-do, the material is cotton or silk ; among the very poor, hemip. Laborers frequently wear nothing save a loin-cloth. Both sexes usually go

bare-headed. A broad hat or an umbrella may give protection against rain; a parasol or fan against the sun. Straw sandals and clogs are worn on the feet.

Previous to the arrival of Europeans in their cities, nudity was not considered immodest; and now in the country, women are often bare to the waist in the presence of men. Until within a few years, the two sexes bathed together in public without clothes. Every person is supposed to take a warm bath every day, in most households all using the same tub and the same water.¹ After the bath, those who can afford it, frequently have their muscles kneaded.

In their social intercourse, the Japanese are, of all nations, the most punctiliously polite. The utmost care is taken to instruct children in the rules of saluting and addressing their elders and equals; and the adults make their practice conform to the precepts which they learned in their early years. The people are amiable, obliging, lively without being undignified, and generally happy. There is much domestic affection, and yet, like the Chinese, the kiss is not customary among them as an expression of either parental or connubial affection.

Until recently the husband did not eat with his wife and could divorce her at his pleasure; but now the wife has about the same social privileges and legal rights as in Europe. Under the laws as they were before 1850, the high nobles could each have eight concubines in addition to a wife; and the soldiers could each have two concubines in addition to a wife; but the serfs were each limited to one wife. Infanticide was a crime. The man who had no son was required to adopt one to keep up the family worship.

The nobles and soldiers had a strict code of honor,

and when one was seriously insulted, he must either kill the offender or commit suicide in such a manner as to throw the responsibility on the man who gave the insult and who must then commit suicide. If a noble was convicted of a crime, he was allowed to slay himself, and by so doing he washed out all stain from his memory and saved his estate to his children. The sentence of condemnation was read to him, and a knife ten inches long and very sharp was given to him. Thereupon, in the presence of several friends, he bared his body, and gave himself a mortal wound, cutting across his body below the navel. A friend, acting with previous instructions, cut off the head. If the victim, after gashing himself in the body, could thrust his knife into his throat, his memory was honored; and still more, if, after his throat wound, he could replace the knife in its sheath.² This mode of suicide is called harikiri or harikari; and the most remarkable application of it occurred early in the XVIIIth century, when a noble, having been insulted by a minister of state, wounded him and slew himself. Forty-five soldiers of the dead noble stormed the castle of the minister, slew him, and then sacrificed their own lives.³ That is the Japanese Thermopylæ.

From the Chinese, the Japanese copied many of their useful arts, social customs, religious ideas and words, as well as signs used in writing. Their language being polysyllabic and agglutinative, however, they use fifty Chinese hieroglyphics to mean syllables, and have other hieroglyphics for words derived from China. Of these word signs, four thousand have been adopted in Japan,⁴ but the tendency at present is to discard all save the syllabic signs.

The vocabulary of the Japanese is poor, and its agglu-

tinative grammar is unfit for the full and precise expression of literary and philosophical ideas. The defects of their tongue and mode of writing have been keenly felt within recent years by many Japanese scholars; and by none more strongly than Arineri Mori, at one time Japanese ambassador at Washington, who wrote a book advocating the adoption of a modified form of English as a second official language of his country. He proposed to change English by making all its inflections regular, and to modify its alphabet by making all the letters strictly phonetic.

SEC. 215. *Japanese Government*.—The government of Japan, until influenced in this century by contact with Euraryans, was an absolute monarchy under a hereditary sovereign called the Shogoon or Tycoon. Under him were eighteen daimios of the first class of nobles, each the lord of a province, and the smallest of the provinces paid to the daimios a revenue in rice worth \$50,000. Two hundred and thirty daimios of the second class had an annual revenue of \$25,000 or more. All the daimios are descendants of the Mikado or sacerdotal lord of the country. Every daimio is the owner of an estate in land, and under the Shogoonate, owed political allegiance to the Shogoon, with the obligation of spending part of every year with his family in the national capital, where he must attend frequently at the court of his sovereign. In times of war, he must take the field at the head of his soldiers, of whom he must maintain a number proportioned to the size of his estate.

The soldiers or samurais were a hereditary class who devoted themselves to arms, and when not in the house always carried arms. They did no agricultural or mechanical labor; but they superintended the labor of serfs.

Some of them lived at the tables of their lords; others had charge of part of the domain on which they dwelt. The serfs were compelled to obey them and give way to them. There were about a thousand samurais for every daimio, and a hundred serfs for every samurai, in a total population of more than 30,000,000.

SEC. 216. *Japanese Religion*.—The oldest and most extensive religion in Japan is Shintoism,¹ or the worship of ancestral spirits, to whom tablets similar to those used in China are dedicated in every house. Besides this domestic worship, there is a public worship of the gods in temples. The priests are few, and possess little influence. The Mikado, divine in his blood, is the hereditary high priest of the Shinto religion. Before 1868 he was the nominal head of the state but without political influence, and a prisoner in his palace where none save his wives and chief ministers under the control of the Shogoon, were permitted to see him. On rare occasions he gave audience to strangers, but then was hidden behind a curtain. His wife belonged to one of the five greatest noble families, and he had twelve concubines. If his wife had no son, his eldest son by a concubine inherited his office. Every son who did not become Mikado, and every descendant of a son in the male line, was a daimio. In 1868, the Mikado deposed the Shogoon, assumed the office of actual sovereign, abandoned the secluded mode of life, and made his sacerdotal subordinate to his political duties.

A form of Buddhism, not inconsistent with the Shintoism accepted by most of the Japanese, exacts from its adherents nothing save compliance with a few moral rules, and alms to the few bikshoos in the cities. One sect of Japanese Buddhists allows the bikshoos to marry.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

SECTION 217. *Egypt*.—Ancient Egypt from Syene, the modern Assouan, to the Mediterranean, is seven hundred and twenty-five miles long; and in the valley and delta of the Nile has an area of seven thousand one hundred square miles. The valley has an average width of about five miles, and for more than three hundred miles, this narrow strip contains all the tillable land of the country. According to Diodorus and Josephus, in their times, Egypt had 7,000,000 inhabitants, or nearly a thousand to the square mile, and almost three times as many as the country sustains in the XIXth century.

The tillable land includes the districts covered naturally by the river at its average annual rise, and those to which the water is supplied by artificial canals. A rise of twenty-four feet above low-water mark is necessary for a good crop; one of eighteen feet fails to reach the bulk of the tillable land and causes a famine; one of thirty feet drowns many of the cattle, and sweeps away many dwellings, tools, and stores of movable property. Rains being very rare and light, the country is dependent on the annual rise of the Nile for the moisture necessary for crops. There are no lateral streams, and no springs worthy of notice. Numerous canals lead the water out from the river, and dykes keep it standing on fields until the soil is thoroughly soaked, and until the fer-

tilizing mud brought down by the flood has been deposited. The annual inundation comes in the midsummer, and in ancient times if the field needed water at other seasons, it was supplied by a shadoof (a pivoted pole with a bucket at one end), or by jugs carried on the shoulder. Irrigating wheels turned by oxen, and various forms of pumps, have been introduced in modern times, but these were unknown to the ancient Egyptians, if we can accept the designs on their monuments as conveying a correct idea of their industry.

SEC. 218. *Egyptian Agriculture*.—The only occupation of a very large proportion of the Egyptian people was agriculture. They cultivated wheat, doora, barley, beans, rice, cotton, flax, hemp, indigo, garlic, onion, leek, lotus, lettuce, melon, cucumber, palm, fig, vine, olive, almond, pomegranate, peach, and papyrus. The chief implements used to prepare the soil for seeding were the plough drawn by oxen, and the hoe; but it was not unusual to sow on the mud left by the inundation, and then drive herds of goats or other animals over the field, to tread in the seed. Wheat and barley were threshed by treading out, and the grain was separated from the straw and chaff by throwing it up into the wind. The only implement for reaping was the sickle, but sometimes the grain was pulled up by the roots. There was no flail, nor machine for threshing or winnowing.

Among the farm buildings were sheds for cattle and for chariots, which latter, shaped like war chariots, seem to have been the only wheeled vehicles used on farms, and were perhaps rarely employed save to carry the proprietor over his fields. They were kept rather for ostentation than for transportation. They had small wheels with spokes, felloes, and hubs, but they had neither

metallic tires, nor metallic boxes on the hubs, nor metallic trimmings on the axles; and unless the axle and the rim and hub of the wheel have metallic protections, the vehicle soon runs with so much friction that its value for transportation is greatly diminished. The shape and size of the chariot, and the manner in which the horses were hitched to it, without collar, breast-band, or trace, rendered it unsuitable for heavy loads. The chariot was drawn by the pole fastened to a saddle, which being drawn sidewise constantly chafed the horse. The ancient Egyptians never learned to harness the horse to a wagon so that he could use his strength and speed advantageously. The ox did relatively better, for the ancient yoke is little inferior to the best of modern pattern; but the ancient ox-cart was so heavy, and its wheel rims and axles soon wore so unevenly, that the cheapest land transportation under ordinary circumstances was on the shoulders of slaves or the backs of horses, asses, or oxen. Four-wheeled wagons were known, but were used only on ceremonial occasions. Sleds drawn by oxen appear on the monuments in farm work. Asses were the most common riding animals, but the favorite conveyance was the boat, and where that was not available, the poor walked and the rich preferred the chariot. Several animals which were tamed by the early Egyptians for industrial purposes proved, after long trial, to be less valuable than kindred species kept for similar purposes, and were therefore allowed to disappear from the tame condition. Among these were several kinds of antelope and the hyena dog.

By its annual overflow, the Nile gave to its valley and delta a natural water supply more regular than that of any other large agricultural region; and the Egyptians

appreciated their advantage, for they claimed that they "obtained the fruits of the soil with less labor than any other people,"¹ and they expressed their pity for the nations dependent on the uncertain rains, which are often scanty as well as irregular in those portions of Asia and Africa near Egypt.

SEC. 219. *Handicraft*.—Among the tools of the carpenter were the adze, chisel, plane, drill, bow for turning the drill, square, level, plumb-line, and a saw shaped somewhat like a carving-knife. Glue and metallic nails, and the processes of dovetailing and veneering, were common. Among the furniture of the wealthy were platforms which served as bedsteads, wooden head-rests or pillows, tables, and chairs. The last had seats of leather, wood, or plaited vegetable fiber. Springs were not used in chairs, beds, or wagons. Large boats were made with planks fastened to a wooden frame and were used extensively for carrying freight and passengers on the Nile. The common wine-press was a bag, which was stretched horizontally and then twisted,¹ and the wine-casks were either skins or earthen jars. The arts of the cooper and turner were unknown.

Although the Egyptians constructed public works of immense magnitude, they had very few of those complicated and large implements which we call machines. All the methods of increasing mechanical power by diminishing the speed of its application were unknown to them. They had no combination of pulleys, no screw and axle, no capstan. With such appliances, twenty modern Europeans will move an obelisk that required the united force of a thousand ancient Egyptians.

The spindle and the loom were found in nearly every house. The textile materials most used were flax, wool,

and hemp. The loom was an upright frame, in which the warp was stretched vertically and the woof was pushed through with the fingers or with a stick.² Besides the material for clothing, weavers produced thick textures for rugs and carpets, strong cloth for sails, and nets for excluding gnats and mosquitoes.³ The Egyptians also made nets for catching fish and birds; and they were expert in plaiting mats and baskets. Embroidery was practiced among them and one of their materials for it was gold thread. They had numerous bright dyes and they used mordants.⁴

As early as 4000 B. C. paper was made in large quantities by cutting the stem of the papyrus into thin slices and gluing them together in long strips from six to fifteen inches wide. Such paper was cheap, durable, and convenient for writing purposes. Leather was tanned with astringent substances, and used in shoes, sandals, shields, chairs, and chariots. At least as early as 400 B. C. artesian wells were bored to a depth of seven hundred feet.⁵

When the great pyramids were built, the potter's wheel was already known to the Egyptians. Pottery was made with and without glazing, into kitchen and tableware, lamps, ornamental vases, water jars, and jars large and small for holding wine, oil, fruit, grain, flax, and fresh and salted meat. It appeared also in idols, amulets, and toys. The pottery of Egypt never equaled that of Greece in beauty of shape, color, and decoration with human figures. Tiles were made with and without glazing, and bricks were used crude and burned. The crude brick, or adobe, was a common building material and appeared in some public edifices; but when the flood reached the adobes, they soon crumbled away. These

structures could be erected with so little labor, and their contents usually had so little value, that their destruction was one of the smaller items in the loss by a flood. Roofs were usually of thatch, and floors of clay. The elegant buildings were paved with tiles or stone. There were no chimneys; windows were few, small, and without glass, but could be closed by shutters. The huts of the poor had only one story; the larger dwellings had two stories; and some of the dwellings in large cities had four or five.⁶

The arts of making glass, clarifying it with manganese, coloring it with pigments, blowing it into bottles, cutting it, and making it into imitations of various precious stones, were known before 2000 B. C. So also was the art of fusing together small rods of different colors into a large rod, which when cut across at right angles anywhere would show a flower, the name of a king, or some other interesting design. Emeralds, amethysts, turquoises, and various other gems were well known and were cut, polished, and set in metallic rings and other ornaments.

Painting was used extensively in decorating the walls and ceilings of temples and sepulchral chapels and vaults with scenes of public and private life, including battles, ecclesiastical processions, royal installations, funerals, agricultural labor, hunting with dogs, fishing, and fowling.

As Kenrick says, "The profusion with which the Egyptians employed sculpture and painting in their temples, palaces, and tombs, has no parallel in the history of art." But the art was rude. Each color was put on without shading. There was no attempt to obtain relief by the arrangement of light and shade. The drawing was equally rude. There was no foreshortening or linear perspective.

Any complicated scene showing a number of figures, was represented with the aid of ludicrous conventionalities, some portions of the design being exhibited in a bird's-eye view, and others from a portion on the same level. The drawing of a man represented his head and legs as seen from the side and his body as seen from the front. A king was represented as much larger than other people. The colors were mixed with water and glue and included three each of yellows and browns, and two each of reds, blues, and greens, besides black and white.

SEC. 220. *Egyptian Architecture*.—In much of their work, a high artistic taste was apparent. “The grace and delicacy of their floral designs [in architectural ornamentation] are still the models of our best patterns.”¹ “No one,” says Wilkinson, “can look upon the elegant forms of many of the Egyptian vases, the ornamental designs of their architecture, or the furniture of their rooms, without conceding to them due praise on this point of originality.”² Some temples of Egypt are older by many centuries and perhaps by millenniums than any similar edifices in Asia or Europe, and are the earliest buildings known to us, in which men exhibited architectural skill on a grand scale and in durable material. In these structures we find what seems to be the beginning of pillars for the support of the roof in large halls. Some pillars are square without capital, pedestal, or ornament on the sides; others are octagonal, plainly polygonal, or polygonal and fluted. The capital and pedestal appear in plain, fantastic, and tasteful forms. In the valley of the Nile we find the remote antecedents of the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders. The palm leaf and the blossoms of the lotus and papyrus are suggestions of local originality.

After seeing Luxor, Harriet Martineau wrote that

"instead of ugliness, I found beauty; instead of the grotesque, I found the solemn; and where I looked for rudeness from the primitive character of art, I found the sense of the soul more effectually reached than by works which are the results of centuries of experience and experiment."³ Sayce tells us that "the city-like ruin of Karnak, with its obelisks and columns and carvings, the huge monuments of granite that watched over the plain of Thebes, the temple of Abusimbel, hewn out of a mountain and guarded by colossi, whose countenances betokened the divine calm of undisputed majesty, were all so many memorials of Titanic conceptions and more than human pride."⁴ Although the columns are thicker in proportion to height, and nearer together, and in many respects the architectural proportion and ornamentation are less elegant than in Greece, grand effects are nevertheless obtained in many of the Egyptian buildings.

Among the numerous Egyptian statues and reliefs of men and of gods in human form, rarely do we see one that looks as if the face were a careful portrait of a model, and there is among them all not one that deserves for a moment to be classed with the great productions of statuary art. The vast majority of the Egyptian statues are works of stone-cutters or wood-carvers, not of sculptors. And yet much study was given to the human form, and plaster casts were made of the various parts of the body, to be put together in different postures.⁵

SEC. 221. *Pyramids*.—Some of the most remarkable of all stone-work was done by the Egyptians. Their notable structures preserved to our times are temples and tombs, the latter including pyramids. No royal palace, no fortification, no private dwelling, remains standing, and few of such structures are recognizable in

their ruins. So far as we can learn, the country never had a large bridge of stone or an aqueduct. Of temple ruins, the number is large but uncertain, because in many places it is doubtful whether the remnants belong to one building or to several. Of the subterranean tombs there are thousands. The stone pyramids of Egypt are the oldest of buildings, the most solid, the most durable, and the most immense results of great skill combined with great labor. Their total number now standing is sixty-two,¹ and besides there are four pyramids made of adobe. The latest were erected about 2000 B. C.; the earliest, perhaps before 5000 B. C. More wonderful than the great pyramids, in the opinion of Herodotus, was the labyrinth, which is now a mass of ruins, far less imposing than those of Karnac.

The largest of the pyramids, known as that of Cheops, at Ghizeh, near Cairo, is seven hundred and fifty-six feet square on the ground, and, as Lenormant says, it is "the most prodigious of all human constructions." It covers thirteen acres, or twice as much ground as there is in the area of St. Peter's cathedral at Rome, the largest of modern buildings. The original height was four hundred and eighty-six feet, of which fifteen feet at the top have been tumbled down, and the total contents are 3,290,000 cubic yards of masonry. The body of the structure is of cut limestone, obtained from the hills on the eastern side of the valley; the casings of the outside and of the internal galleries are of granite from Syene, more than five hundred miles distant by the course of the river. The construction, including the necessary road-making, continued for more than thirty years, and the total number of days' work done on it was, according to tradition, 2,460,000,000. This is the sum calcu-

lated from the report that 100,000 men, relieved at intervals of three months, were employed on it for ten years; and that 360,000, relieved at intervals of a year, were employed on it for twenty years, allowing three hundred days in the year for each laborer. The stone is in layers from two to five feet thick, and the blocks generally are from five to ten feet long; but many are as much as thirty feet long, five wide, and four thick, with a weight of forty-five tons each. There are some chambers and passages, but the space which they occupy is insignificant as compared with the great mass of the masonry. The date of its construction has not been ascertained with certainty, but was not later than 2700 B. C., and was perhaps as early as 4500 B. C.

The continuous employment for thirty years of a force which averaged about 270,000 men, or nearly one-sixth of the adult males of the nation, on a work of royal vanity, indicates that the country must have been very populous; that its institutions were ancient and stable; that its accumulated wealth was considerable; that its government was powerful and despotic; and that a large proportion of the people spent much of their lives in severe and compulsory toil. Although this pyramid is the greatest structure that can be traced to the reign of any one king, there is no reason for assuming that in his time the people were subject to exceptional oppression. The multitude, the magnitude, and the elaborate finish of the other pyramids, and of the temples and subterranean tombs, imply that the ancient Egyptians did not lead an idle or an easy life. No European monarch of ancient or modern times could undertake or have undertaken such a work with prudence.

Southwest of the great pyramid, and less than six

hundred feet from it, is the second pyramid, known as that of Mycerinus, the son of Cheops. It has a base seven hundred and seven feet square, and a height of four hundred and fifty-four feet, and more than 2,500,000 cubic yards of masonry. The other pyramids are smaller than these, most of them less than one hundred feet, and many less than fifty feet high. These piles of stone are so vast, and seem so well qualified to defy all destructive influences, that an Arab writer has said that while "all other things dread time, time itself dreads the pyramids."

The subterranean tombs are cut into the rock of the hills bordering the Nile Valley. At the entrance there is a chapel, from which a passage usually vertical, or sloping downwards, leads to the burial vaults, the walls of which are in many cases covered with reliefs and paintings. There the mummies of the family were kept.

Each of the great pyramids was built to be the tomb of a king, and of no other person. His wives and children were buried elsewhere, in some cases in smaller pyramids.² The burial chamber was usually in the bed-rock under the pyramid, and was carefully concealed.

Much of the stone-work, in cutting, fitting, and decorating with reliefs and hieroglyphics, was done with remarkable nicety, and this at a time when, according to most Egyptologists, steel was as yet unknown. Under the fourth dynasty, as early as 4000 B. C., "architecture already shows an inconceivable perfection with regard to the working and building up blocks of great dimensions. The passages in the interior of the great pyramid remain a model of exact joiners' work which has never been surpassed."³

"No one can possibly examine the interior of the

Great Pyramid without being struck with astonishment at the wonderful mechanical skill displayed in its construction. The immense blocks of granite brought from Syene—a distance of five hundred miles—are polished like glass, and so fitted that the joints can hardly be detected. Nothing can be more wonderful than the extraordinary amount of knowledge displayed in the construction of the discharging chambers over the roof of the principal apartment, in the alignment of the sloping galleries, in the provision of ventilating shafts, and in all the wonderful contrivances of the structure. All these, too, are carried out with such precision that, notwithstanding the immense superincumbent weight, no settlement in any part can be detected to the extent of an appreciable fraction of an inch. Nothing more perfect, mechanically, has ever been erected since that time.”⁴

SEC. 222. *Egyptian Temples*.—The temples of the Egyptians were, so far as we know, all built on the same general plan which was original with them, and has not been imitated by any modern nation. A large area was inclosed with a high stone wall, which was blank except at the entrance, where two towers about one hundred feet high, with simple architectural and sculptural decoration on their fronts, stood at either side of a wide gate-way fifty feet high. The general effect is one of much grandeur. After entering, the visitor found himself in a large court designed for the use of such laymen and processions as participated in the public ceremonies of the temple. Many of such courts were decorated with large monolithic obelisks and colossal statues of deceased kings. The obelisks varied in height from ten to one hundred and eight feet, and the diameter at the base was from one-eighth to one-eleventh of the height, while the diameter at the top

was about one-fourth less than at the base. The largest was ten feet thick at the ground, and weighed two hundred and ninety-seven tons. The largest statues were seated, and though not so high as the tallest obelisks, were much heavier. One statue of Rameses measured twenty-two feet across the shoulders, and weighed eight hundred and eighty-seven tons.

On the farther side, or rear, the court is bounded by a portico, or covered hall, sustained by many columns; and beyond the portico are the adytum or holy of holies where the most sacred image or shrine is kept, and the apartments where the priests of the temple dwell.

The towers and pilasters of the gate-ways, the outer walls, and the interior columns of the temples usually had the lines of their sides converging towards the top, and conveying an impression of great solidity. In many cases, the shafts of the columns were covered with hieroglyphics, and their capitals were carved with flowers or buds of the lotus, or the leaves of the palm, for which in the kindred Corinthian capital, the Greeks substituted the leaves of the acanthus. The Egyptian column has a height five or six times greater than its diameter, which again is equal to the intercolumnar space, proportions ungraceful as compared with the slimmer columns and wider intercolumnar spaces of the Greek temples.

Referring to the Palace Temple of Karnac, which is, perhaps, the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced by the hand of man, Fergusson¹ says: "Its principal dimensions are twelve hundred feet in length by about three hundred and sixty in width, and it covers therefore 430,000 square feet [about ten acres] or nearly twice the area of St. Peter's at Rome, and more than four times that of any medieval cathedral existing. This,

however, is not a fair way of estimating its dimensions, for our churches are buildings entirely under one roof; but at Karnac a considerable portion of the area was uncovered by any buildings, so that no such comparison is just. The great hypostyle hall, however, is internally three hundred and forty by one hundred and seventy feet, and with its two pylons it covers more than 88,000 square feet, a greater area than the cathedral of Cologne, the largest of all our northern cathedrals; and when we consider that this is only a part of a great whole, we may fairly assert that the entire structure is among the largest, as it undoubtedly is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world. . . . St. Peter's with its colonnades, and the Vatican, make up an immense mass, but is insignificant in extent as in style when compared with this glory of ancient Thebes, and its surrounding temples.

"The culminating point and climax of all this group of buildings is the hypostyle hall of Manepthah. . . . No language can convey an idea of its beauty, and no artist has yet been able to reproduce its form so as to convey, to those who have not seen it, an idea of its grandeur. The mass of its central piers, illumined by a flood of light from the clerestory, and the smaller pillars of the wings gradually fading into obscurity, are so arranged and lighted as to convey an idea of infinite space; at the same time the beauty and massiveness of the forms, and the brilliancy of their colored decorations, all combine to stamp this as the greatest of man's architectural works, but such a one as it would be impossible to reproduce except in such a climate and in that individual style in which and for which it was created."

The approach to the temple from the landing-place on the bank of the Nile was by a grand avenue.

"The road from El-Uksur to El-Karnac," says Harriet Martineau, "once lay . . . between Sphinxes standing six feet apart, for a mile and a half. Those which remain, headless, encumbered, and extending only a quarter of a mile, are still very imposing. Then came pylons, propylæa, halls, obelisks, temples, groves of columns, and masses of ruins, oppressive to see and much more to remember. . . . Here are the largest buildings and the most extensive ruins in the known world; . . . the great hall is three hundred and twenty-nine by one hundred and seventy feet, and eighty-five feet high, containing one hundred and thirty-four columns, the twelve central ones of which are twelve feet in diameter and the others not much smaller; the whole of this forest of columns being gay with colors and studded with sculptures."²

The same author writes thus of the ruins of a building known as the Rameseum at Thebes: "It is melancholy to sit on the piled stones amidst the wreck of this wonderful edifice, where violence inconceivable to us has been used to destroy what art inconceivable to us had erected. What a rebuke to the vanity of succeeding ages is here! What have we been about, to imagine men in those early times childish or barbarous—to suppose science and civilization reserved for us of these later ages, when here are works in whose presence it is a task for the imagination to overtake the eye-sight."³

A remarkable production of Egyptian architectural industry is the rock temple of Abusimbel, cut into the solid rock of a mountain-side. On each side of the entrance are four sitting human figures each sixty-eight feet high as they sit, in the highest relief, attached to the bed-rock at the back. A vestibule twenty-five feet long leads into a hall eighty feet long, half as high, and sixty-five

wide, the roof being supported by eight square columns, each with the figure of a priest thirty-three feet high in strong relief. Behind this is a chamber fifty feet square, and behind that a sanctuary thirty feet long and fifteen wide; and at the sides there are other chambers. After leaving the vestibule, artificial light must be used.

One of the notable curiosities of ancient Egypt preserved to our time, is the great Sphynx, which has been cut out of a rock which projects above the general level of the ground near the pyramids of Ghizeh. It is about seventy feet high, including twenty-eight feet in the head. The length of the body is one hundred and forty feet.

SEC. 223. *Metals in Egypt*.—Copper, tin, bronze, gold, silver, lead, and iron were known, and were produced in the country, and in adjacent regions to which Egyptian laborers were sent for the purpose of mining. Iron was less abundant and later in the date of its introduction than bronze, and some authors suppose that steel was unknown in the valley of the Nile until many centuries after the construction of the largest pyramids. As late as 1000 B. C., bronze was used extensively in weapons, tools, ornaments, and kitchen utensils, and was cast solid and hollow. Smiths had bellows without valves, anvils, pincers, tongs, punches, files, gravers, burnishers, solder and soldering irons, blow-pipes, crucibles, moulds, and earthen cores to be used in the center of castings. Vases, bowls, goblets, platters, mirrors, and the handles of swords, daggers, and falchions were of gold, silver, and bronze, elegantly shaped and ornamented with polished gems. Metallic boxes were made in many fanciful shapes, including those of mollusks, fishes, reptiles, birds, and quadrupeds. The two metals, now distinguished by the title precious, were prized as materials for ornaments of

the person, of the table, of the palaces of the great, and of the temples of the gods. They were used in rings or ingots as mediums of exchange, according to their weight, and were not coined into money until after the valley of the Nile had become subject to the Assyrian kings.

SEC. 224. *Egyptian Homes*.—When we examine the social life of the early occupants of the Nile Valley we find that the men could have any number of wives and concubines. Priests, however, were excepted from the general rule and were limited each to a single wife. The first wife in point of time had a superiority of social dignity, if not of legal right, over all taken afterwards; and among the wealthy she was often protected by a marriage contract which stipulated that if the husband should take a second wife he must pay a certain sum to his first wife's family, or return her whole dowry. This contract, in other cases, transferred all the man's property to the wife, and bound her to support him in comfort and to bury him in a manner suitable to his rank,¹ or it provided that she should be the head of the house and that he must obey her.² Greeks in Egypt were often astonished by finding the man at work in the house while the wife was attending to business in the street. She had a social freedom and industrial privilege unequaled in any other oriental country of ancient or modern times.

Her life was spent in relative ease. It was not necessary that she should give to the loom all the hours otherwise unoccupied. She could give entertainments to the husbands and wives of friendly families, and the women like the men drank wine on such occasions, and once in awhile would drink too much, as is evident from the old pictures. In many cases the name of the mother, with-

out that of the father, is given in the tomb; as if the maternal blood were the more important. There was no law prohibiting the marriage of brother with sister.

The domestic life of the ancient Egyptians seems to have been happy. In many places the husband and wife are depicted with their arms round each other's necks, and as speaking to each other in terms indicative of great regard. All children born to a man in his house, no matter whether the mother was a first wife, second wife, or concubine, inherited equal shares of the father's property. Children were numerous, and were highly prized, especially the sons, whose worship was necessary to the happiness of the paternal spirit after death. Whether it was permitted to expose infants to die we do not know; but there is no evidence of such a custom of infanticide as prevailed in many other ancient nations. Among the poor, the cost of rearing a child to adult life did not exceed \$3.25; so that after making much allowance for the greater value of money as compared with our time and country, the expense of a large family of children in ancient Egypt was not great.

Under the influence of a hot climate and of the traditional idea that the exposure of the body above the waist and of the leg below the knee is not unbecoming, clothing was scanty. Till the age of ten, children were nude. The poor man while at work usually wore nothing but a loin-cloth or a short petticoat. On ceremonial occasions this under-garment was covered by a long robe. The poor woman wore a short petticoat, and over it a gown reaching from the waist or neck to the ankles, with or without sleeves. The material of the clothing in the warmest weather was linen, and in winter, wool.

The head of the man was shaved clean, and was usually

covered with a light, close-fitting cap; in full dress, the educated man wore a wig. Women wore their hair long and in braids. There was no hat or cap for the common man or bonnet for the woman. The people were ordinarily barefooted, though sandals of leather or vegetable fiber were worn by nobles, soldiers, and some artisans. Following the example of their savage ancestors, they anointed themselves every day with unguents, using for that purpose various vegetable oils, which, for the wealthy, were perfumed. At fashionable entertainments, servants poured perfumed oils on the hair of the ladies and on the wigs of the gentlemen. Among the common ornaments were rings for ears and fingers, bracelets, armlets, and necklaces of gold, silver, bronze, and other materials. The patterns were numerous and the designs of many tasteful. Some rings had flat faces for seals, with an inscription of the name of the owner or of the sovereign.

The food of the poor consisted chiefly of doora and dates, with onions, leeks, and salt fish for variety and flavor. Besides these things, the tables of the rich had wheat, barley, beef, geese, game, grapes, and other fruits. The favorite drink of the rich was wine grown near Lake Moeris; that of the poor was doora beer, for the sale of which there were numerous shops, which were frequently visited by some patrons. The earliest lecture to a toper is preserved in the following Egyptian letter: "It has been told to me that thou hast forsaken books and devoted thyself to pleasure; that thou goest from tavern to tavern smelling of beer. . . . Thou art like an oar started from its place. . . . Thou art like a shrine without its god. . . . Thou knowest that wine is an abomination; that thou hast taken an oath that thou would'st not put liquor into thee."³

At meals, the common people sat on the floor, and men, women, and children ate together. Each helped himself from the common dish by thrusting in the fingers of his right hand. The left was considered unclean and was not used in eating.⁴ There was no fork, plate, or spoon, but there was one knife for cutting the meat. The rich had chairs, tables, and spoons.

Grain was ground by hand, and the millstones were the same in pattern as those now used in many oriental countries. The miller was a woman, and she turned the upper millstone by taking hold of a peg. Bread was leavened, and men served as cooks in the kitchens of the wealthy.

The people were fond of natural and artificial flowers. At entertainments, the servants put chaplets on the heads of the guests, garlands round their necks, and nose-gays in their hands.

There was a remarkable permanence in social stratifications and in family fortunes. Among serfs or free peasants, as among the nobles, there were occupations followed by all the males of a family through many generations. The poor nobles were provided with public office that would yield a comfortable support. There was no numerous and influential middle-class engaged in industrial occupations. Foreign commerce was not permitted until after the country became subject to alien domination; and all manual labor was servile and disgraceful.

The common amusements were mora, dice, checkers, and the chase for participants; and for spectators, music, dancing, wrestling, juggling, acrobatic exercises, and fighting with single-stick by hired performers. Ladies had embroidery as a pastime, and children had dolls and toys, among the latter, crocodiles with snapping mouths,

There was no theater, ballet, boxing match, quoit throwing, gladiatorial show, fights with wild beasts, or horse-race, nor did the men engage for pleasure in any game requiring great muscular effort, similar to cricket, baseball, or the Greek athletic exercises.

Although the life in the flesh, according to their religion, was merely a brief preparation for the future spiritual existence, the general tone of the social life, of the ecclesiastical teaching, and of the sacerdotal profession, was joyous. The exaltation of the gods did not require the humiliation of mankind. Heaven could be merited without making a hell of earth. Self-respect, a jovial disposition, matrimony, resistance to evil, and the possession of wealth, were not inconsistent with devotion. There was no sacerdotal monasticism or asceticism. Celibacy and mendicancy were not avenues to public veneration. Everybody was advised to get all possible enjoyment out of life, consistently with justice to his neighbors; and at feasts it was customary for servants to show a figure representing a mummy and remind the guests to make the best of life while they could.

A wife in her tomb thus addresses her husband: "Oh my brother, my husband, neglect not to eat and drink. Drain the cup of pleasure. Enjoy woman's love and the privilege of holiday. Follow your desire. Turn your back to worry so long as life lasts. The world of spirits is a region of darkness, of sorrow, and of deep sleep. Here we wake not; we see neither father nor mother; we care not for spouse or child. The living enjoy the refreshing water; the dead are thirsty forever."⁵

The song of King Antuf of the eleventh dynasty says: "Gratify thy desire while thou livest. Put perfumes on thy head, clothe thyself with fine linen, and adorn thyself

with jewels. . . . Gratify thy desire with all good things, whilst thou art upon the earth, according to the dictation of thy heart. The day will come when thou wilt not hear the voices of the living ; when the living will not hear thy voice. Feast in tranquillity ; no one will carry his wealth with him to the next world." The song of the Harper says : " Enjoy perfumes and song and instrumental music, and turn thy back to care. Devote thy thoughts to enjoyment in anticipation of the pilgrimage to the region of eternal silence." ⁶

SEC. 225. *Hieroglyphics*.—As far back as we can trace the life of the Egyptians, we find them in possession of the art of writing with hieroglyphics, which they used extensively for industrial, historical, and ecclesiastical records. Herodotus, speaking of their customs in his time, says : " When anything occurs, they put it down in writing, and pay particular attention to the circumstances which follow it, and if in process of time any similar occurrence takes place, they conclude that it will be attended with the same results." ¹

The hieroglyphics of Egypt were original in the country, and are the oldest, most complex, and most highly developed of all hieroglyphical systems. They are written in three styles, first, the pictorial ; second, the hieratic or easy hand ; and third, the demotic or very easy ; and they represent three classes of ideas, first, things ; second, syllables ; and third, letters.

Their hieroglyphics were at first only pictures of visible objects conveying literal ideas, as when the figure of a gazelle meant nothing but a gazelle. The next step was presumably to attach figurative as well as literal meanings to pictures, as when a gazelle might mean swift, swiftness, and to run. The third step was to com-

bine several figures using one to qualify the other, as when the figure of a god with that of a house meant a temple. Another advance was taken when some part or feature of a thing was made to indicate the whole, as when a waved line or several parallel waved lines were made to mean water. An important addition to the art of writing was made by adopting certain arbitrary signs such as a dot above a line for over, and one under a line for below. These five classes may be said to include all the word signs, which must be very numerous, extremely difficult to learn and remember, and often uncertain in their meaning. It was a great improvement to use a picture to mean not the full name of a thing but only its first syllable, and by combining a number of syllabic signs any word could be spelled. Of syllabic signs there were three hundred and fifty-five, including duplicates, in the Egyptian mode of writing, the number being much less than that of the word signs. Another step in the same direction was to use the picture to represent only the first sound, whether vowel or consonant, of its name. Thus the pictures became alphabetic signs, of which the Egyptians had twenty-five. To advance from several thousand word signs to several hundred syllabic signs, and from them to a few more than a score of alphabetic signs, were the great achievements of the Egyptians in the world of letters, and the three steps were accomplished by them alone among nations. It is very doubtful indeed whether any other nations save the Chinese and Aztecs originated hieroglyphics; and both those nations showed much less original thought in this matter.

While the Egyptians were making improvements in the ideas which they attached to the pictures, they were also advancing the method of drawing their pictures,

which, with frequent repetition, became more and more simple, until a mere conventional scratch was understood to stand for a house, which once showed its walls, door, and roof plainly. From the time when the Greeks conquered Egypt the native mode of writing fell into discredit, and before the time of Constantine, it had been entirely neglected and forgotten.

Although the Egyptians discovered the principles of alphabetic writing and had a sufficient number of alphabetic signs to dispense with ideographic and syllabic hieroglyphics, they continued to use the latter, partly because they were sacred, and partly because familiarity with them was necessary in reading and imitating the ancient records on monuments and in books. In the late days of the Egyptian monarchy, after its overthrow, so long as books were written in the old tongue, so long were ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic signs retained in common use; and a knowledge of all was required for the purpose of reading public and private records. Not only was a knowledge of the three modes of writing required in an ordinary education, but the three were often mixed up in the same document or inscription. Thus "we find a word spelled out alphabetically, a needless syllabic sign is then added, and this is followed by an unnecessary ideogram. The plan is so cumbrous as to seem to us almost inconceivable. We have letters, syllabics, and ideograms piled up one on another in a perplexing confusion. So many crutches were thought necessary that walking became an art of the utmost difficulty."²

Even when an Egyptian undertook to write alphabetically, he found himself hampered, and his readers puzzled, by the multitude of signs at his command, for he could

use any one of four hundred syllabic hieroglyphics for the letter representing its initial sound. The same mark might mean letter, syllable, or polysyllabic word; and as a consequence there was nothing equivalent to our simple alphabet, composed of several dozen signs, each with a value easily ascertainable. There was no Egyptian alphabet fit for adoption in Europe and Asia; on the basis of Egyptian signs, the Phœnicians devised one that was copied more or less closely in the writing of all the leading nations which use letters.

They had signs for each of the numerals, one, ten, a hundred, and a thousand. Thus, if they wished to write nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine, they used nine of each of their numerals, beginning with the largest and ending with the smallest. Unlike the Romans, the Egyptians had no single sign for five, or for fifty, or for five hundred.

SEC. 226. *Egyptian Books, etc.*—The ancient Egyptian books preserved to us are remarkable for the prominence given in them to ecclesiastical and ethical topics. Some of the hymns possess the merits of stately diction and highly devout spirit, but the literature generally, as compared with that of Greece, is lacking in vigor of thought and elegance of form.¹ It has no masterpiece in any class of composition, and in many classes it has no sample. Of course, we may suppose that among the books that have been lost there were some of much excellence in many different departments, but there is little satisfaction in such a supposition unsupported by the least evidence. We are told that the sacred scriptures of the Egyptians consisted of forty-two books, including two about the gods, as many of hymns, ten of liturgy, as many about the arts, eight on civil law, six on medicine,

and four about astrology. The Funeral Ritual was probably part of the ten liturgical books; all the others are lost.

The remains of the literature of ancient Egypt, including duplicates, are sufficient to fill a thousand volumes. The knowledge of a few hieroglyphics was very common. Cattle were branded, and tools and clothes marked with the owner's names; but women were not taught to read, and the artisan and peasant classes could not read much.² Some of the temples had large collections of books, and one library was called a Health Institute of the Soul. The great library of Alexandria, collected under the Ptolemies and destroyed by the Christians, had 400,000 volumes.

In their astronomical observations and in their arithmetical calculations they were inferior to the Chaldeans. They did not divide the ecliptic into the signs of the zodiac, nor the circle into three hundred and sixty degrees, nor did they have such square and cubical multiplication tables as are found on the Assyrian bricks. They knew the true meridian and the length of the sidereal year, and laid off the fields accurately after the landmarks had been covered up by the mud from the annual flood of the Nile.

Of the medicine of the Egyptians we know little. They administered purges, emetics, and clysters, and used plasters and fumigations. The prescriptions of their physicians were "made out in precisely the same way" as in modern Europe.³ The assertion that teeth plugged with gold have been found in the heads of the old mummies has been contradicted, and is not sustained by the best authorities. Notwithstanding their habit of embalming, there is no proof that they understood much

of anatomy. No picture represents a surgical operation more difficult than that of setting a broken bone.

Their musical instruments included the harp with three, five, seven, eleven, or even as many as twenty-two strings, the guitar, the lyre, the tambourine, drum, sistrum, castanets, flute, pipe, and trumpet. One of the pipes was made to contain a straw, which emitted sounds like those of the bagpipe. In many of the monuments three musicians are represented playing together, as two with harps of different sizes and one with a flute; or a harp, guitar, and double pipe; or three pipes of different lengths, indicating that they must have played treble, tenor, and bass.

SEC. 227. *Political Condition*.—About the political condition of the country, our information is not complete. According to Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Plato, the Egyptians were divided into hereditary classes or castes, but these authors do not agree with one another, or with the monuments. The four agree in making a caste of priests, and another of soldiers; but from better authority we know that “the three great classes of society, priests, scribes, and warriors, were by no means castes in the sense of hereditary succession. . . . The priest of a god was often a military or naval commander, exercised the office of scribe, and invested with the supervision of local works or local government. Public employments were monopolized by a few great families, considered by some to be an advantageous arrangement of civil government; but the key-stone of caste, the limitation of marriage to women of the same order, is unknown to monumental Egypt.”¹

Though the Greek authors mentioned in the preceding paragraph do not speak of serfs or slaves, it is probable

that the common soldiers belonged to the former class, and many of the laborers to the latter. Diodorus tells us that the land was divided into three parts, one belonging to the king, another to the priests, and the third to the army. In the absence of explanation we may assume that the share of the army was held by the high military officers, each of whom was required to maintain a certain number of serf soldiers in active service. There was also a class of free peasants. The abject submission of the many to the few is implied by the magnitude of the public monuments, the insignificance of the dwellings of the multitude, and the frequency with which the laborers were beaten by the overseers. A large part of the time of the people, not required in the production of the simplest necessities of life, was spent in building temples and tombs for the wealthy; and work of this kind must have been done under compulsion. We look in vain through the monuments and books of ancient Egypt for the mention of institutions and movements that have elsewhere been associated with popular freedom.

In the king were centralized all the powers of the government. He was the head of the army and of the church; he controlled all the political and judicial officers. But custom and religion imposed restrictions on him; before his installation, he took an oath of office in which he made certain promises, one of which was that he would not change the official year which regulated the dates of the ecclesiastical festivals. He was regarded as divine. One of his titles was "Son of the Sun." In painting and sculpture he was frequently represented with the attributes of divinity.

Private individuals were not permitted, in any case, to use violence in obtaining redress for injustice. Retalia-

tion was strictly prohibited. While the master was permitted to beat his slave, he was not allowed to inflict any serious injury. Judicial proceedings were conducted according to well-established rules and ancient customs. In important cases, the complaint, the answer, and the judgment were in writing; and written reports of cases were common. There were appellate tribunals, with fixed jurisdiction. After 812 B. C., no suit for debt could be maintained unless the obligation had been incurred in writing. The most remarkable security, and one that was regarded as certain of redemption if a debtor had the means, was the mummy of his father. The interest on a loan was not allowed to exceed double the amount of the principal. For police purposes, every person was required to report his name, abode, and occupation to the magistrate of his district.

It was the opinion of Diodorus that "this unparalleled country could never have continued throughout ages in such a flourishing condition if it had not enjoyed the best of laws and customs;" and Wilkinson² agrees with him. The evidences which the latter cites are that the people were extremely submissive to their government; that they hated and resisted alien domination; that the principles of morality were impressed upon every class with all the power of a mighty priesthood; that no merit was attached to noble birth before the gods; and that even the monarchs were subject to strict rules. The submission of the multitude was caused by their superstition and their ignorance of the use of arms. That the laws were well devised to keep many in subjection, is proved by the result; but that they were framed for the purpose of securing the happiness of the people, does not appear.

Although, in the long course of their national existence, the Egyptians sent many military expeditions to Syria and Mesopotamia, their general policy was peaceful. Their isolation made it as difficult for them to conquer as to be conquered. They always maintained, however, an army of about 400,000 men, many of whom in time of peace served as local police. The soldiers were divided into battalions, each of which had its standard of a sacred animal, which was perhaps that of a provincial god. Cities were inclosed with ditches, draw-bridges, and walls, which last had projecting angles, from which assaulting enemies could be bothered by a flanking fire.

Their military system is not mentioned with high commendation by any ancient author. They had no organization that competes in military history with the Spartan regiment, the Macedonian phalanx, or the Roman legion. Not one of their victories or generals has a great fame. They never gained a great victory or suffered a glorious defeat. The Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans conquered them without much difficulty; and in the later centuries their best troops were foreign hirelings. They never were a martial nation.

SEC. 228. *Egyptian Gods*.—The Egyptian religion was polytheistic and was distinguished from other religions of its class by the preservation of the mummy, by the teaching of formulas to be recited in the next world as aids to salvation, and by the great prominence given to the worship of living animals as representatives of the divinities. It had a worship of ancestors, an immortality at least for the good, future rewards and punishments, a comprehensive and precise moral code, and a popular devotion that was unsurpassed in the appearance and perhaps also in the sincerity of its zeal. The divinities

were innumerable, including great gods similar in general character to those of Greece, as personifications of the powers and phenomena of nature, but they were not conceived so distinctly, nor were their attributes the same in all the provinces. There is much more confusion of names and jurisdictions in the Egyptian than in the Greek pantheon. Most of the greater gods of the Nile Valley seem to have been at one time provincial divinities. The worship of the sun was very prominent; Ra, Amon-Ra, Ptah, Tum and Mentu, and even Osiris, were represented and worshiped in certain districts as the sun.

The gods were conceived as similar to men in mind and body, and were represented in sculpture and painting in the forms of men or beasts, or in figures with the head of the symbolic beast on a human body. Thus the statue of Osiris might have the shape of a man or a bull, or the body of a man with a bull's head. The entire beast is seldom used to represent a divinity; its head on a human body conveyed the idea with equal distinctness and greater dignity. In the pictures of the final judgment of the soul in the world of spirits, Horus has the head of a hawk, Anubis that of a jackal, and Thoth that of an ibis.

A prominent feature of the ecclesiastical system was the custom of worshiping three gods in conjunction, and in many cases the first was the father, the second the mother, and the third their son or daughter.¹ Each province had its own triad, which at Phile consisted of Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus; at Mermonthis of Mentu, Rata, and their son Harpara; at Esneh of Kneph, Neith, and Hakt; at Thebes of Amon-Ra, Mut, and Khonsu; at Syene of Kneph, Satis, or Juno, and Anoukis or Vesta; and at Silsiles of Ra, Ptah, and Nilus.

All classes of the people, nobles, commoners, serfs, and

slaves, were intensely devout. They were strict in observing the ceremonial laws of their faith, in paying devotion to their ancestors, and in reverently treating the sacred animals. He who killed one of the latter in its own province, even unintentionally, must die. Cities, provinces, kings, and nobles were named after the gods and the sacred animals; and thus ideas of piety were kept constantly before the public mind. Busiris, Bubastis, and Pitum were the cities of Osiris, Bast, and Tum, and the cities called by the Greeks Heliopolis, Lycopolis, Crocodilopolis, and Oxyrinchus were those of the sun, of the wolf, of the crocodile, and of a fish. The names of the great gods Amon, Ra, and Ptah appear in the titles of many kings. The ceremony of circumcision dedicated the priests and probably all the nobles to their divinities, and was one of the marks of their separation from the unclean aliens.

SEC. 229. *Osiris the Mediator*.—In some hymns the sun is represented as the omnipotent creator who appoints Osiris to mediate between him and mankind.¹ In the Book of the Dead, Osiris presides at the final judgment, and his son Horus appears as the guide and advocate of the soul on trial. Ra, Amon, and Ptah were higher in dignity than Osiris but were not so extensively or fervently worshiped. In some provinces, however, Kneph, called also Knumis, was considered the greatest of the gods.

The most popular and poetical myth of the Egyptians related the life of Osiris. It told how he came to save mankind; how he struggled against the evil spirit Typho; how he was slain by the latter; how his wife Isis obtained the corpse for the purpose of burial; how Typho stole it from her, and cut it into fourteen pieces, each of

which he hid in a different province; how Isis with great labor found them all and buried them in Phile; and how Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, conquered and punished Typho. A common but very solemn oath among the people was, "By him who sleeps in Phile." Osiris was the judge of the dead, and to a certain extent at least the equivalent of Pluto in the mythology of the Romans and Greeks. Thoth was the inventor of writing and the author of the sacred books. Neith, in her attributes, resembled the Grecian Athena, whose name if reversed with an initial and a final a has a similar spelling. Bast was the Egyptian Diana. Her temple at Bubastis had a prominence like that of the Ephesian Diana among the Greeks, and according to Herodotus attracted 700,000 pilgrims to its annual festival.

The name of a god was often assumed by a man. A favorite name for a human soul on its trial was Osiris; and the living king sometimes styled himself Horus. Thus in an inscription at Luxor, King Amenhotep speaking of himself says: "The mighty and wise Horus, who rules by justice, who has established order in his country, who holds the world in peace, who is great by his power, who has conquered the barbarous nations, the king, the Lord of righteousness, Amenhotep, the much-beloved son of the sun, the sovereign of the pure country, has had this building erected in the southern district of Thebes, and has consecrated it to Amon, the divine master of the three regions of the world."²

SEC. 230. *Sacred Beasts*.—Every god had a favorite or sacred beast. Thus the bull was the animal of Osiris, the cow of Isis, the lion of Ra, the ibis of Thoth, the hawk of Horus, the jackal of Anubis, the asp of Knumis, the scarabæus of Ptah, the vulture of Neith, the mouse

of Buto, the viper of Amon, the goat of Mendes, and the crocodile of Sebak. One god might have several sacred animals, as the bull and the antelope of Osiris; or the jackal, wolf, fox, and dog of Anubis; and one animal might be sacred to several gods, as the cow to Isis and Hathor.

Each province had its local divinity and its sacred animal, which latter must never be eaten, purposely injured, or killed in the province. The provincial temple, in some cases at least, had a divine living specimen of this animal, which was housed, fed, bathed, caressed, gratified, worshiped, and after its death embalmed. Among the beasts of which mummies have been found in modern times are the bull, cow, ram, dog, cat, fox, vulture, hawk, goose, ibis, crocodile, asp, viper, frog, fishes of several kinds, and the scarabæus beetle.

The most remarkable exhibition of animal worship in Egypt was that of the bull of Osiris at Memphis. This beast was an object of affection and of at least indirect adoration to all Egyptians. His title, in all his generations, was Apis, and the people said that the cow which gave him birth was impregnated by a god, and was always a virgin. When Apis died, the priests of his temple gave great attention to the selection of a successor, which must be a young bull, and must possess a multitude of marks indicative of his divine character.

The new Apis, having been chosen or perhaps revealed, was taken to the temple as the incarnate god, and treated with the utmost veneration and indulgence. He usually lived about a quarter of a century, and his funeral was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, the expenses of his obsequies sometimes amounting to as much as \$50,000, which sum had ten times as much relative value in Egypt then as it has in the United States now.

At Heliopolis, another bull called Mnevis was selected in a similar manner and worshiped with similar rites; at Hermonthis another bull named Pacis held a like position; and at Momemphis there was a sacred cow; but these animals had a mere local sanctity, whereas Apis was adored throughout Egypt. Alone of the sacred bulls and cows, his death was regarded as a subject for mourning along the Nile from Syene to the Mediterranean.¹

SEC. 231. *Kings and Gods*.—Religion was part of the government. By virtue of his royal office, the king was at the head of the priesthood, and on many occasions the leader in public worship. The gods did not permit the fidelity of devout monarchs to go without reward. When one of the Egyptian kings was in great danger on the battle-field, he prayed for help to Amon, who immediately responded—so we are told: “I am with thee, Ramses Meriamon. I succor thee. I, thy father, am at thy side. My hand is with thee, and is better than hundreds of thousands of soldiers.”¹

On a granite tablet now in the museum of Boolak, the god Amon thus addresses Thutmes III. at his coronation: “Come to me; rejoice thyself and admire my glory. Thou art my son who honorest me. . . . I shine in the light of the morning sun through thy love; and my heart is enraptured if thou directest thy noble steps to my temple. . . . I will distinguish thee marvelously. I give thee power and victory over all lands. All people shall feel a terror before thy soul. . . . I make thy enemies fall under thy feet. Smite the hosts of thine enemies. Thus I commit to thee the earth in its length and breadth. The inhabitants of the East and the West shall be subject to thee.”²

A priest says to the king: "Amon gives to thee his kingdom, with the crown and the throne of Hor. The remembrance of thee as king in Egypt shall endure forever. To thee Amon has given the whole world in peace. All nations shall bow before thee." The king responds: "Amon is more enraptured with me than with all the kings who have existed in this country since it was founded. I am his son who loves his holiness. . . . All nations bow themselves before my spirit. The fear of me is in the heart of the nine foreign nations."³

Shashank I. thus addresses Amon-Ra: "My gracious god! grant that my words may live for hundreds of thousands of years. It is a high privilege to work for Amon. In recompense for what I have done, grant me a long reign. Grant me welfare, health, long life, power, strength, and a prosperous old age."⁴

The gods, the religion, and the revelation of the Egyptians were national. They were exclusively for the benefit of the people of the country. All aliens were impure, hateful to the gods, and detestable to the people. Their cooking pots and the food cooked in them, their knives and the beasts slain with them, their drinking-cups, and their clothes, were unclean. An Egyptian was contaminated by marrying one or eating with one. The business of the salt-water sailor was disreputable, because it brought the Egyptian into contact with foreigners, and the sea was impure, because it was a channel of communication with the aliens.

SEC. 232. *Monotheistic Expressions.*—Although everywhere in Egypt we find proofs of polytheistic belief, there are many inscriptions suggestive of monotheism. Thus, one of the hymns says: "Hail to thee, Ra-Tum-Horus, of the two worlds, the one god, living by truth, who

makest all things, who createst all beasts and men by the glance of thine eyes. Lord of heaven, lord of earth, maker of everything above and of everything below. . . . King of heaven, lord of all gods! O supreme king among the gods; almighty god, self-existent, two-fold substance, existent from the beginning."¹

A hymn, supposed to have been written about the XIVth century B. C., says: "Glory to thee, who hast begotten all that exists; who hast made man; who hast made the gods, and all the beasts of the field; who makest man to live; who hast no being second to thee. Lord of generation, thou that givest the breath of life, that makest the world to move in its seasons, and orderest the course of the Nile, whose ways are secret. . . . He is the light of the world; he shooteth in the green herb, and maketh the corn, the grass, and the trees of the field."²

In all polytheistic countries such language is common, and is meant henotheistically. It does not signify that the worshiper repudiates the popular mythology, or denies the existence of all the divinities save one, or acts the hypocrite whenever he conforms to the rites of the established superstition. It is merely a compliance with the rules of ecclesiastical politeness; it abases the man who speaks and solicits a favor, and exalts the deity who is spoken to and solicited to grant a favor. For that occasion, to the devotee his divine patron is everything that is good and wise and powerful; and an hour later, in a new emergency, he will apply similar titles to another divinity, without any thought that he has been impious or insincere. He uses the customary language of compliment, which neither gods nor men understand literally.

Although we may reasonably presume that some of

the Egyptian priests had outgrown the popular superstition, yet no one said so in unmistakable language. The ancient literature of the country may be searched through in vain for a complete renunciation of polytheism, for the unquestionable recognition of an omnipotent Creator who looks with equal favor on all nations. The idea may have existed in Egyptian thought, but never found its way into Egyptian expression. One Egyptian sovereign, Khunaten, did partially repudiate the national polytheism. He ordered that the only great god worshiped in Egypt should be Aten, a national divinity who loved Egypt and hated other countries. Khunaten failed, but if he had succeeded his success would not have led to the establishment of monotheism. The worship of a national god is essentially polytheistic; it implies that every nation must have its own divinity, and that each national divinity shall be considered as the rival and enemy of all other national divinities.

SEC. 233. *Adoration of Ancestors.*—The highest duty of the Egyptian was to worship his ancestors, and especially those in the direct male line. The temple for this worship was the tomb constructed with special regard for this purpose, and visited by devout descendants of the dead for century after century. It was on the hill-side, with an outer chapel for worship and offerings, a sepulchral chamber excavated in the rock for the mummy, and a shaft, incline, or hall connecting this chamber with the chapel. The latter was decorated on its walls with paintings or sculptures or both; and if the deceased was a person of wealth, his tomb contained his statue. The tomb was far more costly and durable than the dwelling. The former was regarded as an eternal home, the latter as a place of brief sojourn. A common

maxim said: "Give the water of the funeral oblation to thy father and thy mother who repose in the tomb. Renew the water of the divine oblation. . . . Thy son will do it for thee in like manner."¹ One of the most malignant curses was to wish that a man should die without a son to make offerings at his tomb.

Ramses II., about 1300 B. C., thus addressed the soul of his deceased father, Mineptah I.: "Awake, raise thy face to heaven, behold the sun, my father, Mineptah, who art like god. Here am I who make thy name to live. I am thy guardian, and my care is directed to thy temple and to thy altars, which are raised up again. . . . Thou enterest on a second existence. . . . I built the house which thou didst love, in which thy image stands, in the necropolis of Abydos forever. I set apart revenues for thee for thy worship daily. . . . If anything which seems wanting to thee can be done by me, I do it for thee. Thy heart shall be satisfied that the best shall be done for thy name. I appoint for thee the priests of the vessel of holy water, provided with everything for sprinkling the water on the ground, besides meat and drink. I myself have come here to behold thy temple near that of Unnofer, the eternal king. I urged on the building of it; I clothed the walls; I did that which thou didst wish, that it may be done for thy whole house. I established thy name therein to all eternity. . . . I dedicated to thee the lands of the South for the service of thy temple, and the lands of the North. . . . I gathered together the people of thy service, one and all, and assigned them to the chief priest of thy temple. All thy property is granted in perpetuity, to keep up thy temple for all time. . . . Thou hast entered into the realm of heaven. Thou

accompaniest the sun-god Ra. Thou art in the company of the stars and the moon. . . . Come, intercede for me with Ra, that he may grant long years of life to his son, . . . that he may grant years upon years . . . to King Ramses. Well will it be for thee that I should be king for a long time, for thou wilt be honored by a good son, who remembers his father. I will be the guardian of thy temple every day of my life. . . . Thou shalt be treated as if thou wert still alive. So long as I reign, my attention shall be directed continually to thy temple. My heart beats for thee. . . . The very best shall be thy portion so long as I live, I, King Ramses.”²

In some cases the offerings were made, not directly to the ancestor, but to a god for the ancestor's benefit. Thus an inscription says: “This is an offering to the lord, Osiris, of Amenti, the great god, who dwells in Abydos. Let him grant offerings for the dead, thousands of oxen, of geese, of incense lumps, of clothes, of wine jars, of milk jars, and of all pure and sweet foods for the soul of Chalun, the priest of Amon.” Here Osiris was besought to take good care of Chalun forever and was paid for this service.³

SEC. 234. *The Mummy*.—In the opinion of the ancient Egyptians, it was a matter of vast importance to future happiness that the soul should be enabled to re-occupy its earthly body, which was therefore preserved by mummification against decomposition, and protected against destruction by being placed in a tomb designed to last as long as the earth itself. Soul and body were however not considered the only constituent parts of humanity. Sayce¹ says the Egyptians divided man into the body, the soul, and the spirit; but Birch² tells us they

distinguished the shade, the existence, and the intelligence from the soul, and the mummy from the body, so that there were five, if not six, main parts in the deceased person. The soul or spirit was represented in sculpture and painting by a figure with the body and wings of a hawk, and the head and arms of a man, this combination being designed to personify "its volatile and solar character, and its human intelligence." The spirit, under certain circumstances, could assume the forms of different beasts; but transmigration was not a dogma of the Egyptian religion.³

The proper worship of the ancestor required the preservation of the body by embalming; the construction of a tomb with a chapel; the decoration of the chapel or its hall with a record of the good deeds of the deceased; the deposition of the mummy in the sepulchral chamber with jars of food, drink, and perfumes, though these jars might be very small, and intended merely to suggest the good-will of the worshiper; and visits, prayers, and offerings of food, flowers, and perfumes at certain festivals.

The corpses of all persons whose families could bear the expense, including probably most of the freemen, were embalmed, the motive being to have the body ready to receive its soul after the lapse of a long period, which, according to one authority, was three thousand years.⁴ The process, in the hands of the most skillful operators, was so successful that the mummies have lasted four thousand years in good condition. At the funeral, which sometimes did not occur until a year after death, there was a great display of mourning, as if the loss was recent. Wailing women mourners threw dust on their heads while walking in front of the sled bearing the mummy drawn by oxen, and priests followed singing

a dirge.⁵ A picture shows us the funeral of a distinguished warrior. The mummy sled is followed by a multitude of servants with fruit, wine, ointments, flowers, cooked food, idols of various gods, the arms of the deceased, his chariot and horses, gold vases, and his decorations and symbols of office. After these came the priests with the shrine of a god, presumably that of the provincial divinity, a terra-cotta image of the deceased, and bottles of sacred liquor for libation or purification, and last of all the mourners.

All burials, at least for people dying above the delta, were in the hills west of the Nile, and not unfrequently the mummy was taken to some distant cemetery. The transportation was by boat as far as possible, and then by sled from the river bank across the valley land. The deposition of the mummy in the tomb could be prevented by an accusation of serious crime supported by proofs; but the accuser made himself responsible for his objection, and if his evidence, which must be ready at the moment, was unsatisfactory, he became subject to severe punishment and the burial proceeded. The officiating priest pronounced a eulogy on the deceased, commending him for his good qualities, and besought the gods to admit him to the abode of the blessed in the world of spirits.⁶ In some cases the priests declared that the deceased was born again, and had entered the new life, cleansed from all the impurities of the flesh.⁷

People looked forward to the future life with serious apprehension. The tombs contain many brief prayers for the dead, such as that his soul "may rest in peace," and that the "gates of heaven may open to admit his spirit." A common inscription says: "May a favorable inscription be granted in the other world, the land of the

ancient, the good and the great spirits, to the deceased who is faithful to the great god. May he advance in the blissful paths of those who are faithful to the great god. May the funeral oblation be paid to him at all the chief festivals and at the feasts of the month, the half month, and every day.”⁸

At Abydos is the tomb of Schotepabra, who, in an inscription, thus solicits the prayers of the pious: “Ye priests of Osiris in the West, in the city of Abydos, ye temple servants of the same god, ye priests of King Amonemhat III., the eternal and ever-living, and of King Usurtasen III., the deceased, and ye temple servants of the same kings, ye inhabitants of this city and every one in the province of Thinis, who shall visit this grave traveling this way or that way, be sure you love your king, be sure you glorify the gods of your country, and then will your children sit in your seat. Ye who enjoy life and do not yet know death, repeat the prayer . . . for the dead.”⁹

A prayer in the tomb of a woman says: “May she be counted as one of the elect that serve Osiris. May her soul be restored to youth with their souls, and may her body endure in the depths.”¹⁰

The future existence, as conceived by the Egyptians, was to be similar to the present, in its occupations and emotions, but its happiness as the reward of virtue or misery as the punishment of vice, were to be far more intense. The eternity and the greater acuteness of the pleasures and pains beyond the grave reduced mortality to relative insignificance. All possible terrestrial enjoyments were mere trifles as compared with the celestial. The actual was sacrificed to the imaginary. The people impoverished and enslaved their bodies to secure the

wealth and freedom of their souls. They sacrificed this life to the next.

SEC. 235. *Egyptian Morality*.—No other religion teaching a future life of rewards and punishments, and claiming control of the path of salvation, gives so much relative prominence to morality as does the faith of ancient Egypt. The trial before Osiris required such explicit declarations of innocence on all the main points of conduct, without possibility of deception, that people familiar with their mode of examination, and believing in its necessity for future happiness, must have been more impressed with it than by the sacerdotal teaching of ethics in any other religion. The virtues of the ancient Egyptians were very similar to those of Europe in the XVIIth century, before political equality and religious freedom were established principles. They recognized the duties of gentleness and politeness, of mercy and justice, of truthfulness and conjugal fidelity. Renouf¹ remarks that "the triumph of right over wrong, of right in speech and action (for the same word signifies both truth and justice) is the burden of nine-tenths of the Egyptian texts which have come down to us. Right is represented as a goddess ruling as mistress over heaven and earth and the world beyond the grave." There is no suggestion anywhere in the Egyptian books of the demoralizing ideas of sacerdotal indulgences or absolutions for crime. No wrong to mankind can be compensated by conciliating the priest. The sinner is never told that the record of a long life spent in evil shall be wiped out by an hour of credulous and terrified repentance on the death-bed. There is no hope of salvation for any save the just. The Song of the Harper who tells man to enjoy his life, tells him also to enjoy it in a manner consistent with justice:

“Think ever of the day when thou shalt start for the land whence none return. Good for thee there, will have been a virtuous life here. Therefore be just and hate iniquity. He who has loved what is right will triumph there.”²

“It was usual under the old empire [before 3900 B. C.] for the deceased to speak in his own person and commemorate all his virtues and his public services” in inscriptions on his sepulchral monument. Of such inscriptions the following is a sample: “I honored my father and my mother. I succored the afflicted. I gave bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked. I sheltered the outcast. I offered to the gods their dues, and funeral oblations to my ancestors. I gave the same treatment to the rich and to the poor. My doors were open to the stranger. I was a wise man and my heart ever loved the Lord. . . . Never did I sow hatred among men. In my day the district which I governed suffered no want, even though there was a famine in the land.”³

At Beni Hassan, the tomb of Ameni, governor of the province of Antinoë, has an inscription recording the chief incidents in his life, and the chief points in his moral conduct, all told in the first person. The last paragraph in this brief autobiography says: “I was a kind master of a gentle character, a governor who loved his city. I passed many a year as governor in the province of Antinoë. All the works for the palace of the king were placed in my hands. Also the chiefs of . . . the temples of the province of Antinoë gave me thousands of cows with their calves. I received thanks for this on the part of the royal palace, because of the yearly supply of milch cows. I gave up all the produce to the palace, and I kept back nothing for myself out of all the magazines.

The whole province of Antinoë worked for me with activity. No child of the poor did I afflict; no widow did I oppress; no land owner did I displace; no herdsman did I drive away; from no small farmer did I take away his men for my own works. No one was unhappy in my time; no one was hungry in my days, not even in years of famine. For I had tilled all the fields in the province of Antinoë, up to its southern and northern frontiers. Thus I prolonged the life of its inhabitants and preserved the food which it produced. . . . I distributed equally to the widow as to the married woman. I did not prefer the great to the humble in all that I gave away; and when the inundations of the Nile were great, then the owner of the seed was master of his property; nothing of the produce of the land was withdrawn from him by my hand.”⁴

SEC. 236. *Egyptian Gospels*.—The Egyptians had their sacred books written by the god Thoth with his own hand. Of these scriptures many portions have been lost, the most important preserved to our time being the Book of the Dead. Its divine origin did not protect it from alterations and additions, especially comments and explanations, which were inserted in the text by copyists, as if they had been portions of the original work.¹

A hymn says: “Come, O Thoth, writer of the books of the gods, . . . be my protector. Make me skilled in thy works, for they exceed all other works. He that gives himself up to them is found fit for high places. Many have wrought, and it is thou that hast wrought for them. They stand before the king; they are rich and great through thee. . . . Come then to me and be my guide.”²

The Book of the Dead or Funeral Ritual, already men-

tioned as the longest and most important relic of Egyptian revelation, is a guide-book for the soul through the dangers that beset it between the death of the body and the final judgment before Osiris. Much of it consists of talismanic formulas which the soul must repeat at certain places and addresses which it must deliver to certain divinities. These formulas and addresses were deposited in the wrappings of the mummy, where the soul should see them at the critical moments and read them off readily and effectively, that is if it did not remember them from having committed them to memory while in the flesh. The heading of one chapter says, "If this chapter is known on earth or inclosed in the sarcophagus, its possessor can enter his eternal home on any day that he may choose."³

"The ritual is, according to Egyptian notions, essentially an inspired work; and the term 'Hermetic,' so often applied by profane writers to these books, in reality means inspired. It is Thoth himself who speaks and reveals the will of the gods, and the mysterious nature of divine things to man. This Hermetic character is claimed for the book in several places, where the hieroglyphs or theological writings and the sacred books of Thoth, the divine scribe, are personified. Portions of them are expressly stated to have been written by the very finger of Thoth himself."⁴

While a virtuous life was indispensable for justification before Osiris, it was not sufficient to secure happiness in the future life. Before reaching the judgment-hall, the soul was exposed to great danger from flames, torrents, lions, crocodiles, serpents, and demons; but from all these, the pure spirit would escape with the help of amulets and the sacred texts. One chapter of the Book of

the Dead says: "If this chapter be recited over him he will go forth over the earth, pass through every kind of fire, and be safe from injury by any demon."⁵

SEC. 237. *Last Judgment*.—The Egyptians did not accept the hypothesis of one judgment-day for all mankind, after the final destruction of the world, with an omniscient and instant perception, by the divine judge, of the guilt or innocence of every human being, and with an immediate and infallible separation of the two classes to their respective destinations. Instead of this summary decision upon a concourse of countless millions at once, each Egyptian had a separate trial, and if he knew the formulas and could prove his innocence, he had a long and deliberate hearing, being allowed to plead his own case, and to show his right to admission among the blessed. The most important step in this trial was before the great judge of the dead, Osiris, who sat with forty-two prosecutors, each the representative and avenger of a special vice, and perhaps each originally the local deity of an Egyptian province.

We have an ancient Egyptian picture of this celestial court. Osiris the judge sits on his throne. Behind him are the provincial deities, as small squatting figures, many of them with the heads of the locally-sacred beasts. Before Osiris is a table or altar with offerings, and in front of that the kneeling soul, escorted by its advocate Horus, who is accompanied by Anubis, the jackal-headed god. The ibis-headed god, Thoth, the recorder of the tribunal, stands with his tablet and pencil, ready to write down the merits and demerits of the soul and the final judgment. Another figure appears, a monster ready to eat up the guilty soul after condemnation. A large scale stands ready to be used in weighing the soul, which is repre-

sented as inclosed in a vase, and on the other side of the scale is a figure of the goddess Mat or Righteousness, with a scepter and the Egyptian cross, as an emblem of eternal life.

Having been brought into the presence of the great judge, the soul said: "Oh ye Lords of Truth! Oh thou great God, Lord of Truth! I have come to thee, my Lord. I have brought myself to see thy blessings. I have known thee. I have known thy name. I have known the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of Two Truths, living by catching the wicked, fed on their blood. . . . Placer of Spirits is thy name.

"Oh ye Lords of Truth, let me know ye! I have brought ye truth. Rub ye away my faults. I have not privily done evil to mankind. I have not afflicted men. I have not told falsehoods in the tribunal of Truth. I have had no acquaintance with evil. I have not done any wicked thing. I have not made the laboring man do more than his task daily. . . . I have not been idle. . . . I have not been weak. I have not done what is hateful to the gods. I have not calumniated the slave to his master. . . . I have not caused weeping. I have not murdered. I have not given orders to smite a person privily. I have not defrauded my neighbor. I have not used false measures. I have not injured the images of the gods. I have not taken scraps from the bandages of the dead. I have not committed adultery. . . . I have not withheld milk from sucklings. I have not hunted animals in prohibited places. I have not netted sacred birds. I have not caught sacred fish. I have not stopped running water. I have not diverted water from its channel unlawfully.

I have not put out a light which should have been left burning. I have not stolen the offerings of the gods. . . . I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! . . . Let no evil be done to me in the land of Truth. I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the hall of Truth. Save me from them."

Having thus addressed the presiding judge, the soul on trial addresses by name each of the forty-two prosecutors, mentions the province or city which he represents, and declares himself innocent of the special sin under his jurisdiction. Many of these sins are among those of which he had previously asserted his innocence. Among the speeches to the associate judges are the following:—

"Oh Gaper [mouth?] of Kar, I have not waylaid!

"Oh Nostril of Hermopolis, I have not boasted!

"Oh Lion-gods of Heaven [?], I have not counterfeited rings!

"Oh Eyes of Flames of Khemmo, I have not been a hypocrite!

"Oh White Tooth of the Frontier, I have not plundered!

"Oh Eater of Hearts of—— [?], I have not conspired!

"Oh Follower of Heliopolis, I have not let my mouth wander!

"Oh Beholder of Khem, I have not polluted myself!

"Oh child of Hekh, I have not been inattentive to the words of truth!

"Oh Swallower of Khenem, I have not blasphemed!

"Oh Palace Overthrower of Uten, I have not clipped the skins of the sacred beasts!

"Oh Lord of Purity of Sais, I have not multiplied words in speaking!

"Oh Tum Sap of Tattu, I have not reviled the face of the king or of my father!

"Oh Eye in his Heart of Salu, I have not defiled the river!

"Oh Yoker of Good, of Heliopolis, I have not injured the gods or calumniated a slave to his master!

"Oh Arm-leader of Ankar, I have not despised a god secretly or openly!"

Having completed his separate addresses to the associate judges, the soul on trial thus continues:—

"Hail ye gods in the Hall of Truth, without deceit.
 . . . Save ye me from the god Aa, who eats vitals on the day of judgment. Let the Osiris [the soul] pass on. Ye know he is without . . . sin. . . . Do not torture . . . him. He lives off the truth. . . . He has made his delight in doing what men prescribe and what the gods wish. . . . He has given food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked. . . . He has given the sacred food to the gods and to the spirits. Therefore do not accuse him before the Lord of the Mummies; . . . his mouth is pure, his hands are pure. Oh . . . Lord of the Crown . . . save Osiris from the waylayers and the delusions which lead the uninstructed to defilement or annihilation. The Osiris has been faithful to the Lord of Truth. He is pure, his heart is pure."

The judges tell him to pass on, and when he does so different parts of the building, including the sill, the left jamb, the right jamb, the key, the key-hole, and the lock of the door, arrest him, and each asks him to tell its name, which he must do.

The soul thus addresses Thoth: "Place me before thee, O Lord of Eternity! I have no sins, no perversion. I do no evil. I have done what men prescribed, what the gods wished. Hail, Lord of the West! Let me pass

the roads of darkness.”¹ Thoth replies: “Go forth, thou hast been introduced. Thy food is from the eye, thy drink is from the eye. . . . The Osiris has been justified forever.”²

The soul, passing on to purgatory, where four gods in the shape of apes sit as judges, thus addresses them: “Oh great Four Apes, seated in front of the boat of the sun, sending truth to the universal lord, judging my deficiencies and my abundance, welcoming gods with the fire, . . . giving divine offerings to the gods, . . . living in truth, fed with truth, . . . abominating wickedness, extract ye all the evil out of me, obliterate my faults, annihilate my sins, and let me pass the gate of the West.”

The gods of purgatory reply: “Thou mayest go. We pardon all thy faults; we wash out all thy sins. Thou hast been cleansed of everything earthy. . . . Thou mayest pass the secret doors of the West. Thou canst come forth and go in as thou wishest, like one of the spirits hailed daily within the horizon.”

Having passed through purgatory, the soul thus addresses the gate-keepers of the gate of the highest heaven in the West: “Hail, ye gods dwelling in the West! Hail, ye lords, keepers of the gate! . . . Let me pass. . . . My soul enters your domain. I am one of ye.”

They reply to him: “Thou hast spoken truth against thy enemies, O great god. . . . He who dwells in the West serves the Osiris. He is justified in the gate like the stars.” And then, as if addressing one another, they say: “Open ye the gates; . . . prepare ye his hall. . . . Let him have the food of the gods of the gate. Let him have the head-dress which belongs to

his rank. . . . The Osiris has been crowned as the living soul of the sun in the heaven. He has made all the appointed transformations. He has been justified before the chiefs. He has passed through the gates on earth and in heaven, like the soul of the sun."

The soul says: "I have opened the gate of heaven and earth. The soul of the Osiris rests here. . . . I go in and come out as I choose." The soul appears in adoration before the throne of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and in response to his address, Osiris says: "Welcome. . . . Thou hast come, thy genius with thee. Thou art at peace in the name of Ka and Hetp. Thy genius is spiritualized under the name of Akher; he is adored under the name of Kfa. . . . I place all thy enemies under thee, everywhere. Thou art justified before the associate gods. . . . Thou hast been made a great god."

SEC. 238. *Egyptian Priests*.—The Egyptian priests were abundantly endowed by the government, and they were organized thoroughly in a number of ranks and occupations under the king, who was the chief priest. The sacerdotal office was reserved for persons of noble blood, and usually the sons of a priest followed the profession of their father; but they might also hold political and military offices. The priests were required to follow strict rules of diet, clothing, and personal cleanliness, but were not forbidden to marry. They became judges, scribes, sacrificers, temple custodians, and soothsayers. Some of the temples had augurs who predicted the future according to omens; others had oracular revelations which they delivered to applicants, and in some instances, through the mouth of a hollow statue, in which the concealed priest spoke in the name of the pretended god.¹

The higher priests and no others were admitted to a

secret society called "The Mysteries." Their rites, though carefully concealed from outsiders, were spoken of as of great importance for the life to come. It is supposed that these Egyptian mysteries were similar to the Greek Eleusinian mysteries—the latter, however, were open to respectable freemen generally—and that their main purpose was to teach the initiated the movements, words, and tones with which the spirits and god should be approached and addressed in the next world, before the soul was finally justified in the great judgment before Osiris.

The ecclesiastical ceremonies included prayer, vocal and instrumental music, dancing, processions, incense burning, decoration of the idols with jewels, fine cloth, and garlands, and of the temples with banners, sacrifices of beasts, and offerings of vegetable food, and of fermented liquors. In their public worship the high priests wore a sacerdotal costume, including miter-like caps. When praying, they raised their hands and turned their palms outward.² In their processions, they carried the shrines of their gods, sometimes as many as sixteen priests combining to support one of these burdens. The shrine, the portable home of the god, and the shelter of his small idol, was a square wooden box bearing the decoration of the scarabæus³ or the goddess Ma, either of which there had outstretched wings. As a support, the shrine rested on a boat or sled, suggesting the boat or sled used for moving the heavy mummy of the dead man to his final resting-place.⁴

The chief feature of worship was the feeding of the gods with meat by sacrificing brutes, for which every temple had its altar. The legs were usually taken off, to be eaten by the priests and the worshiper; the body,

after having been disemboweled, was filled with bread, figs, honey, etc., and burned. Human sacrifice is not mentioned on the monuments or in the books of the Egyptians, nor did the Greeks find any evidence that it was ever practiced in the valley of the Nile; but an unmistakable trace of its existence there is found in the seal on an ox designated for sacrifice. This is the figure of a man with his hands bound behind him, and a knife pointed at his throat.⁵

There was no sacred day, save as an annual festival, no preaching or reading from sacred books to the people at brief intervals, no sacred building suitable for congregational worship, and no parish priest supervising the intellectual, moral, social, and charitable affairs of his district. When the layman needed supernatural aid or advice, he took a beast to the temple, where the priest sacrificed it, and made a prayer for the aid needed, inspected or interpreted the omens or lots, or announced the divine oracles; and such offerings three or four times in the year might be the man's only participation in the worship of the great gods.

The laying of the corner-stone of a great temple and the final dedication of the completed building were occasions of much ecclesiastical display. An inscription commemorating the consecration of a temple says, "The king makes a gift of the house to thee his god;" and the divinity responds by promising long life and dominion over all countries to the monarch.⁶

SEC. 239. *Egyptian Antiquity*.—Ancient Egypt enjoyed a long period of peaceful prosperity, unequalled in its length by any other country save perhaps China. In more than forty centuries, it suffered no serious revolution in blood, language, religion, or system of government.

Several times it became subject to foreign rulers, but these adopted the manners, customs, tongue, and faith of their subjects, so that the only notable change was one of dynasty.

Until after the rise of Christianity, there was no ecclesiastical persecution or war in Egypt. Dislike of alien religions stimulated the people to resist alien dominion, but it was not the primary motive of any important military movement. When they invaded Western Asia, they did not attempt to establish the Egyptian religion there; nor did the Arabian, Assyrian, or Persian conquerors attempt to suppress the ancient forms of Egyptian worship, or to introduce any new priesthood or erect temples of a different faith in the valley of the Nile.

The only notable project of religious change or reform was undertaken in the XVth century B. C. by Amenhotep IV. (Khunaten), who seems to have been a thorough Egyptian in blood, education, and sentiment. He limited his adoration to Aten, the god of light, and undoubtedly wished to establish a monotheistic faith and worship; but he did not persecute those who thought differently, and his projected reform died with him.¹

The Egyptians claimed to be the oldest of nations. Their traditions, extending back more than 10,000 years, receive at least partial confirmation from the settled condition of the political and ecclesiastical institutions at the date of their oldest monuments, from the great change in the height of the inundation of the Nile after they began to keep their records, and by the rise of the Nile Valley, as evinced by the finding of pottery deep below the surface, and by the deposit of many feet of sediment around the bases of many monuments. Herodotus says:

“When Hecateus, the historian, was at Thebes [about

480 B. C.] and, discoursing of his genealogy, traced his descent to a god in the sixteenth ancestor, the priests of Jupiter [Amon] did to him exactly as they afterwards did to me, though I made no boast of my family. They led me into the inner sanctuary, which is a spacious chamber, and showed me a multitude of colossal statues in wood, which they counted up and found to amount to the exact number which they had said, the custom being for every high priest, during his life-time, to set up his statue in the temple. As they showed me the figures and reckoned them up, they assured me that each was the son of the one preceding him. . . . Their colossal figures were each, they said, a piromis [man] born of a piromis.”²

“They [the Egyptians] told me that the first man who ruled over Egypt was Men [Menes] and that in his time all Egypt except the Thebaic canton [the valley north of the southern point of the Delta] was a marsh, none of the land below Lake Moeris then showing itself above the water. This is a distance of seven days’ sail from the sea up the river.”³

“They [the Egyptian priests] declare that from their first king to this last-mentioned monarch, the priest of Vulcan [Sethos, about 690 B. C.], was a period of three hundred and forty-one generations; such, at least, they say was the number both of their kings and of their high priests during this interval. Now three hundred generations of men make 10,000 years, three generations filling up the century; and the remaining forty generations make thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole number of years is 11,340 [it should be 11,366 $\frac{2}{3}$], in which entire space, they said, no god had ever appeared in a human form; nothing of this kind had happened

under the former or under the later Egyptian kings. The sun, however, had within this period of time on four several occasions moved from his wonted course, twice rising where he now sets, and twice setting where he now rises." ⁴

This last sentence has been a puzzle to scholars. Their most probable explanation of it is that it had its origin in a misunderstanding of a statement that the heliacal rising of Sothis or Sirius on the 28th of July had been observed four times by astronomers, and as the interval from one such rising to another is fourteen hundred and sixty years, these observations would carry back the records of the Nile Valley four thousand three hundred and eighty years beyond the beginning of the Sothic cycle in which Herodotus lived, that is, to 5700 B. C. In the works of that author there are several passages suggestive of the antiquity of Egypt. He says, "Almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt." ⁵ "The Egyptians were also the first to introduce solemn assemblies, processions, and litanies to the gods, of all which the Greeks were taught the use by them." ⁶

Diodorus reported that four hundred and seventy-nine kings had reigned in Egypt before Cambyzes, and this number, with an average of four reigns to a century, would carry the foundation of the monarchy back to 11,700 B. C. Plato wrote of Egyptian works of art 10,000 years old still existing in his time, and he said that the Egyptian priests had told Solon, "You Greeks are always children."

One of the evidences of the great antiquity and of the indigenous origin of Egyptian culture, is found in the fact that the language, like that of China, has no gram-

matical inflection, and that the same word may be noun, adjective, or verb, according to its position in the sentence. The early adoption of a mode of writing seems to have acted as a check on the growth of the art of speaking.⁷

All Egyptologists admit that before 1000 B. C. no Egyptian date can be fixed with entire accuracy, and they differ much in their approximate estimates of the dates before 2000 B. C., the differences between high authorities amounting in some instances to more than a dozen centuries. Mahaffy, who is one of the latest scholars, and whose opinions are usually based on careful research and judicious estimation of evidence, places the Old Empire from Menes to Ptahhotep, and, including the first five dynasties, between 5000 and 3900 B. C.; the Middle Empire, including four dynasties, from the eleventh to the fourteenth, between 3050 and 2400 B. C.; and the New Empire, including fourteen dynasties, from the eighteenth to the thirty-first, between 1700 and 340 B. C. At the end of the Middle Empire, Egypt became subject to the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, who seem to have been Arabs, and who held possession of the throne for five centuries or more. The monuments and books tell very little about these rulers; indeed, if it were not for information from foreign sources, we should not understand the references made to them by the inscriptions in the valley of the Nile. They seem to have adopted the religion, customs, and ideas of the Egyptians. Perhaps it was while they were in power, and perhaps not until afterwards, that the Egyptians began to invade Syria and Mesopotamia, which they ravaged repeatedly, their most successful expeditions being in the XVth and XIVth centuries B. C. In the Xth century there

were several sovereigns with Assyrian names, Shashank, Tiglath, Sargon, and Nimrod (though the Egyptian spellings were different from these), who were sons of an Egyptian king by an Assyrian wife. Having been born and bred in the valley of the Nile, they were true Egyptians. Not long after the time of these Egyptians with foreign names, the Assyrians conquered the country, but their rule was disturbed by revolts, and they were soon expelled. The land, however, never regained perfect peace and prosperity under its old institutions. Cambyzes with his Persians became master in 527 B. C., and Alexander with his Greeks in 332 B. C., after which no ruler of the ancient blood sat on the throne.

SEC. 240. *Egypt's Place*.—The situation of Egypt was favorable to the rise of an indigenous culture. In early antiquity, before armies and fleets had been organized and well prepared for distant expeditions, the valley of the Nile was not easily reached by any large military force from abroad. There was a desert on the east and another on the west. To the north lay the sea, and to the south lay a torrid region not favorable to the growth of a formidable military power. Protected by her isolated position, Egypt grew through many centuries with little interference by foreign invasion.

Although it is probable that the Egyptians made many inventions, yet we have no conclusive evidence that any important useful art originated among them. They may have learned from other nations to smelt copper, tin, and iron from their ores, to quarry and cut stone, to erect buildings with lime mortar, to use the square, level, and plumb-line, to irrigate fields, and to manage large herds of domestic animals. The only

feature of Egyptian industry not found in very early times in Western Asia was the artesian well.

The most notable original contribution of Egypt to culture was a comprehensive system of hieroglyphics or word signs, which were afterwards developed into syllabic signs, and then into primary sound signs. The Chinese also invented word signs, as did the Aztecs, with perhaps the suggestion from some person who had seen or heard of the hieroglyphs in the old world; but the people in the Nile Valley are entitled to the credit of having first devised an alphabet, though they did not reduce it to the simplest form and use it exclusively. For that reduction and exclusive use we are indebted to the Phœnicians.

In their sculpture and architecture the Egyptians were original, and in the latter they developed an impressive national style. The Egyptian religion has many original features, including the ritual of the future life, the elaborate system of animal worship, and the importance to a future life of a mummy. But these novel religious conceptions have not been adopted in other countries, and have been of no value to general culture.

Coming next, in this respect, to the Menu Hindoos, the ancient Egyptians had a powerful priesthood and an oppressive religion. The common people were held in the most complete subjection, with the aid of the national superstition, which consumed a large part of their energies, and gave them little in return. Their government was despotic, their army weak, their literature and art without high merit.

CHAPTER XV.

THE HINDOOS, ETC.

SECTION 241. *Primitive Aryans*.—Before considering the Hindoos, the main subject of this chapter, let us take a glance at the primitive Aryans, the ancestors of the Hindoos, Persians, Medes, Armenians, Afghans, Belooches, Phrygians, and Circassians in Asia, and of the Greeks, Latins, Celts, Teutons, and Slavonians in Europe. We cannot be indifferent to the blood from which are descended the nations that in the past have played the greatest parts in the history of the world; that in the present century occupy or dominate over most of the temperate regions of the globe; and that, for many centuries to come, will continue to lead all other branches of the human family in industry, social refinement, wise government, enlightened religion, and polished literature.

“The Aryan nations who pursued a northwesterly direction, stand before us in history as the principal nations of northwestern Asia and Europe. They have been the most prominent actors in the great drama of history, and have carried to their fullest growth all the elements of active life with which our nature is endowed. They have perfected society and morals; and we learn from their literature and works of art, the elements of science, the laws of art, and the principles of philosophy. In continual struggle with each other and with Semitic and Turanian races, these Aryan nations have become the

rulers of history, and it seems to be their mission to link all parts of the world together by the chains of civilization, commerce, and religion.”¹

Our knowledge of the primitive Aryans is derived almost exclusively from the study of the languages of their descendants. These tongues form a distinct linguistic family differing from all others in their modes of inflecting words and combining them in sentences, and also in their fitness for giving expression to the leading classes of human thought and emotion with precision, fullness, force, brevity, elegance, and dignity.

When we compare the words used by the Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Latins, Teutons, Celts, and Slavonians, to express some of the most common ideas, we find that notwithstanding some difference in spelling, they are substantially the same and must have come from a common source. This identity in speech implies that all those ideas were familiar to the primitive Aryans. By similar evidence we know that they had horses, sheep, goats, and pigs; that they burned pottery, wove cloth of wool and hemp, built boats, worked in gold, silver, copper, and bronze; they had lamps, and windows in their houses, they tilled the ground with hoes and ploughs, had ox-yokes and ox-carts, milked their cows, drank mead, ornamented themselves with rings, bracelets, and necklaces, made music with the flute, trumpet, and drum, and that they fought with sword, bow, spear, and shield.

“Many words still live in India and in England that have witnessed the first separation of the Northern and Southern Aryans, and these are witnesses not to be shaken by any cross-examination. The terms for god, for house, for father, mother, son, daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree, identical in all

the Indo-European idioms, are like the watchwords of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger; and whether he answers with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognize him as one of ourselves. Though the historian may shake his head, though the physiologist may doubt, and the poet scorn the idea, all must yield before the facts furnished by language."²

That they were an intellectual people is proved by the possession of many terms for abstract ideas, including thought, will, memory, and soul. They established and framed the essential forms of the original grammar of inflected speech, which has reached its highest development in the literature of the Aryan nations.³

As to the time when the primitive Aryans began to divide, and as to the region which they occupied before they separated, there is no conclusive proof. Perhaps the preponderance of authority as to the date is in favor of 4000 to 3500 B. C., and as to the place, in favor of Bactria, but the latter point is very doubtful. Much can be said in favor of the supposition that the original home of the primitive Aryans was in Southern Russia. Wherever that home was, it was a center from which a dozen conquering migrations to different regions led to the establishment of as many Aryan nations and tongues.

Some authors have described the society of the primitive Aryans as divided into patriarchal families, each including a number of adult males with their wives and children, under a patriarch who might be the chief or a sub-chief in a masculine clan. In this system, which prevailed in various Aryan nations, including the Celts, and still exists among the Slavonians and Hindoos, the individual owns no property in land, houses, or herds. These belong to the family, clan, or village. In several Aryan

nations, however, we find traces of the feminine clan, which could not have existed with or after the patriarchal family. As we are unable to prove that the feminine clan disappeared among the primitive Aryans before they began to separate, so we cannot safely assert that the patriarchal family was part of their common social system.

SEC. 242. *Hindostan*.—Hindostan, or India, reaches from the eighth to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and has an area of 1,300,000 square miles. Its soil generally is fertile, and well situated for cultivation and irrigation. The streams are numerous and large, and rains are abundant. The supply of snow in the Himalayas is unsurpassed in extent and depth. Except in those mountains, the climate is tropical or subtropical, and not conducive to either mental or physical energy. The total population is about 200,000,000, of whom 160,000,000 are believers in the Brāhminical religion, and perhaps an equal number are predominantly of Aryan blood.

The earliest inhabitants of Hindostan known to history were the Dravidians, a dark-skinned people, apparently of the black race, whose descendants are now numerous in the southern part of the peninsula, and are also found in Ceylon. At some remote time, probably as early as 3500 B. C., Aryans coming from the northwest invaded and conquered the basin of the Indus, established there their laws, customs, language, and religion, and enslaved the surviving Dravidians. At a later time the descendants of these Aryans conquered the remainder of the peninsula.

Since a remote time, the population has been so dense that their food has been almost exclusively vegetable. The most productive cereal in many of the valleys is rice, which contains a small proportion of nitrogen, and gives

relatively little nourishment to the muscles. Climate and diet contributed to diminish the energy which other Aryans have shown in colder countries, and which these doubtless had when they first invaded the basin of the Indus.

SEC. 243. *Vedic Hindoos*.—The Aryan conquerors of the Indus basin composed a series of hymns, of which about a thousand of unknown authorship and date, preserved for centuries without the aid of writing, and still in existence, make up the Rig Veda, the oldest sacred book of the Brahmins. Many of the hymns of the Rig Veda may have had their origin as late as 1500 B. c., and perhaps none were reduced to writing before 800 or 600 B. c.; but these dates are suggested only as the results of surmise. The Vedic hymns are the only sources of information about the condition of those Aryans who conquered the non-Aryan occupants of the Punjab. Rice and the Ganges are not mentioned, and therefore we are led to infer that when the hymns were written the Aryans had not yet left the basin of the Indus.¹

Like all other branches of the early Aryan stock, they were a martial, aggressive, and conquering people. Their position as invaders and conquerors improved their drill and increased their military efficiency. The activity and energy of their Northern blood may have adhered to them for many generations, and was perhaps strengthened by successive migrations. Before reaching Hindostan, they had presumably been familiar with the hereditary classes of nobles, freemen, and slaves, but whether the two latter classes were included among the invaders is uncertain. The first expeditions, undertaken when the country which they hoped to conquer was not well known, and when the result of their venture was considered

doubtful, would be made by none save the nobles or professional warriors. There must also have been a class of men who devoted themselves to ecclesiastical business and composed and preserved the hymns, prayers, and formulas for controlling the divinities. There is nothing to indicate that the priesthood had become a separate hereditary class.

The wealth of the people was mostly in cows, from which they derived the names of many plants, birds, and other things, and also those of the principal divisions of the day. They undertook many plundering expeditions to capture the herds of their enemies. "The gift of a cow was a mark of honor reserved for notable occasions, such as the entertainment of an honored guest, the marriage of a daughter, or the death of one of the family, when a cow was slaughtered on the funeral pile. Finally, the simple fancies of the people found suggestions of their precious domestic animal in the grand phenomena of nature. For them the clouds were celestial cows which nourished the earth with their milk; and the stars were a luminous herd led across the firmament by the solar bull."²

SEC. 244. *Vedic Religion*.—The Vedic Hindoos had a distinct idea of a continued life after death; a life in which ancestors and relatives would be recognized; a life with joy and sorrow; a life with rewards for the good and punishment for the bad. Yama was the god who ruled over the realm of spirits, where the good soul appeared in a purified and glorified body. Wolves and dogs beset the path of the new-comer, but if he had lived a devout life, Yama would drive them off. There were regions of brightness and delight for the blest, and pits of darkness for the evil-doers and contemners of the gods.

The gods were numerous, most prominent among them being personifications of fire or Agni, the sky or Varuna, the earth, the sun, the moon, the dawn or Ushas, and the storm winds or Maruts. Besides these great gods, worshiped publicly, were the ancestral divinities adored in every household. Fire, being used in most of the ceremonials of worship, was considered one of the chief emblems of divine power, and was the divinity nearest and dearest to the people. Next to fire were Varuna the sky and Mitra the sun. Worship was paid by the sacrifice of animals, by offerings of vegetable food, by libations, prayers, hymns, and processions. There was no temple; no altar save the family hearth; no system of public worship. The most precious sacrifice was that of a horse; the most precious libation, the fermented juice of the soma, and when offering it to the gods, the worshiper partook of it and enjoyed its exhilaration.

The corpse was sometimes buried,¹ and sometimes burned; and the widow might die on the funeral pyre of her husband if she wished; but the Veda did not demand that she should sacrifice herself in this manner.

The general tone of the Rig Veda is joyous. The people are prosperous. They are not yet overcrowded. The fears of a future of miserable transmigration have not settled down on them. They have not lost their skill in arms. They look forward with confidence to new conquests, and they expect as much from their gods in war as in peace.

In the Rig Veda we find a number of highly poetical myths, which, in the delicacy of their conception, and the beauty of their phraseology, have no equals save in Greece; and indeed it is evident from a comparison of the myths of the two countries, that many must have

come from a common source, and that source the spirit of a people endowed with a very fertile imagination and a refined taste. The following hymn to Aurora is from the Rig Veda :—

“The fair and bright Ushas [Eos, Dawn] with her bright child [the sun] has arrived. To her the dark night has relinquished her abodes; kindred to one another, immortal, alternating Day and Night go on changing color. The same is the never-ending path of the two sisters, which they travel, commanded by the gods. They strive not, they rest not, the prolific Night and Dawn, concordant though unlike. The shining Ushas, leader of joyful hymns, has been perceived. She has opened for us the doors of the sky; setting in motion all moving things, she has revealed to us riches. Ushas has awakened all creatures, . . . arousing one to seek royal power, another to follow after fame, another for grand efforts, and another to pursue as it were his particular object. Ushas awakes all creatures to consider their different modes of life. She, the daughter of the sky, has been beheld breaking forth, youthful, clad in shining attire, mistress of all earthly treasures. Auspicious Ushas, shine here to-day.”

In one of the hymns the worshiper prays for “strength, glorious, invincible in battle, brilliant, wealth-conferring, praiseworthy, known to all men.” The prayers solicited rapid increase of herds, abundant crops of grain, and all forms of riches, “wealth durable, rich in men, defying all onslaught, wealth a hundred and a thousand-fold always increasing.” It was clearly understood that the benefits of the adoration were to be reciprocal. The devotee and the god had made a compact for their mutual advantage.

Each owed a duty to the other, and the priest did not neglect to remind the divinity of his obligation, and even to suggest that he was shirking his task. Thus he says: "If you, sons of Prisni, were mortals and your worshiper an immortal, then never should your praises be unwelcome, like a deer in a pasture-field, nor should he go on the path of destruction."³ Another Vedic poet says:⁴ "Were I Indra, like thee, the sole lord of wealth, the singer of my praises should be rich in wealth."

SEC. 245. *Vedic Hymns*.—Here are copies of Vedic hymns:—

"Giver of life and immortality,
One in thy essence, but to mortals, three;
Displaying thine eternal triple form
As fire on earth, as lightning in the air,
As sun in heaven. Thou art the cherished guest
In every household—father, brother, son,
Friend, benefactor, guardian, all in one.
Deliver, mighty lord, thy worshipers,
Purge us from taint of sin; and when we die,
Deal mercifully with us on the pyre,
Burning our bodies with their load of guilt,
But bearing our eternal part on high
To luminous abodes and realms of bliss,
Forever there to dwell with righteous men.

"Behold, the rays of Dawn, like heralds, lead on high
The Sun, that men may see the great, all-knowing God.
The stars slink off like thieves in company with Night,
Before the all-seeing eye, whose beams reveal his presence,
Gleaming like brilliant flames to nation after nation.
Surya, with flaming locks, clear-sighted god of day,
Thy seven ruddy mares bear on thy rushing car.
With these thy self-yoked steeds, seven daughters of thy chariot,
Onward thou dost advance. To thy refulgent orb
Beyond this lower gloom, and upward to the light
Would we ascend, O Sun, thou god among the gods."¹

"What god shall we adore with sacrifice?
 Him let us praise, the golden child that rose
 In the beginning, who was born the Lord—
 The one sole Lord of all that is—who made
 The earth and formed the sky, who giveth life,
 Who giveth strength, whose bidding gods revere,
 Whose hiding-place is immortality,
 Whose shadow, death; who by his weight is King
 Of all the breathing, sleeping, waking world.
 Where'er let loose in space, the mighty waters
 Have gone, depositing a fruitful seed,
 And generating fire; there He arose
 Who is the breath and life of all the gods,
 Whose mighty glance looks round the vast expanse
 Of watery vapor—source of energy,
 Cause of the sacrifice—the only God
 Above all gods."²

Creation is thus described:—

"In the beginning there was neither naught nor aught;

 There was neither death nor immortality;
 There was neither day nor night, nor light nor darkness,
 Only the existent One breathed calmly, self-contained.
 Naught else but he there was—naught else above, beyond.
 Then first came darkness hid in darkness, gloom in gloom;
 Next all was water, all a chaos indiscrete,
 In which the One lay void, shrouded in nothingness.
 Then turning inwards, he by self-developed force
 Of inner fervor and intense abstraction, grew.
 First in his mind was formed Desire, the primal germ . .
 Productive, which the Wise, profoundly searching, say
 Is the first subtle bond, connecting Entity
 With Nullity."³

A great first cause is recognized henotheistically:—

"I see thee, mighty Lord of all, revealed
 In forms of infinite diversity.
 I see thee like a mass of purest light,
 Flashing thy luster everywhere around.
 I see thee crowned with splendor like the sun,
 Pervading earth and sky, immeasurable,

Boundless, without beginning, middle, end;
 Preserver of imperishable law,
 Spirit everlasting; the triple world
 Is awe-struck at this vision of thy form,
 Stupendous, indescribable in glory.
 Have mercy, God of gods; the universe
 Is fitly dazzled by thy majesty,
 Fitly to thee alone devotes its homage.”⁴

“The mighty Varuna, who rules above, looks down
 Upon these worlds, his kingdoms, as if close at hand.
 When men imagine they do aught by stealth, he knows it.
 No one can stand, or walk, or softly glide along,
 Or hide in dark recess, or lurk in secret cell,
 But Varuna detects him, and his movements spies.
 Two persons may devise some plot, together sitting,
 And think themselves alone; but he, the King, is there—
 A third—and sees it all. His messengers descend
 Countless from his abode, forever traversing
 This world, and scanning with a thousand eyes its inmates.
 Whate’er exists within this earth, and all within the sky,
 Yea, all that is beyond, King Varuna perceives.
 The winkings of men’s eyes are numbered all by him;
 He wields the universe as gamesters handle dice.”⁵

One of the hymns has this prayer for a happy future life: “Where there is eternal light, in the world where the sun is placed, in that immortal, imperishable world, place me, O Soma! Where King Varvasvata reigns, where the secret place of heaven is, where the mighty waters are, there make me immortal! Where life is free, in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant, there make me immortal! Where wishes and desires are, where the bowl of the bright Soma is, where there is food and rejoicing, there make me immortal! Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where the desires of our desire are attained, there make me immortal!”

The hymns here quoted are decidedly superior in

merit to the bulk of the Rig Veda. Max Müller tells us that much of it is artificial, and that if we expect to find in all its parts high poetical diction, striking comparisons, and bold combinations, we shall be disappointed.⁶ Many of the hymns are "childish in the extreme, tedious, low, and commonplace."⁷

SEC. 246. *Hindoo Literature, etc.*—The greatest achievements of the Hindoos have been of a literary character, perhaps because all other classes of people were made slavishly subservient to the students or priests. The ancient language was one that was well adapted for the expression of the widest range of ideas with force, elegance, and precision.

"The Sanscrit is not only more copious in grammatical forms than the Greek or any other tongue, but more regularly derived throughout, from roots within the language itself; and the reason of this is that the people speaking it were earlier settled in their preappointed habitations, passed through a less interrupted development, and were exposed to fewer invasions from abroad than their westward-marching brethren. Besides this, when they first moulded their social and political organizations, they introduced into their fundamental institutions certain principles of permanence which gave such durability to their legislative and religious system, that it has undergone few and slight changes, except a single great religious schism, for more than four thousand years."¹

Much progress was made at a very remote age in the science of language, and of the art of literary composition. "The Sanscrit system of accentuation is identical with that of the Greek, . . . and its principles were discussed and settled by Sanscrit grammarians two cent-

uries before the time of Aristophanes, the Greek grammarian to whom the first systematic treatment of the subject has been attributed.”²

The Hindoos deserve credit for making the first grammars and dictionaries, for thinking out the first systems of metaphysical philosophy, and for originating many religious ideas, which afterwards found extensive acceptance in other countries. They anticipated the Christians in accepting the doctrine of an incarnate divinity, who assumed the human form for the purpose of saving sinners; and they elaborated the most comprehensive and precise theory of revelation.³

In grammars and dictionaries the Hindoos were far in advance of the Greeks and of all other nations, with the exception perhaps of those in the basin of the Euphrates. Their sacred poetry is unequalled in excellence, and the revelations surpass all others in quantity. The Rig Veda is about as long as the Iliad; the Ramayana is nearly twice as long; the Mahabarata, more than ten times as long; and the Puranas, in the aggregate, a hundred times as long. Besides these, there are many others, so that to read all the sacred scriptures of the Brahmins is no light task even for a person familiar with the tongues and dialects in which the oldest copies are written.

All these works have the tone of poetry rather than of prose, of fiction rather than fact, of extravagance and metaphysical subtlety rather than of simplicity and direct statement.⁴

Much of the Hindoo poetry possesses high literary merit, and among its greatest works are the Ramayana and the Mahabarata, from which latter several quotations will appear in later sections of this work. Among the

great national epics, the *Iliad*, *Shahnameh*, *Nibelungen Lied*, and *Kalavala*, the *Mahabarata* deserves the second place in literary merit, and in popular interest and influence in modern times the first place.⁵

As for historical composition, there is none among the older books of Hindostan, or at least none that deserves to be compared for a moment with the writings of the Greek and Roman historians. The favorite subject of study seems to have been the human mind, in various phases, many of which led the authors into abstract speculation. The "*Arabian Nights*" and "*Æsop's Fables*" are copied from the ancient books of the Hindoo.

Two very important inventions in arithmetic are the abacus and the Hindoo numerals. The abacus, or counting-board, has separate columns for units, tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, and sliding balls on rods to indicate the number of each class. The value of the ball depends on the column to which it belongs. The same principle of positional value is the main idea in the Hindoo, or, as they are often called, the Arabic numerals. The abacus was probably Chinese, but possibly Hindoo in its origin;⁶ the numerals of positional value were almost certainly Hindoo.

Several centuries before the Christian era, the Hindoos had a system of musical notation, and the word "*gamut*" is supposed to come from the Hindoo word "*gama*," a musical scale.⁷ But their music was no better than that of many nations which had no method of recording tones.

Before 600 B. C. the Hindoos had no architecture worthy of note. They erected no splendid temples, tombs, palaces, castles, or fortifications. The Buddhists seem to have founded a national architecture, in which the most peculiar structures are rock temples, Hindoo

pagodas, and topes. The rock temples are excavated in the bed-rock of hill-sides, and are wonderful productions of toil, but there is neither elegant exterior nor comfortable interior. To make the temple of Ellora, more than 50,000 tons of rock were excavated, and dumped down the hill.⁸ The Hindoo pagodas approach the pyramid in shape, being much larger at the base than at the top, and gradually decreasing in length and breadth, which are nearly equal with elevation. The most splendid Hindoo pagoda—that at Tanjore—has a base eighty feet square and a height of two hundred feet, divided into seventeen stories.⁹ The topes are mounds or buildings, shaped like cones or cupolas, and are designed to hold relics of sacred personages. The later Hindoos have erected numerous elegant pagodas and pagoda-like temples, and the Moham-medans have built some of the most beautiful structures in India.

SEC. 247. *Brahminism*.—After they had established themselves in the Ganges Valley, the Aryan conquerors modified their religious, social, and political institutions under a hereditary priesthood styled the Brahmins, and a law-book called the code of Menu. After ceasing to be Vedic Hindoos, probably before 1500 B. C. but possibly as late as 800 B. C., they became Brahminical or Menu Hindoos.

The change from the Vedic to the Menu faith seems to have been gradual and slow. Many of the later priests did not know that there had been a revolution. They read the Rig Veda as the most sacred of books, and did not perceive that it was inconsistent with their faith and practice. The book of Menu¹ says, "The source of the law is the whole Veda and the traditions and customs of those who know the Veda." These traditions and cus-

toms, however, are as inconsistent with the Veda as the medieval Christian church was with the Mosaic law.

The new features introduced in the Vedic religion of the Hindoos by the Brahmins were the establishment of caste; the organization of a hereditary class occupied exclusively with sacerdotal business; the acceptance of the code of Menu regulating social, political, civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical relations as of divine authority; and the adoption of the dogmas that individual existence is an evil, that impure souls transmigrate, that the purified souls are absorbed into the soul of the universe, and that the best method of purifying the human soul from sin is to spend the closing years of life in ascetic practices.

This later religion, imposed on the Hindoos as a reform developing and perpetuating the Vedic faith, was really a series of hostile and destructive changes, which were introduced gradually as the priests obtained a clearer conception of their class interests, and as they found the road to success open to them. They did not wish, and, if they had wished, they would not have dared, to repudiate the Vedic hymns. These were deeply rooted in the traditions and affections of the people. The sacerdotal modifications of the old faith and practice seem to have been small at any one time, and little understood by the multitude, or by most of the priests. There was no violent break with the past. No religion, at least none above the lowest stage of savagism, has started as an entirely original growth. Every new faith has been a sprout from an old root, or, as in this case, a graft on an old stock. In other nations we shall find similar sacerdotal grafts which were given to the people as improvements in full harmony with the tendency of the original stock, whereas in fact they were destructive substitutes.

SEC. 248. *Menu*.—The code of Menu is about as large as the Koran and half as large as the Hebrew Bible. If we can trust the preponderance of internal evidence, it was written before the rise of Buddhism or the publication of the Atharva Veda, before the appearance of Siva and Vishnu as prominent gods in the Brahmin worship, or the Aryan conquest of Ceylon and of the region south of the Vindya Mountains, and probably before 800 B. C.¹ But we cannot confidently fix the century of its composition. Nor do we know by whom it was composed. It purports to have been inspired by Brahma to Menu, who was divine or semi-divine; and by Menu it was delivered to Bhrigu with instructions to make it known among men. When and where Bhrigu lived, and how he published his law-book and obtained recognition for it, we do not know.

This code contains twelve chapters, of which the first relates mainly to the creation of the world and the division of men into castes; the second to education; the third to marriage; the fourth to the Brahmin's mode of life; the fifth to diet and to woman; the sixth to domestic worship; the seventh to the duties of the king; the eighth to the administration of justice; the ninth and tenth to Vaisyas, Sudras, and other subject classes; the eleventh to the expiation of sin; and the twelfth to a future life. It was designed to be a comprehensive book of the main principles of civil, political, and ecclesiastical law, and it has been so accepted by the Brahmin Hindoos for more than two thousand years. It is still regarded as sacred in its origin and supreme in its authority, as to matters of polity and ecclesiastical discipline.

It does not purport to comprise all the law of the Hindoos; on the contrary, in the beginning of chapter VIII,

relating to litigation, it expressly provides that the courts shall be governed by the written codes and local usages which define private rights and prescribe the rules of judicial procedure. Lawsuits are there divided into eighteen classes, each under its appropriate title. "Of those titles the first is debt on loans for consumption; the second, deposits and loans for use; the third, sale without ownership; the fourth, concerns among partners; the fifth, subtraction of what has been given; the sixth, non-payment of wages or hire; the seventh, non-performance of agreements; the eighth, rescision of sale and purchase; the ninth, disputes between master and servant; the tenth, contests on boundaries; the eleventh and twelfth, assault and slander; the thirteenth, larceny; the fourteenth, robbery and other violence; the fifteenth, adultery; the sixteenth, altercation between man and wife and their several duties; the seventeenth, the law of inheritance; the eighteenth, gaming with dice and with living creatures. These eighteen titles of law are settled as the groundwork of all judicial procedure in this world."²

This classification of lawsuits implies in words copied from Menu that it was the result of experience accumulated through many centuries, until judges and lawyers had learned to systematize the business of courts, and to define the rights of person and property in logical order.

This code purports to be compiled from old compilations. It declares that it comprises the "immemorial customs."³ In the comprehensiveness of its principles, the perspicuousness of its language, the lucidity of its arrangement, its freedom from repetitions, from serious omissions, and from matter either incongruous, trivial, or of merely brief temporary interest, it is far superior to the laws of Moses and Mohammed, and to all the codes produced

anywhere before the day of Justinian, and preserved to our time.⁴ Its acceptance of the system of caste is a great blot upon it as a record of human rights; but for this the compiler was not responsible. If he wished his book to possess any authority he must recognize the ecclesiastical, social, and political institutions of his country.

SEC. 249. *Caste*.—The code of Menu is preëminently the law-book of caste. It is the chief legislative authority for the division of the Hindoos into strictly hereditary classes. It separates them into Brahmins or priests, Shattriyas or warriors and rulers, Vaisyas or tillers of the soil, and Sudras or servants and mechanics. It declares that the Brahmins issued from the mouth of Brahma, the creator of the world; the Shattriyas from his arm; the Vaisyas from his leg; and the Sudras from his foot.¹ One of the names of every Brahmin should suggest holiness; of every Shattriya, power; of every Vaisya, wealth; and of every Sudra, contempt.²

The Sudras were descendants of the aboriginal or earlier inhabitants of Hindostan, conquered by the Aryans, who reserved for themselves the three higher castes, with superior political, ecclesiastical, and industrial privileges. The Sudras were not permitted to study the Vedas or to have them read, to learn the methods of expiating sin, to be witnesses against men of the higher castes, or to accumulate much wealth. In reference to the latter point, Menu says:³ “No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he has the power to make it, since a servile man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and by his insolence or neglect gives pain even to the Brahmins.” The three higher castes are called twice-born, that is, regenerated by the gods, and worthy to share their communion,

The Brahmin is high above men of the other twice-born castes in privilege, dignity, and divine favor. He is the chief of the whole creation ;⁴ his birth is an incarnation of the god of justice ;⁵ his benevolence enables other mortals to enjoy life.⁶ He is an object of veneration to the gods.⁷ The Sudra is made for the purpose of serving him.⁸ The slaying of a Brahmin is the greatest of crimes. When the purpose is to preserve one, perjury is justifiable.⁹ "Though convicted of all possible crimes," a Brahmin must never be executed, maimed, whipped, or even deprived of his property. The severest punishment that may be applied to him legally is banishment.¹⁰ He has exclusive authority to give instruction in the sacred scriptures, and in the modes of expiating sin. He explains the ecclesiastical tradition ; he interprets the law ; and he declares how it applies to new cases. He has charge of the sacrifices on all sacramental occasions ; and when officiating for others, he is entitled to "liberal gifts."¹¹ It is made the duty of the other castes to give wealth to the Brahmin,¹² and of the king to provide abundantly for him and his household.¹³ All the wealth of the world is declared to belong to the Brahmin.¹⁴ And finally the king is ordered to perform all his royal duties under the advice of some learned Brahmin. If Hindostan had been governed in accordance with the requirements of the code of Menu, it would have been far more priest-ridden than it has been ; and it has been the most miserably priest-ridden of all countries, ancient and modern.

Besides the four original or main castes, there is a lowest rank of Pariahs, who have violated the rules of their respective orders, and have become outcasts. Never since the Hindoos have been well known to European

observers have political office and the use of arms been limited to Shattriyas or the cultivation of the soil to Vaisyas ; on the contrary, the occupations of those castes have fallen, to a large degree, into the hands of Sudras, and many Brahmins, notwithstanding the orders that they should be liberally supported, finding scanty means of subsistence in sacerdotal business, have become officials, soldiers, domestic servants, and gardeners. Some distinguished authors have doubted whether the Shattriya and Vaisya castes ever had any extensive existence save on paper ; in some districts, their descendants in modern times are very rare.

Although the long-continued existence of caste in Hindostan suggests the possibility that it may have rendered some valuable service to humanity, I am not able to see that much can be said in its favor. Its blessings, if it ever conferred any on the Hindoos, have not been distinctly stated and clearly proved by any of the learned and able authors who have studied the country, its institutions, and its history. A hereditary priesthood had a beneficial influence in many savage tribes ; but it does not follow that every sacerdotal caste must be a blessing. Extremes are usually pernicious, and Brahminism is the most excessive development of priestly arrogance and oppression in history. At least the later stages of culture, the division of the people into numerous hereditary classes, with strict rules of descent, and with different political, industrial, and ecclesiastical privileges for each class, such as we find in Hindostan, is one of the greatest obstructions that can be placed in the way of the general prosperity and intellectual activity. It discourages enterprise, checks the accumulation of wealth, corrupts the ruling class, prevents a harmonious co-operation of

the national forces, and obstructs the growth of a healthy and powerful public opinion.

Caste found its highest development and most extensive dominion among the Hindoos, and is probably largely responsible for the fact that, in proportion to their numbers, they, of all the Aryans, have done the least for culture. For several thousand years, they seem to have been nearly as numerous as all the Europeans, and yet they have played a relatively insignificant part on the stage of human development. Among them, we find no strong political unity, no contribution to constitutional liberty, no formidable military. Every department of their government save the legislative and judicial seems to have been weak. They had no monarch noted for administrative and organizing talents; no general eminent as a conqueror or disciplinarian; no famous historian, no political orator. Neither in physical science, nor in plastic or pictorial art, nor industrial invention, did they become distinguished.¹⁵

SEC. 250. *The Brahmins*.—The chief duties of the Brahmin are to adore the gods, to study the sacred scriptures, to marry and leave a son or sons to maintain the family worship, to observe the ceremonial rules laid down in the law and traditions of his caste, and after he has become an old man, to spend the closing years of his life as an ascetic. Every day brings numerous formalities, which may contribute to his future salvation but must interfere greatly with present comfort.¹ In many cases, it is impossible for him to comply fully with these requirements; and only a small minority of the Brahmins now live as Menu and the traditions say all of them should live.

The Brahmin boy when about ten years of age should

be placed in the house of a master, where he should remain not less than nine years,² and study the written and unwritten law. While a student, he should get his food by begging from door to door; and he or his friends should pay his preceptor. However, the instruction now obtainable from individual Brahmins is so inferior to that given in public institutions of learning in Hindostan, and the ambitious young men generally are so unwilling to get their food as mendicants, and the more learned of the Brahmins are so averse to the ill-recompensed toil of teaching the inferior scholars who offer themselves, that this fundamental rule of Brahmin life is falling into general neglect. In fact, many parts of the Brahminical system have ceased to control the conduct of the people who still claim the privileges of the Brahminical caste.

When a twice-born man, "the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid, and his hair gray, and sees the child of his child," he should become an ascetic, leave his house, take up his residence in the solitude of a forest, abstain from all productive labor, eat nothing save herbs, fruit, and roots gathered by himself or obtained by begging, and spend his time in study and contemplation, without desire for life or death, and without interest in the welfare of his relatives or in any worldly affairs. But no one is permitted to become an ascetic until he has prepared himself by an active life in accordance with the law which demands that he shall be the head of a family, shall leave a son to maintain the domestic worship, shall study the Vedas, and shall worship the gods with sacrifices for year after year. The adoption of an ascetic mode of life is sinful in a person who has not reached the border of old age.³

Under the code of Menu, as under the Veda, there was no temple or public worship. All the ecclesiastical ceremonies were conducted in the family circle, by Brahmins, on such sacramental occasions as the birth of a son, giving him a name, taking him out to see the sun, feeding him with rice, and cutting his hair for the first time, investing him with the sacred cord, attending him at his final return from school, his wedding, and his funeral. Of all the sacraments, the most solemn is that of the investment of the young man of the three higher, twice-born castes, with the sacred cord, which is a symbol of his admission into the communion of the gods. The frequency of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, their complexity, and the number of priests invited to participate, are proportioned to the wealth and social dignity of the family. The priests are always entitled to pay for such services.

The Brahmins succeeded in gaining exclusive control of the sacerdotal business of their country, and holding possession of it for centuries; but they did not perceive the importance of organizing themselves into a compact body, with different ranks under a central head, and rules for effective discipline. They are a sacerdotal rabble, not an army.

If any man could not support himself in the occupation proper to his caste, he might be excused for engaging in that of a lower, but never in that of a higher rank; as he might take a wife, a concubine, or a temporary feminine companion, from a lower, but never from a higher class. There was always a degrading contamination in thus crossing the bounds of caste, and the wider the interval crossed, the greater the contamination. One of the vilest of all sins was committed by the intimacy of a woman of the highest with a man of the lowest class,

To the Vedic Hindoo, life was joyful, the gods were propitious here and hereafter, and the future existence was one of pleasant personal experience somewhat like that on earth. To the Menu Hindoo, on the contrary, life is a burden, and the gods are cruel.⁴ A demoniac curse weighs heavily on humanity. After death the souls of a large proportion of mankind, in punishment for their sins, must pass into brutes, to be reborn thousands of times, before they become fit for absorption into the divine soul of the universe.

SEC. 251. *Suttee, etc.*—Although not ordered or authorized in the Rig Veda or in the book of Menu, human sacrifices were made occasionally under the Brahminical governments. The victim was always a Vaisya or Sudra, that is, a person of low caste, a man between twenty-five and forty-five years of age, in excellent health, without serious physical defect, or the stain of crime; and by his mode of death he became one of the gods, and was made secure of great happiness in the future life.

An offering highly acceptable to several of the Hindoo gods, was a small teaspoonful of the worshiper's blood, drawn from a cut in the forehead, the cheek, the breast, or the arm, and laid upon the altar in a lotus flower. That the idea of human sacrifice was once widespread among the people, is shown by the phrase common among them when a child dies, that "the gods have eaten it."¹

Many practices and opinions of an ecclesiastical character accepted by the Brahmins are not expressly authorized by their principal sacred books. In the class of traditional but unscriptural usages is that of suttee, or the sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pile of her husband.² This was always voluntary; that is, there was no physical

compulsion. A moral pressure was, however, used to induce the widow to immolate herself. She was told that if she survived her husband she would disgrace herself and her relatives; she would be despised and neglected; she would have no happiness here nor hereafter. Public opinion demanded her sacrifice; and the wealthier her family, and the more distinguished her relatives, the more influence this demand had upon her. The majority of the widows preferred to live; and even those who expressed a willingness to die were not allowed to go to the funeral pile, at least after the middle of the last century, unless they convinced the managers of the ceremony that they had the fortitude to persevere.³ After the announcement of a suttee, and the collection of relatives to witness and celebrate it, the refusal of the widow, at the critical moment, to do her part, was regarded as highly disgraceful. To prevent such a result, the widow was sometimes required to hold her hand in the fire till it was severely burned, as a proof that she would do her part with credit; and not until she had done this was the suttee announced.

Before the British conquest of Hindostan, that is, under the dominion of Brahminical influence, executions for witchcraft were frequent. This imaginary crime was supposed to be the cause of drought, destructive conflagration, sudden death, and any disastrous epidemic among men or beasts. The commission of the offense having been proved to the satisfaction of the superstitious mob, measures were taken to detect the criminal, with a wisdom equal to that shown in discovering the crime. It was asserted by traditional superstition that witchcraft was always the work of women; and this assertion being accepted as proof, it followed that the

offender must be a woman ; and then it was inferred that she lived in the village where the misfortune occurred. To find the sorceress, the name of every woman in the village was tied to a collection of green twigs cut from a certain tree, and the name on the twig which withered first, indicated the criminal, who was then slain. Another method of finding the witch was to give the name of every woman in the village to a little bag of rice ; and when the bags representing all the women were placed near a nest of ants, the first bag torn open by these insects pointed out the criminal. By such judicial proceedings thousands of women were condemned to death.

The Brahminical courts, acting under the ancient customs, accepted proof by ordeals, of which nine kinds are mentioned, including those with lot, fire, red-hot iron, boiling oil, and water in which an idol has been washed.

SEC. 252. *Brahmin Women*.—In Brahminical society, woman has a low position. Under the code of Menu, there is for her, except as associated with her husband, no worship, no sacrament, no participation in any religious rite. For her there is no instruction in the sacred books. She must never read them or teach them to her children. She must not recite any prayer or know how to expiate any sin. Her nature is declared to be corrupt and her appetites impure.¹ She is as foul as falsehood itself.² Her affections are fickle.³ She should never be trusted, nor ever permitted to be independent, or to act according to her pleasure.⁴ She should always be watched.⁵ She should be married while a child,⁶ after she is six and before she is thirteen years old, and always kept in subjection. Her husband must never eat with her,⁷ or look at her while she is eating. She must not speak his name while he lives ; he is too far above

her for such familiarity; and after his death she must not mention the name of any other man, nor may she marry again, though she should be left a widow while yet a child.⁸ Her husband can divorce her without delay, expense, or reason;⁹ she cannot obtain a divorce from him under any circumstances. He can have numerous spouses, he may marry into a caste below his own, and she cannot. She may be the nominal owner of property, but her husband has the exclusive legal right of collecting and spending its income. She should worship him as he worships God.¹⁰ She must not imagine that she is man's equal in a religious, or even in a zoölogical sense. She contributes no blood to her son; his relation to her is like that of the grain to the field on which it grows.¹¹ There is a fundamental difference in the natures of the two sexes. The woman is not allowed to be a witness against a man. The right of wife-beating is recognized, but it is limited to blows with the hand, a rope, or a small bamboo—the last perhaps as thick as the thumb—and the place of the blows is limited to the back part of the body.¹² An idol which has been touched by a dog, a sudra, or a woman, is desecrated, and immediately abandoned by the divinity who previously occupied it, and he will not return to it until the defilement has been washed out by Brahminical purifications.¹³ In short, woman is regarded rather as a thing than as a person. And yet the mother is entitled to much show of respect from her children, and the same book of Menu which abounds with assertions of her depravity, and with limitations of her equal rights, declares that “where women are honored, there the gods are pleased.”¹⁴

In modern Hindostan, woman is considered incapable of a literary education, and unfit to be trusted with it if

she were capable. She is kept secluded, and the seclusion has perhaps been more severe since the Mohammedan conquest than it was before. She does not sew, nor knit, nor teach her child to read.¹⁵ She marries very young, often before she becomes a young woman; and she is wrinkled before reaching her thirtieth birthday. She does not expect her husband to treat her as an equal, and when, under British influence, he does so, she complains that he degrades her and himself. She is usually an ardent adherent of the old religion, "an insurmountable obstacle to reforms" which would simplify the ritual of the Brahminical religion, or lead to the abolition of objectionable ancient rules, ceremonies, and festivals.¹⁶

SEC. 253. *Brahmin Morality*.—Morality occupies a small space in the code of Menu, and has a subordinate position among the requisites of Brahminical salvation; but some of the ethical maxims are good, and are expressed clearly. The following is the decalogue of Menu: "By Brahmins . . . a tenfold system of duties must ever be sedulously practiced: [1] content, [2] returning good for evil, [3] resistance to sensual appetites, [4] abstinence from illicit gain, [5] purification, [6] coercion of the organs, [7] knowledge of scripture, [8] knowledge of the supreme spirit, [9] veracity, and [10] freedom from wrath."¹

The following is the most comprehensive passage: "Even here below an unjust man attains no felicity, nor he whose wealth proceeds from giving false evidence, nor he who constantly takes delight in mischief. Though oppressed by penury in consequence of his righteous dealings, let him never give his mind to unrighteousness; for he may observe the speedy overthrow of iniquitous

and sinful men. Iniquity committed in this world produces not fruit immediately, but, like the earth, in due season, and advancing by little and little, it eradicates the man who committed it. Yes; iniquity once committed fails not of producing fruit to him who wrought it; if not in his own person, yet in his sons; or if not in his sons, yet in his grandsons. He grows rich for a while through unrighteousness; then he beholds good things; then it is that he vanquishes his foes; but he perishes at length from his whole root upwards. Let a man continually take pleasure in truth, in justice, in laudable practices, and in purity; let him chastise those whom he may chastise, in a legal mode; let him keep in subjection his speech, his arm, and his appetite. Wealth and pleasures, repugnant to law, let him shun; and even lawful acts which may cause future pain, or be offensive to mankind.”²

The general drift of the book, however, is to make morality subordinate to ceremony and to hereditary privilege. We are told that the “inclination of death,” and the dangers of misery in future life for twice-born men, come “through a neglect of reading the Veda, through a desertion of approved usages, and through various offenses in diet.”³ All meats not previously offered in sacrifice, the flesh of carnivorous quadrupeds, many kinds of bird and fish, and many vegetables, including garlic, onion, leek, and mushroom, are unclean, and cannot be eaten without sin. Nominally, the Hindoos are vegetarians, and many of them are so poor that they can rarely afford to buy meat; but the wealthy classes use much cow’s milk, and not unfrequently can have meat from animals which have been offered in sacrifice to the gods.

A multitude of ecclesiastical formalities are imposed on the Brahmin every day, and for every neglect there must be an expiatory ceremony, which is requisite for the recovery of divine favor. Worship and its formalities are the chief business of the Brahmin's life.

Menu tells us that "perfect health or unfailing medicines, and the various mansions of the deities, are acquired by devotion alone,"⁴ and that "whatever sin has been conceived in the hearts of men, uttered in their speech, or committed in their bodily acts, they speedily burn it all away by devotion."⁵ "Devotion is equal to the performance of all duties."⁶ "By open confession, by repentance, by devotion, and by reading the scripture, a sinner may be released from his guilt."⁷ "A priest who should retain in his memory the whole Rig Veda would be absolved from guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants of the three worlds."⁸ "The sacrifice of a horse, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin."⁹ "The gods themselves . . . have proclaimed aloud the transcendent excellence of pious austerity."¹⁰ "Sixteen suppressions of the breath, while the holiest of the texts [the gayatri] is repeated with the three mighty words [earth, sky, and heaven¹¹], and the trilateral monosyllable continued each day for a month, absolve even the slayer of a Brahmin from his hidden faults."¹² Penances imposed by the Brahmins are potent in washing out sin. A penitent must continually repeat the gayatri,¹³ or common prayer, which says: "Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine ruler; may it guide our intellects." "By the sole repetition of the gayatri, a priest may indubitably attain beatitude, let him perform or not perform any other religious act."¹⁴ "All rites ordained in the Veda, oblations to fire, and solemn

sacrifices, pass away, but that which passes not away is declared to be the syllable om [or aum] . . . since it is a symbol of god, the lord of created beings.”¹⁵ “Brahma milked out, as it were, from the three Vedas, the letter a, the letter u, and the letter m, which form by their coalition the trilateral monosyllable.”¹⁶

SEC. 254. *Brahmin Henotheism*.—Many passages in the code of Menu, as well as in other sacred writings of the Brahmins, are strongly monotheistical. Thus we are told that “in the knowledge and adoration of one God, which the Veda teaches, all the rules of good conduct . . . are fully comprised.”¹ In the account of the creation of the universe we read that “the sole, self-existing power, . . . he whom the mind alone can perceive, . . . who exists from eternity, even he, the soul of all beings, . . . willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance.”² Again it tells us that of all duties “the principal is to acquire . . . a true knowledge of one supreme god; that is the most exalted of all sciences, because it insures immortality.”³ It mentions various divinities, but adds that “the divine spirit alone is the whole assemblage of gods; all worlds are sealed in the divine spirit.”⁴ Elsewhere we are told that this soul of the universe, this creator of all conscious beings, is named Brahm; that having created material forms and spiritual persons, and having designated their duties, he has withdrawn into quiescence, gives no attention to men, and wishes no worship by them. There is one Brahm and no second; but he has withdrawn from the business of governing either mundane or celestial affairs.

But while there are many monotheistic passages in the Brahminical scripture, there is no monotheistic book,

temple, or orthodox sect. Priests and people all worship their ancestors as divine, and they recognize a multitude of superhuman divinities. Every Brahmin is required to make a daily oblation to Agni, the god of fire; to Dhanwantari, the god of medicine; to Cuhu, the goddess of the day; to Prajapati, the goddess of animated beings; to Prithivi, goddess of the sky; to Indra, Yama, Varuna, and Soma; to Sri, the goddess of abundance; to Bhadracali, the goddess of fortune; to Brahma and to his household gods and ancestors.⁵

Hindoo authors who speak of the soul of the universe as the one spiritual being who includes all other existence, not only prescribe rules for the worship of ancestors, and of many different gods, but assert that the devout Brahmin is superior in dignity to all the gods, and is able, by severe penances, to compel them to obey him.

SEC. 255. *Transmigration*.—The heaven of the Brahminical religion is absorption in Brahm; and hell is a repetition of separate or personal existences in the forms of men and brutes. In one verse of Menu,¹ the sinner is threatened with “unconquerable death,” but the general belief is that the miseries of renewed birth must be suffered until at last the soul becomes pure enough to rejoin its original source; and these renewed births may continue through 84,000,000 years, including intervals spent in hells or heavens.

Physical defects and ailments are declared to be punishments for sins committed in a preceding state, as dumbness for reading the sacred scriptures without authority, dyspepsia for stealing winnowed grain, leprosy for stealing clothes, lameness for stealing a horse, and blindness for stealing a lamp.²

According to their moral qualities, men are divided into the vile, the passionate, and the good. The vilest are born again as worms, insects, reptiles, fish, or jackals; the moderately vile as lions, tigers, boars, horses, elephants, savages, or sudras; the least vile as birds, giants, ruffians, dancers, or singers; the most passionate as athletes, actors, gamblers, or sots; the moderately passionate as soldiers, or kings; the least passionate as nymphs, genii, and musicians; the least good as hermits, religious mendicants, Brahmins, or demigods; the moderately good as sacrificers, holy sages, or deities of the lower heaven; and the best men are absorbed in the divine soul of the universe.³ Some offenses are punished by new birth in special brute forms; thus a theft of grain in a rat; a theft of milk in a crow; a theft of meat in a vulture; a theft of oil in a beetle; a theft of salt in a cricket; a theft of a cow in a lizard; and a theft of fruit in an ape.

After stating in much detail the various grades of sins and of their penalties in a future life, the code of Menu continues thus: "As far as vital souls addicted to sensuality, indulge themselves in forbidden pleasures, even to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies, that they may endure analogous pains; and in consequence of their folly, they shall be doomed as often as they repeat their criminal acts, to pains more and more intense in despicable forms on this earth. They shall first have a sensation of agony in Tamisra, or utter darkness, and in other seats of horror; in Asipatravana, or the sword-leaved forest; and in different places of binding fast and of rending. Multifarious tortures await them. They shall be mangled by ravens and owls, shall swallow cakes boiling hot, shall

walk over inflamed sands, and shall feel the pangs of being baked like the vessels of a potter. They shall assume the forms of beasts continually miserable, and suffer alternate afflictions from extremities of cold and heat, surrounded with terrors of various kinds. More than once shall they lie in different wombs, and, after agonizing births, be condemned to severe captivity, and to servile attendance on creatures like themselves. Then shall follow separations from kindred and friends, forced residence with the wicked, painful gains and ruinous losses of wealth, friendships hardly acquired, and at length changed into enmities, old age without resource, diseases attended with anguish, pangs of innumerable sorts, and, lastly, unconquerable death. With whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform in this life any act, religious or moral, in the future body, endowed with the same quality, shall he receive his retribution. Thus has been revealed to you the system of punishments for evil deeds."⁴

SEC. 256. *Krishna*.—It was probably after the rise and under the influence of Buddhism, about 400 B. C., that Brahminism adopted or gave greater prominence to various points, including temple worship, ecclesiastical festivals, ecclesiastical pilgrimages, the worship of three gods conjointly, the preeminence of the Brahma triad (with Brahma as the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer), and the belief in Krishna, the divine saviour who became incarnate in human form, once in a thousand years, more or less, when his services were needed to teach mankind and redeem them from sin. According to the Hindoo tradition, he was of royal lineage; immediately after his birth, his divine character was recognized by peasants and distinguished strangers;

he narrowly escaped by flight from a massacre of the innocents, ordered by a tyrant who knew by prophecy of the distinct place and time of his birth; and he was tempted by the evil spirit. His story is so similar in many of its incidents to that of Jesus of Nazareth that the two must have been drawn from a common source. It is impossible to prove which is the older.

The chief record of the teachings of Krishna is in the Bhagavad-Gita, one of the most interesting of all the books that claim to be divinely revealed. It has been worthily translated into English, under the title of "The Song Celestial," by Sir Edwin Arnold, from whose version the following passages are selected:—

"And whoso loveth Me cometh to Me.
Whoso shall offer Me in faith and love
A leaf, a flower, a fruit, water poured forth,
That offering I accept, lovingly made
With pious will.

• • • • • •
I am alike for all! I know not hate,
I know not favor! What is made is Mine!
But them that worship Me with love, I love;
They are in Me, and I in them!"

"I am the Sacrifice ! I am the Prayer!
I am the Funeral Cake set for the dead!
I am the Healing Herb! I am the Ghee,
The Mantra, and the Flame, and that which burns.
I am—of all this boundless universe—
The Father, Mother, Ancestor and Guard!
The end of learning! That which purifies
In lustral water! I am Om! I am
Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Ved;
The Way, the Fosterer, the Lord, the Judge,
The Witness; the Abode, the Refuge House,
The Friend, the Fountain and the Sea of Life
Which sends and swallows up; Treasure of Worlds
And Treasure Chamber! Seed and Seed-sower,

Whence endless harvests spring ! Sun's heat is mine;
 Heaven's rain is mine to grant or to withhold;
 Death am I and immortal Life I am,
 Arjuna ! ”

“ The wise in heart
 Mourn not for those that live, nor those that die,
 Nor I, nor thou, nor any one of these,
 Ever was not, nor ever will not be,
 Forever and forever afterwards.
 All that doth live, lives always ! To man's fame
 As there come infancy and youth and age,
 As there come raisings up and layings down
 Of other and of other life abodes,
 Which the wise know and fear not. This that irks
 Thy sense-life, thrilling the elements,
 Bringing the heat and cold, sorrows and joys,
 'Tis brief and mutable ! Bear with it, Prince !
 As the wise bear. The soul which is not moved,
 The soul that with a strong and constant calm
 Takes sorrow and takes joy indifferently,
 Lives in the life undying ! That which is
 Can never cease to be ; that which is not
 Will not exist. To see this truth of both
 Is theirs who part essence from accident,
 Substance from shadow. Indestructible,
 Learn thou ! the life is, spreading life through all ;
 It cannot anywhere, by any means,
 Be anywise diminished, stayed, or changed.
 But for these fleeting frames which it informs
 With spirit deathless, endless, infinite,
 They perish. Let them perish, Prince ! and fight !
 He who shall say, ‘ Lo ! I have slain a man ! ’
 He who shall think, ‘ Lo ! I am slain, ’ those both
 Know naught ! Life cannot slay. Life is not slain ! ”¹

The later Brahmins have temples, with numerous idols, priests, servant-women, annual festivals attended by many thousands of pilgrims, and public sacrifices. At the temple of Kali, near Calcutta, more than a thousand ruminant animals, mostly goats, were sacrificed annually about

the beginning of this century. Besides the offerings of slaughtered brutes, numerous ascetics made sacrifices by torturing themselves in various ways as proofs of their devotion to the goddess. Some thrust long knives through their tongues, arms, or legs, and others allowed iron hooks to be thrust through the skin and muscles of their sides, and, supported only by these hooks, they were swung round at the end of a long pole, revolving on a pivot.² The temple of Jagannath has or had in this century an average attendance of 300,000 pilgrims, mostly poor women, at its annual festival; and before the establishment of the British authority, at every festival some devotee or devotees voluntarily sought death under the wheels of the great car containing the idol, as it was dragged through the streets. About 30,000 pilgrims go annually to Benares, which has two thousand public sanctuaries and a half a million idols. In a pilgrimage which may last for a month, about five out of a hundred participants die on an average.

In the modern Hindoo temple, "the main daily business is the sweeping of sanctuary, the keeping up of the lamps which shed on it a mysterious twilight, the ringing of the bell at every new act of homage, placing of flowers before the god, waking him up, dressing him, washing him, giving him his food, putting him to bed, [and] watching over him during his slumber."³ The temple women sell themselves to obtain a revenue for the public worship; and the wives of the highest Brahmins there mark themselves with obscene symbols and worship obscene images.

SEC. 257. *Buddha*.—In the sixth century B. C., Buddhism, the earliest in its origin and extensive acceptance of the three universal religions, was founded in Hindo-

stan as a reform of Brahminism, by Siddhartha, of the Gautama family, Sakya tribe, and Shattriya caste.¹ He assumed the title of Buddha, "the enlightened," and Tathagata, "the traditional teacher," or "the saviour." By others he was sometimes styled Sakya Muni, or "the teacher of the Sakyas." He was born in the town of Kapilavastu, about a hundred miles north of Benares. According to the Buddhistic legend, he was the eldest son and heir apparent of the king of the petty kingdom of Magadha, and spent his childhood, youth, and early manhood in his father's court. All his circumstances were propitious. He was healthy and active; he was surrounded by kindness, respect, and prosperity in every relation of life. When a young man he married a noble maiden worthy of a throne, and he lived in perfect harmony with her. He was a favorite with the people, who expected that after his father's death he should reign over them.

But suddenly, when he was twenty-seven years of age, he began to brood over the miseries of humanity, and then, without explaining his plans to anyone, he secretly fled from his wife, his son, his parents, his palace, and his station, and became a hermit for the purposes of saving his soul, and of aiding others to save theirs. He hid himself in a forest, clothed himself in rags, and obtained his food by begging. Thus he lived in solitude and privation, until he convinced himself that he had found the true method by which the whole human race could be saved. He then devoted the remainder of his life—forty-four years—to the preaching of his doctrines, and the organization and government of his church. After visiting many countries, though never going more than a hundred and fifty miles from Benares, making many

converts, and finding a kind reception nearly everywhere, he died peacefully in the midst of his disciples.

He was a historical personage about whose life, character, language, and associates, we have much trustworthy information. He started out with the purpose of establishing a universal religion, that is, a religion designed to include all men, and he succeeded in establishing it on a permanent basis. He saw it accepted by monarchs, and by multitudes of people. He gave it full and precise codes of dogma and discipline. For more than forty years he was its revered head. He was followed, believed, and obeyed, almost as if he had been divine. Although the art of writing was practiced in his time by the Hindoos, yet he neither wrote out his doctrines and disciplinary rules, nor requested any of his disciples to do so; but this neglect finds its parallel in Christianity.

Having been educated in the religion of Brahminism, having never visited a country where any other faith prevailed, and perhaps having never met or conversed with a believer in any other creed, he accepted many of the leading doctrines of Menu, including those that life is not worth living; that human nature is depraved; that sin is punished by transmigration; that the average soul is condemned to suffer through a great multitude of successive lives; that besides its transmigrations, the soul may pass long periods in heavens and hells; that ultimate salvation is a cessation of human consciousness; and that an ascetic mode of life is a very important aid in obtaining salvation.

These ideas, borrowed from the older faith, are a large part of the Buddhistic religion. On the other hand, Siddhartha rejected the Brahminical dogmas that there

is a deity; or that there are deities superior in dignity and power to humanity; that true religion has been divinely revealed to man in the Vedas and the book of Menu; that man's highest duty is to worship divinity with hymns, sacrifice, ceremonial observances, and self-torture; that the Hindoos are the favorites of heaven above all other nations, and the Brahmins above all other Hindoos; and that final salvation is an absorption of the human into the divine soul.

In his system, Siddhartha did not adopt either deity, immortality, or ceremonial worship. These three points which are prominent and fundamental features of most religions, were familiar to him only in the Brahminical faith, where they appear in a disadvantageous light. The ceremony of the Brahmins is a vexatious ritual intimately associated with the oppression of the multitude by the sacerdotal class; their conception of a future life is a metempsychosis of misery until humanity shall be swallowed up in the pantheistic soul of the universe; and their deities are a confused mob with almost as much of demoniac as of divine attributes.

If Siddhartha had been a learned man and had visited many foreign countries; if he had studied the institutions of Persepolis, Babylon, Tyre, Memphis, and Athens; if he had become familiar with creeds that were not pessimistic, with priesthoods that were not hereditary and oppressive, with the conception of a future life that was not miserable, with ecclesiastical ceremonies that were not slavishly burdensome, and with governments that taught men to assert the dignity of human nature;—if Siddhartha had been so prepared for his work, he would probably have taught an entirely different religion. But the only basis on which he could build was Brahminism,

and to the gross defects of the foundation we must attribute much of the weakness of the superstructure.

He offered his ultimate salvation of Nirvana or annihilation on equal terms to all men of every caste and nationality, the chief aid to success being entrance into the order of bikshoos, or mendicant monks. He made it a duty of his followers to preach his doctrines to all men; he was the first religious teacher known to have depended on public preaching for the introduction and establishment of a new religion, and he is the only founder of a universal religion whose doctrines owe nothing of their spread or maintenance to persecution or war. The influence of Buddhism has contributed much to the tolerant spirit of all the nations in which it has been extensively accepted. The bikshoos feel none of that religious animosity which prevails among the Catholic, Protestant, and Greek clergy against other Christian sects. The Christians have been persecuted in China and Japan, but not by Buddhist officials, and not without excuses that were rather political than religious. Hiouen Thsang, a Chinese Buddhist whose pilgrimage to Hindostan in the VIIth century A. D. for sacred books was the most fruitful enterprise of its kind on record, wrote: "The schools of philosophy are always in conflict, and the noise of their passionate discussions rises like the waves of the sea. Heretics of different sects attach themselves to particular teachers, and by different routes walk to the same goal."

Siddhartha has missionaries and monks but no priests. After man has been taught how to be saved, he must work out his salvation by himself, without mediation, expiation, or absolution. No prayer, no penance, no death-bed repentance, no baptism, no faith will suffice to

wash out sin. His religion has been much corrupted in most of the countries where it now prevails. Many of the Buddhist communities have gods, priests, temples, idols, prayers, exorcisms, worship of spirits, sacrifices to the dead, and belief in and interpretation of omens, all of which are unauthorized by the founder of the faith.

Siddhartha did not claim to be divine or divinely inspired. While he admitted the existence of spirits, to which the title of gods might be given, he did not believe in a creator and governor of the universe. The idea of deity has no prominence in his religion. He said: "I have no teacher; there is no one who resembles me. In the world of gods, I have no equal. I am the most noble in the world, being the irrefutable teacher, the sole all-perfect Buddha."² On another occasion he used these words: "I do not see anyone in the heavenly worlds, nor in that of Mara, nor among the inhabitants of the Brahma worlds, nor among the gods or men, whom it would be proper for me to honor, or in whose presence I ought to rise up, or whom I ought to request to be seated." Again he said: "Trouble not yourself about the gods. Disturb yourself not by curiosities or desires about any future existence. Seek only after the fruit of the noble path of self-culture and of self-control."

SEC. 258. *Nirvana*.—The future salvation which Siddhartha teaches is called Nirvana, a state of perfect rest. Many persons who have written about Buddhism, have asserted that Siddhartha did not teach the entire extinction of the saved soul; and that he did not throw away "so powerful a weapon in the hands of a religious teacher," as the belief in immortality.¹ But the doctrine of Siddhartha is not to be found in the inner consciousness of modern enthusiasm. He said that he was "weary

of consciousness;" that freedom from pain is "incompatible with existence as a distinct individual;"² that "the source of sorrow is in self; get rid of self and sorrow ends;" and that when he died he would "return to nothingness." After his death, Anuruddha, his nephew and disciple, said to the mourners, "He has entered that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be."³ According to a phrase common among the Buddhists, life is "the shimmer of death;" and one of their maxims is that the desire to be born again in heaven is contrary to the plain teaching of Siddhartha.⁴ Their conception of Nirvana is a state of absolute quiescence, which is inconceivable except as one of absolute unconsciousness. Having rejected the Brahminical doctrines of a divine soul pervading all nature, and of the absorption of the purified human soul in the deity, it would have been wise, if not necessary, that Siddhartha, if he had wished to teach the soul's immortality, should state and explain it in clear and full language. But he did not explain it. He saw no delights in immortality. He never spoke of Nirvana as a sphere of enjoyment, as a heaven of congenial association, of intellectual pleasure or triumphant piety. In the Buddhist faith, Siddhartha as a person has ceased to live. A Buddhist maxim says that "worldly happiness and happiness in the region of the gods is not worth one-sixteenth of the happiness resulting from the destruction of desires."⁵

According to the more intelligent Buddhists, the desire for a continuation of life after death is a "spiritual bondage," a "taint," a "delusion," a weakness of an egotistic mind, a discreditable hankering after what cannot be and should not be, a blindness to the analogies of nature, a "lust for prolonged existence." In many Bud-

dhists books Nirvana is compared to a lamp that has been blown out, never to be lighted again. The Brahmins apply the title of Annihilationists to the⁶ Buddhists, who make no objection to the designation.

As Siddhartha did not deny the existence of gods and demons, or good and evil spirits, who, however, have no control over the fate of the pious, and are inferior to them in dignity and power, so he did not deny the existence of places or conditions to which the name of heaven or hell could be given properly. Some of his followers corrupting his doctrine or expanding it without explicit authority from him, undertook to describe different celestial and infernal departments.

The relation between the different forms of the same soul as it appears in successive births, was not distinctly explained by Siddhartha or his followers, and was perhaps not distinctly conceived. There is no assertion of a continued consciousness and a clear recollection connecting the various forms. We are told that man should not worry about his previous states of existence; all such worry is a delusion. He should never ask himself, "What was I during the ages that are past."⁷

SEC. 259. *Bikshoos*.—The teaching of Siddhartha is mainly ethical. Having no deity, no immortality, no sacrifices, no worship, and no priestly mediation, he had no field for religious zeal save morality, but into that he went with a fervor which carried him to an unreasonable extreme. He demanded from the candidates for Nirvana the most complete renunciation of self, the most absolute humility, the most severe abstinence from everything that could gratify the senses or artistic tastes, the most self-sacrificing regard for the welfare of everything that lives. He not only taught his followers that they must

love their neighbors, but that they must submit without resistance to all the evils which their neighbors might inflict on them. A Buddhist bikshoo must not only consent to be robbed, but he must aid the robbers to find and carry away his property. He must not defend his political rights, for he has no rights. He must disclaim all pretenses made on his behalf that he is entitled to protection against tyranny of any kind. He must accept without resistance, and without complaint, every form of injustice and oppression, even if it be slavery, torture, or death. He must submit not only to man but even to brutes and insects. He must not kill the poisonous serpent that has bitten him, or is about to bite him. He must not flee from the tiger. He must not brush away mosquitoes lest he kill them. He must not dig the ground, for in doing so he might hurt earth-worms. He must not take pride in himself, nor demand respectful treatment for himself, nor assert himself in any manner. He must make his own immediate comfort subordinate to that not only of other men but even of brutes. According to a Buddhistic legend, in a previous existence Siddhartha saw a tigress famishing with her cubs, and he placed himself within her reach so that she and her cubs could have a good meal. That is the spirit of Buddhistic ethics.¹

Siddhartha divided his followers into two main classes,—first the bikshoos or ascetics, who hope to reach Nirvana when they die; and, second, the laity or common people, whose highest hope is, in their next life, to become bikshoos. For these two classes there are separate codes of morality. The commandments for the bikshoos are: (1) Do not kill any animated being; (2) live in the most continent celibacy; (3) never be unkind or unjust; (4) offer

no resistance to evil ; (5) do not toil for wages ; (6) do not till the ground ; (7) do not receive gold or silver ; (8) do not accumulate property of any kind ; (9) do not possess more than three garments, and those of the coarsest material ; (10) if you have any property [besides clothing and a bowl for food], give it to the poor ; (11) use no bedding save a piece of carpet ; (12) abstain from ornaments, perfumes, music, dancing, jovial entertainments, and idle talk ; (13) eat only one meal a day, and that in the forenoon ; (14) eat no food save that obtained by begging ; (15) spend much of your time in bodily quiet, while your mind is fixed on your salvation ; (16) keep your mind and body in a condition as near as possible to absolute repose ; and (17) teach others how to be saved. Besides these main rules for the bikshoos, there are two hundred and fifty others, regulating their conduct in and out of their monasteries, or viharas. The regulations, in regard to the method of collecting food and eating it, are strict. The mendicant must not tell in words, or by gestures, what he wants, nor must he make a noise, nor stand long before a house, nor go to a place where he has been repeatedly refused, nor be importunate in any manner. He may hold out his bowl, but must not indicate that he wants a particular kind of food, nor must he reject any that is offered, or select the best from his bowl, but must eat it as it comes.

The privilege of accepting a present of a garment is limited to a certain season, and if the garment be new, it must be soiled with dust or mud before it can be worn. If money be offered to the bikshoo to enable him to buy a new garment, he must refuse ; but he may accept the garment from a friend who has taken the money and used it for the bikshoo's benefit. When walking in places

where people may probably be met, the bikshoo must keep his eyes fixed on the ground about six feet ahead of him ; and when he meets a woman, he must hold up a fan so as to hide his face.

If a bikshoo should find fruit on the ground under a tree that is individual property, he must die rather than eat the fruit without explicit permission from the owner. He must never solicit anything. A bikshoo when ill refused to take some medicine which had been prepared under his directions, while he was well, for another person sick with the same disease. If he had used it, the circumstances might lead to the suspicion that he had solicited it for himself. Alms-giving is one of the chief virtues of Buddhism, and the Buddhist layman must anticipate the wants of the bikshoos. Dhoutlagamini, who became a great king, when a child made a promise that he would never eat a meal without setting apart a share of his food for the ascetics. A Ceylonese king spent some days every year working in the rice-fields, so that the food which he gave to the bikshoos should be the product of his own labor.²

SEC. 260. *Laymen*.—The commandments for the laymen are : Do not kill any sentient being, do not steal, do not lie, do not commit adultery, do not drink intoxicating liquors, do not commit any injustice, and give alms to the bikshoos. The more strictly the layman obeys these commandments, and the more nearly he can approach the moral standard of the bikshoos, the higher will be his moral position in his next life. There is a broad line of demarkation between the laymen and the bikshoos. The former may marry, accumulate property, defend rights, live luxuriously, take part in jovial entertainments and frivolous conversation, and enjoy life in an

innocent way. Thus Siddhartha made his yoke relatively easy for the multitude, and fitted it for acceptance by millions of Asiatics who were not sufficiently enlightened to perceive its doctrinal defects. If, on the other hand, he had required all laymen to obey the same rules as the bikshoos, in regard to defending rights and enjoying entertainments, he would have been unable to secure a basis for a widespread and long-enduring religion.

No Buddhist teacher lays down the doctrine, found in many Christian books, that the only sufficient motive for virtue is the fear of punishment in a future life. Vice is always foolish in the church of Siddhartha. According to his words: "All that we are is the result of what we have thought. . . . If a man speaks or acts with evil purpose, pain follows him as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the cart."¹ Again he tells us, "If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him like a shadow that never leaves him."² A Buddhist maxim says: "Perform carefully the precepts of the law, and abstain from all evil deeds; he who keeps the law, finds happiness in this world and the next."³

SEC. 261. *Viharas*.—The bikshoos are organized into communities, each of which has its convent or vihara, where its members must reside during the rainy season, from June to September inclusive, in Hindostan, though they may spend the remainder of the year in the forest. While in the convent, they hold congregational meetings at every change of the moon; and at the new-moon and full-moon meetings the main rules of the order are read through, and after each rule those present are called upon to confess whether they have violated it.

While the bikshoo, as an individual, is a pauper, his convent may own valuable lands and buildings, the

income from which is not expended in providing luxurious food, clothing, or furniture for its inmates, but is applied to religious purposes. Admission to the community is obtained after examination, by ordination, and is not granted to a slave or to any person under twenty years of age. The vows taken do not bind the bikshoo for any definite period; and he can withdraw and become a layman again whenever he sees fit. The bikshoo is never a prisoner nor an unwilling ascetic. In Siam it is fashionable for wealthy laymen to become bikshoos for a month every year, as Christians and Mohammedans keep their annual period of fasting.

Besides the main classes of bikshoos and laymen, there are the minor classes of bikshoonis and novices. The bikshoonis are female ascetics, who have convents and rigid rules similar to those of the bikshoos. The novices are boys or young men between the ages of eight and twenty, who take the main vows of the bikshoos, and become the pupils and adherents of a convent, to which they have then a preferred claim for admittance when they reach a sufficient age. The bikshoonis and novices are relatively few, and in some Buddhist countries are entirely unknown.

Siddhartha established only one monastic order for men and one for women. No learning is required for either, nor is study made a duty after admission. Indeed, the intellectual quietude recommended is inconsistent with much activity, either mental or physical. No bikshoo has been eminent as a student or author in any field save religion; nor has any bikshoo convent become famous for the learning or eloquence of its inmates. The division of labor among the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church has no parallel in Buddhism,

Siddhartha organized the order of the bikshoos upon a plan which he intended should never be modified or amplified in any manner.

Although the viharas are not seats of learning or places of systematic study, and although the bikshoos generally have no credit for erudition, nevertheless, as a class, they do contribute a little to the cause of education. Siddhartha was the first to found a religion by preaching to the multitude, and the first to send out missionaries to convert all men without regard to their blood. The spirit in which he labored has always been maintained by his followers in every country where his faith has found a foot-hold. All bikshoos recognize the duty of performing missionary labor. A passage in a liturgical book of the Chinese Buddhists says: "Never will I seek salvation for myself alone, . . . but forever and everywhere will I strive for the redemption of all other living creatures."¹

Every vihara has its weekly gathering to hear some passage of the sacred scriptures read, and in many cases there are sermons. When away from the viharas, the bikshoos are always ready to deliver little sermons to any gathering disposed to listen to them. The viharas usually have collections of the sacred books, and in many cases they have schools for the children in their vicinity.

Siddhartha provided for no ecclesiastical buildings save viharas. He had no house designed exclusively for congregational worship. Neither had he any saint, or relic, or image, or sacred tree; but in the course of time all these made their appearance among his followers. Several centuries after his death, his relics became precious, and then buildings called topes or stoopas and

chaityas were erected to shelter them. The tope is a mound or mound-like structure, intended to represent a tomb. A chaitya is a house containing a relic shrine. The mound or shrine is a place of worship, where the worshipers sing hymns, recite prayers (regarded by some as a mere exercise of inward devotion), march round in procession, keeping the right side nearest to the shrine, read their sacred books, and sometimes deliver sermons.

Chang Wen, a Chinese Buddhist who went to Hindostan for books and relics in 671 A. D., says : "In India the chaityas [holy buildings] are revered by all the passers-by. Every evening the bikshoos come from the convents they occupy and walk three times round these stoopas. They pass round them in procession, scattering flowers and burning incense ; then, sitting down, some skillful brother with clear voice chants the praises of the great Master. For this purpose they have hymns consisting of ten or even of twenty verses. They then return to the temple, and, having taken their seats in the preaching-hall, a preacher mounts the pulpit and then reads a short sermon. The pulpit is not far from the president's throne, but it is not so high nor so large. Whilst reading the sermon, they often chant from the collection of hymns compiled by Asvaghosha ; and they also frequently recite the hymn of praise to the three honored names. After singing, they march in procession round the apse three times. They then say, 'It is well,' and the preacher descends from his pulpit." ²

SEC. 262. *Discourses*.—Here is one of Siddhartha's discourses : "He who conquers himself is the greatest conqueror. His victory cannot be changed into defeat by any god or devil. No fire rages like passion, no imprisonment is like hate, no net binds like passion, and no

torrent carries one away like desire ; therefore dig up the roots of passion, so that the tempter shall not again bend you as the stream bends the bulrush. As the tree, when it is clipped, throws out new sprouts so long as the roots are uncut, so pain returns again if the hankering for pleasure is not eradicated. Let man lay aside his anger and his pride ; let him break every bond. He who checks the rising wrath, as he stops a rolling cart, him I call a true cartman. Wrath is never stilled by wrath, but only by meekness. That is the eternal principle. Watchfulness is the path of immortality ; neglect leads to death. It is better to live one day of powerful exertion than a hundred years of weak indolence. Strive to be watchful. Guard your heart. Tear yourself from the world as the elephant struggles out of the swamp in which it was sinking. He who sees that the world is a bubble, an illusive picture of the fancy, he does not fear the angel of death. What pleasure, what joy is there in life ? Observe man's changing form, how it is dissolved by age. See man's sick body, how it ulcerates and decays. 'I have sons and treasures ; here will I live in the winter and there in the summer ;' so says the fool, and does not see the obstructions. He who is anxious about his sons and his treasures, he is the man with his heart in chains, he is torn away by death, as the sleeping village is swept away by the mountain torrent. Sons and kinsmen can then render him no service. Let everyone hasten to do good, and turn his thoughts from evil, for he who is not zealous for the good, his mind enjoys itself in the thought of evil." ¹

On his death-bed, Buddha, addressing his disciples, said :² "Ye then, my followers, who know so well the perfect law, remember ! the end must come ; give not

way again to sorrow. Use diligently the appointed means. Aim to reach the home where separation cannot come. I have lit the lamp of wisdom ; its rays alone can drive away the gloom that shrouds the world. The world is not forever fixed! Ye should rejoice therefore, as when a friend afflicted grievously, his sickness healed, escapes from pain. For I have put away the painful vessel. I have stemmed the flowing sea of birth and death, free forever now from pain. For this you should exult with joy. Now guard yourselves aright. Let there be no remissness. That which exists will all return to nothingness. And now I die. From this time forth my words are done. This is my very last instruction.”³

SEC. 263. *Siddhartha's Death*.—Siddhartha died in the village of Kusinagara, after an illness that had lasted for several weeks. When only a few hours of life remained to him, he requested Ananda, his favorite disciple, to inform the villagers that his end was near. “And when they had heard this saying of Ananda, the Mallas [villagers] with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, disheveling their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought, ‘Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the light of the world vanish away!’ . . .

“And the venerable Ananda caused the Mallas of Kusinagara to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Blessed One, and said, ‘Lord! a Malla of such and such a name with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One.’ And after this

manner, the venerable Ananda presented all the Mallas of Kusinagara to the Blessed One in the first watch of the night.”²

The last of the villages having been dismissed, the Blessed One, in the presence of the bikshoos, addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “It may be, Ananda, that in some of you the thought may arise, ‘The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more.’ But it is not thus, Ananda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the teacher to you.”

The Buddha inquired whether any of the brethren (a number were present) had any question about the doctrine or discipline of the church, but there was no response. “And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: ‘How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvelous! Verily, I believe that, in this whole assembly of the brethren, there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way.’ To these Buddha replied: ‘It is out of the fullness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ananda! But, Ananda, the Tathagata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren, there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way! For even the most backward, Ananda, of all these five hundred brethren, has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation.’

“Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out

your salvation with diligence.' This was the last word of the Tathagata.

"Soon afterwards Buddha became unconscious, and then the venerable Ananda said to the venerable Anuruddha, 'O my lord, O Anuruddha, the Blessed One is dead.' 'Nay! [was the answer] Brother Ananda, the Blessed One is not dead. He has entered that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be.'"

During the last thirty years of his life, and especially towards its close, Siddhartha was treated with extraordinary deference by his disciples. After his death, the Ceylonese Buddhists said of him: "He is the joy of the whole world; the helper of the helpless; the Brahma of the Brahmas; the only deliverer; the teacher of the three worlds; the father and helper of the world; the universal friend; the nearest relative of every man; stronger than the strongest; more merciful than the most merciful; and more beautiful than the most beautiful." We are also told of him that "even as we desire to give peace to our children, so did he long to give rest to the world."

SEC. 264. *Councils*.—Within two weeks after the death of Siddhartha, his chief disciple, Kasyapa, summoned five hundred of the bikshoos to meet with him at Rajagriha, for the purpose of adopting a statement of their ecclesiastical doctrines and rules. These had not yet been reduced to writing, and some of them were perhaps only partially or incorrectly known to many bikshoos. It was important that they should now be fixed in the memory of numerous persons, so that there should be as little discord as possible; and they were recited in the council by those persons who possessed in the highest degree accuracy of memory, and had en-

joyed long and intimate acquaintance with Siddhartha. To recite the law or doctrine, Kasyapa selected Ananda, who was Siddhartha's nephew, and a favorite companion and early disciple; and when Ananda had finished a recitation, the whole council chanted it after him. Precisely how often or in what manner the chanting was done, we do not know, but it was doubtless in accordance with the ancient Hindoo system by which the Vedas and other sacred compositions had been handed down for centuries. The recitation purported to give the precise words of Siddhartha and nothing more. These were the only authority. Neither criticism nor dissent was suggested, and if suggested would not have been tolerated in such an assemblage. After Ananda delivered the first of Siddhartha's sermons—that on the kingdom of righteousness—Kaundinya, one of the oldest bikshoos and earliest converts, rose and said: "Venerable Kasyapa, I heard this sermon; it was preached for my benefit. It dried my blood, and the ocean of my tears. I left behind the mountain of bones; it closed the door of perdition, and opened the door of heaven."¹

The recitation of the disciplinary rules was the task of Oopali; and of the metaphysical sermons and sayings was the task of Kasyapa. It is supposed that the bikshoos of the council were divided into sections, each of which made itself thoroughly familiar with some portion of the ecclesiastical code, so that each country, district, and vihara, if it had enough representatives in attendance, should possess the correct authority in reference to every question. Some doubt has been expressed whether this council was ever held; but the clear tradition of its proceedings, their reasonableness, and the lack of direct adverse evidence, are strongly in its favor.

Although the art of writing was certainly known at this time in Hindostan, and was probably familiar to many of Siddhartha's disciples, there is no statement that it was used in taking down the dogmas and disciplinary rules which were to be preserved. Among Buddhists as well as Brahmins it was a general custom until long after the beginning of the Christian era to trust to tradition and memorizing in preference to books, for a knowledge of the sacred text.

About a hundred years after the death of Siddhartha, a council, called the second general council of the Buddhists, met in the city of Vaisali for the purpose of considering the conduct of several viharas, which allowed their inmates to receive gold and silver, and to eat salt meat. King Kalasoka, in whose capital the council was held, though not a Buddhist, treated the bikshoos with respect, provided a building for their meetings, and, influenced by his sister, a bikshooni, espoused the cause of the orthodox party, who triumphed in the council by a large majority. It is said that 10,000 schismatic bikshoos were condemned. This council consisted of seven hundred members, and remained in session seven months under the presidency of Yasas. The only subject of dispute before it related to discipline. If differences of faith had arisen, they provoked no public controversy.

The third and most famous of the general councils of the Buddhist church was held in 242 B. C., the tenth year of the reign of King Asoka, in his capital of Pataliputra. One thousand bikshoos, selected by the bikshoo Tissa, participated in the council, and they remained in session nine months. At the opening of the council, the monarch delivered an address in which he said: "My faith in Buddha, his law, and his congregation, are well

known. Nothing has been well said save what was said by the blessed Buddha. It is necessary, gentlemen, to declare what are the authorities of the law and the congregation, and thus their influence will be permanent. Such declarations seem to me necessary in reference to the subjects embraced in the law, including the discipline, the supernatural faculties of the Ariyas, the dangers of the future, the stanzas and the sutras of the hermit, the doctrine of Outapatissa, and the teaching of Rahoula, rejecting false doctrines.”²

Several heresies were condemned, and arrangements were made for sending out missionaries in various directions.

SEC. 265. *Asoka*.—It was probably after this council that the great missionary activity of Asoka's reign began. He took an active part in it. He sent embassies to Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, Epirus,¹ and presumably to many other and less distant countries, inquiring whether Buddhist missionaries would be received and protected. Such expeditions suggest the probability that in his time the faith of Siddhartha was preached in Western Asia and Greece. Mahinda, the son, and Sanghamitta, the daughter of Asoka, Buddhist ascetics, went with letters from their royal father, and with bikshoo and bikshooni companions, to Ceylon, where they were favorably received by the king, who, with many of his subjects, joined the church of Siddhartha.

When the words of Buddha were written down we do not know, but there is evidence that the Dhammapada, as a record of his language, was in existence as early as 250 B. C.²

Asoka was grandson of the monarch Chandragopta, known to the Greeks as Sandracottus. He was the

first monarch who made Buddhism a state religion. His zeal for gaining proselytes to his faith by peaceful means has no equal among kings; and his edicts are unparalleled among governmental documents for the inculcation of kindly sentiment. His inscriptions sound as if love incarnate had at last become dominant on earth. The following are extracts from edicts of Asoka, inscribed by his order on public monuments:—

“And this is true religious devotion, this is the sum of religious instruction, that it shall increase the mercy and charity, the truth and purity, the kindness and honesty, of the world.” “I pray with every variety of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they, following my proper example, may with me obtain eternal salvation.” “There is no higher duty than the salvation of the whole world. My whole care is directed to the discharge of my debt to all creatures, that I may make them happy on earth, and that hereafter they may gain heaven.”³

“King Piyadasi [Asoka], beloved of the gods, desires that all the sects should dwell at liberty in all places.”⁴ “Piyadasi [Asoka] the king, beloved by the angels, now in the tenth year of his reign, has learned the perfect wisdom of Buddha, and the only excursions now enjoyable to him are those of the law, including visits and benefactions to anchorites and monasteries, the inspection of his dominions and his subjects, instruction in the law, and advice to obey it.”⁵

“The observance of the law is now witnessed for the first time in the course of ages. Abstinence from bloodshed and from malice, obedience to parents, and respect for the old, these virtues and others commanded by the law, are now practiced.”⁶ “It is my command that the

love and practice of the law shall increase hereafter as they have increased in the hearts of all my subjects. Let all my people, the highest and the lowest and the middle class, obey this order and execute it diligently. Let my greatest ministers remember that this kingdom is to be governed according to the law, that the general prosperity is to be gained by the law, and that all are to be protected under the law.”¹

SEC. 266. *Growth*.—The trustworthy facts by which we can measure the growth of Buddhism are very few. The Essenes of Judea and the Therapeutæ of Egypt, while retaining many points of their hereditary Jewish faith, had adopted the Buddhistic code of morals, and some of the bikshoo discipline, in the IInd century B. C. Two centuries later the faith of Siddhartha obtained a firm foot-hold in China,¹ and it had probably at some earlier period become dominant in Burmah and Siam. Three generations after the reign of Asoka, Buddhism was introduced into Thibet, where, in the time of Charlemagne, it was not yet dominant, though the bikshoos there had adopted the peculiar sacerdotal organization which afterwards enabled them to control the government and to establish a peculiar theocracy.²

In 630 A. D. a Chinese bikshoo, Hiouen Thsang, made a journey by way of Samarcand to Hindostan for the purpose of studying his religion in the country of its origin, and of getting copies of the sacred books as there preserved. He was absent from his native land for sixteen years, and returned with six hundred and odd different Buddhist books, enough to load twenty-two pack-horses. The remainder of his life, eighteen years, was spent in translating these books, and he died at the age of sixty-eight, highly honored by the emperor and his ministers,

who were Buddhists, and lamented by the people. He was a sincere, unselfish, faithful, and efficient intellectual laborer.³ When he returned from Hindostan, many of the three thousand seven hundred viharas in China were deserted, the bikshoos having been slain in civil wars, and the buildings having gone to decay; but, stimulated by the missionary and his scriptural treasures, the emperor ordered all these viharas to be re-established, and provided for the ordination of at least five bikshoos for each vihara, making more than eighteen thousand bikshoos at one installment.

In regard to Hindostan, Hiouen Thsang gives little comprehensive information in explicit language, but he conveys the idea that Buddhism in his time was prosperous in every part of the peninsula, which was then divided into more than seventy kingdoms. He spent more than five years in a vihara which had ten thousand bikshoos, in the kingdom of Magadha, the king of which was a Buddhist. He studied in five cities and visited a dozen Hindoo kingdoms in which Buddhism was "honored,"⁴ a phrase which does not convey a very definite idea of the extent of its prevalence. In Khotan he found the population full of respect for the law of Buddha, and he heard of Buddhists in Persia, but he did not visit that country. He found a hundred viharas in Bactria, and as many in Cashmere. In Turkestan he was treated with distinction because of his missionary character. In Samarcand he found two deserted viharas, and he there ordained some bikshoos. Among the Ugoors he found a vihara and a Buddhist khan who was anxious to keep the Chinese pilgrim to instruct his people in their religion. Ceylon, according to report, in his time had 50,000 bikshoos.

After the middle of the VIIth century, under the influence of persecutions by Brahmins and Mohammedans, Buddhism in Hindostan began to decline ; and finally it entirely disappeared throughout the peninsula, south of Bhotan, Nepaul, and Cashmere, in which three provinces it still exists.

At the present time Buddhism is the dominant religion in China, Japan, Thibet, Corea, Burmah, Siam, Anam, and Ceylon, and it is found in Cashmere, Nepaul, Bhotan, Kashgar, Yarkand, the Kirghiz and Kalmuck region (about six hundred miles square north of the Caspian), Sumatra, and Java. The total number of Buddhists is estimated at 500,000,000, or four-tenths of all the people on the globe,⁵ and considerably more numerous than the Christians, and more numerous than either the Brahmins or Mohammedans by more than sixty-six per cent. About a thousand years ago, several emperors of China were outspoken adherents of Buddhism, but in recent centuries all have been followers of Confucius, though many have treated Buddhism with much respect and attention, and have contributed to the maintenance of Buddhist viharas and temples. In 1662 A. D. a proclamation called the Sacred Edict was issued by the emperor, blaming the Buddhists for fabricating groundless tales about future happiness and misery for the gain of the bikshoos, and ordering that a certain passage denouncing this superstition should be read publicly at the new moon and full moon in every city of the empire.⁶

Buddhism has had no general council, that is, no council including representatives of different nationalities. Its discipline has no arrangement for active and systematic ecclesiastical intercourse among the countries in which it

has been extensively accepted. Travel and letters have brought the Buddhists of Hindostan, Ceylon, Siam, Burmah, Thibet, China, Japan, and Manchooria, into communication with one another, but as individuals, not as authorized representatives of national churches. The consequence has been a great divergence in faith and discipline. The Southern Buddhists, who include those of Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and Anam, numbering in all 30,000,000, have departed least from the teachings of Siddhartha. They do not worship ancestors, nor pray to gods or spirits, nor believe in a conscious life and an endless heaven and hell after the cessation of transmigration; but those heresies, besides many others, prevail among the other Buddhists, who are described as belonging to the northern division.

Thibet has a Buddhistic discipline different from that of any other country, with many ceremonies and equipments similar to those of the medieval Christians, and presumably copied from them. It has the cross, the censer suspended by five chains, holy water, bells, candles, chaplets, miters, dalmatics, hymns with two choirs, exorcisms, benedictions with the right hand raised over the head of the laymen, the worship of saints, and a chief priest, who not only rules the church, but in theory at least is entitled to absolute temporal power.

What were the causes of the great and enduring success of Buddhism? That is a question to which every history of culture should offer some reply. The one here offered is that Buddhism was the first universal religion, and is better suited to the wants of an ignorant, superstitious, and peaceful people than the Brahminism, Confucianism, or spirit worship, with which it had to contend in Eastern and Southeastern Asia. It could

not have taken its start and obtained a wide dominion among such conquering nations as the Greeks, Romans, or Teutons. The hardships of the struggle for life, in densely-crowded and unwarlike communities, like those of Hindostan and China, prepare the people to look with favor on such a pessimistic tone as that which predominates in the teachings of Siddhartha. All barbarous nations are extremely greedy for fictions of the supernatural. If only one supernatural creed is offered to a people, they accept it; if several, they select the one that harmonizes best with their intellectual condition. Many of the Hindoos preferred Buddhism to Brahminism, because the latter was objectionable in its caste regulations, and weak in its sacerdotal organization. In China, Buddhism came into competition with Confucianism, which has no priesthood and no doctrine of supernatural beings. To triumph over such enemies was not difficult.

In the last ten centuries, Buddhism has gained only by the increase of populations in countries where it had been previously established. It has lost its missionary zeal and its confidence in its own strength. It has few learned men, and not one author eminent in the literature of our century. Its adherents in China and Japan, which countries contain more than four-fifths of all its believers, belong to the most ignorant class. Their number is imposing, but their general intelligence is not great, and their knowledge of the tenets and history of their religion is not respectable. Buddhism does not promise to gain strength in the future by their help. It may long continue to exist by the aid of inertia and tradition; otherwise it has no importance for coming centuries. It is an outworn superstition.

SEC. 267. *Hindustan's Place*.—The Hindoos have not been eminent in industry. So far as is known, they never made an important improvement in agriculture, mechanics, mining, or navigation. The cultivation of rice and the spinning-wheel had their origin in Southeastern Asia, possibly in Hindostan. After the XIth century B. C. the Hindoos exchanged their products by sea, and after the VIth century by land, with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, but the owners of the caravans, and the owners, builders, and mariners of the ships engaged in these branches of traffic, were natives of other lands. Hindoos of the present day show little capacity for the organization and management of extensive business. The leading manufacturers, ship builders, railway contractors, merchants, and bankers in their country are not of their blood. Among 200,000,000 Hindoos there are not so many first-class bankers and merchants as among 100,000 Parsees. When we compare the Hindoos with the Chinese as to industrial achievements, we find that the latter are far superior. The Chinese had the magnetic needle, the navigable canal, printing, and gunpowder for centuries before the Hindoos knew of them. The Hindoos made no valuable contributions to medicine or surgery except, perhaps, the discovery of inoculation, which was known to them and to the Chinese from very remote times.¹ They understood the art of polishing gems and of cutting stone, but they had no architecture until after the appearance of the Persians and perhaps the Greeks in their country. They worshiped the cow but did not harness the horse. The brute used more than any other for transportation was the elephant, and that could be kept only by princes or persons of great wealth. Cotton was spun in very fine thread and woven into

extremely light cloth, but in the clothing of the common people there was no superior excellence. No great roads were made or bridges built before the Mohammedan conquest.

In their polity, the Hindoos have never shown much capacity. They have never tried a republican government. They have had no influential aristocracy. They have had no deliberative council that exercised control over a large territory. They have contributed no valuable institution to constitutional government. They have had no strong and durable monarchy ruling over their whole peninsula. Usually their country was divided into threescore or more petty states, under tyrannical dynasties that had no permanence of tenure. The administration has been notoriously and shamefully inefficient and corrupt. The military discipline was poor. The army was little better than a mob.² The country never produced a great conqueror, never sent an invading army into a foreign country, and never made any creditable resistance to an invader. It has not now one first-rate regiment of Hindoos officered by Hindoos. The Persians, the Greeks, the Arabs, and the British, conquered the Hindoos with relatively insignificant forces, and had little difficulty in holding their conquests. Under Hindoo rulers of Brahminical faith, division, discord, tyranny, rebellion, and massacre were common events.

The unquestionable inferiority and inefficiency of the Hindoos as rulers, generals, soldiers, administrators, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, ship builders, contractors, and managers of extensive business enterprises, must have a cause. It is not the climate, for the Parsees have dwelt in Hindostan for more than twenty generations without losing their industrial talents. It is not the food, for the

Parsees have nearly the same diet. The chief cause is caste, which hampers the education, the habits, the opinions, and the industry of the people in many ways.

A comparison of Hindostan with China suggests many interesting thoughts. Each is a great country with clearly-defined natural boundaries which serve to protect it against hostile invasion. Each is the home of a great nationality, one with 200,000,000 and the other with 400,000,000 people. Each had made much progress in agriculture and other peaceful arts 4,000 years ago or more. But here the similarity ends. China achieved political unity, devised a meritorious system of government, originated an ethical religion without mythology and without priests, kept careful historical records, invented paper, printing, canal navigation, the magnetic needle, and gunpowder, and, though several times subjugated by aliens, compelled the conquerors to accept their language, laws, customs, and religion. In all these points Hindostan failed completely or was much inferior, but, on the other hand, it produced the greatest amount of literature claiming divine authorship, and the earliest grammar, dictionary, algebra, and fairy tales.

Three notable religions have been developed among the Aryan Hindoos, Brahminism, Buddhism, and Sikhism. Of these Brahminism and Buddhism are important in their ideas and the multitude of their adherents. Sikhism, which does not possess any remarkable original feature, had its origin in the XVIth century of our era, and has perhaps one million believers.³

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ANCIENT PERSIANS.

SECTION 268. *Land and People.*—Modern Persia has an area of 650,000 square miles, extending eight hundred miles from north to south and as far from east to west. Lying between the twenty-fifth and fortieth parallels of latitude, its climate is temperate in the northern districts and subtropical in the southern, but not equable anywhere, the range from heat to cold being relatively large, especially in the northern and more elevated districts. Over much of its territory the rainfall is scanty, and more than 100,000 square miles of its area are desert. It has few large rivers, and none large enough to be navigable to boats driven by steam or sail. Its numerous mountain chains inclose many beautiful and fertile valleys.

In early antiquity, different portions of this region were occupied by Aryan tribes known as Persians, Medes, and Parthians, nearly related to one another in language, customs, and religion, and long independent of one another politically, but after 700 B. C. brought under a common dominion. Of these three branches of the Iranian blood, the Persian is the best known to us, because it founded a greater empire than either of the others, and is the only one that originated a great religion recorded in a sacred book preserved in part at least to modern times. The near relationship of the Zend, the tongue of the ancient Persians, with the Sanscrit, proves that the Iranians and

the Hindoos remained together after their ancestors had separated from the other Aryans.¹

Although there are linguistic and mythological evidences that the Iranian and Hindoo stocks separated from each other as early as 3000 B. c., the first contemporaneous historical mention known to us of any Iranian tribe is of the Medes, made about 850 B. c.,² in the Assyrian records. The Persians do not appear until a hundred years later. It was not until 605 B. c., when Assyria was finally overthrown, that the Iranians became a great national power in Asia. Then Media suddenly rose into prominence, with Persia as a subject province. In 558 B. c. Persia gained the supremacy, and the government was known as that of the Medes and Persians.

Cyrus, the founder of the Persian dynasty, a man of rare capacity and energy, was soon at the head of the greatest empire the world had ever seen. He ruled over Persia, the basin of the Euphrates, Armenia, Asia Minor, Syria, Judea, Afghanistan, and part of India, with, it is supposed, 70,000,000 subjects. Although there were many successful generals and conquerors before him, he surpassed all his predecessors in the combination of military genius with political wisdom. To most of his alien subjects he gave a better government than they had had under the absolute rule of princes of their own blood; and thus he secured relative peace and permanence to his authority. His victory and his government were gentle as compared with those of earlier Asiatic conquerors. The people were so rude, national animosities were so bitter, and methods of administration were so defective, that revolts against his authority were frequent, but in most cases they were neither extensive nor difficult to suppress. He deserves to be considered the first emperor,

the first monarch, who ruled quietly over many subject provinces of alien blood. With him the political history of mankind ceases to be a collection of records of separate nationalities; with him it assumes a character of international or human relationship which rapidly expands until it includes vast areas and immense multitudes of people.

The Persian Empire lasted two centuries and was overthrown by Alexander, who brought against it a military organization far superior to any previously seen in Asia. The Greeks in Persia were too few to maintain themselves, and after a generation they gave way to a dynasty of Parthians who held the dominion for about four centuries and a half, and were succeeded by a Persian dynasty which reigned until the Mohammedan conquest in 636 A. D., since which year the religion of the ancient Persians, and many of their customs, have almost disappeared; the Aryan blood of the people has been much corrupted by Arabic and Turanian admixture; and the population and prosperity of Persia have diminished.

The Iranians were the most energetic and martial of the Asiatics. They were eminent as organizers of political, military, and ecclesiastical institutions. The Persians excelled in war, and the Medes in agriculture. Neither Persians, Medes, nor Parthians were eminent in mercantile pursuits, navigation, mechanical labor, the ornamental arts, or secular literature. Rawlinson tells us that they have left us "no statues, no modeled figures, no metal castings, no carvings in ivory or wood, no enamelings, no pottery even."³ But from the ruins at Susa and Persepolis, we can see that they built extensive and elegant palaces, and that they could transport enormous masses of stone. The largest stone block in their ruins is fifty

feet long, nine wide, and six thick. The main hall of the Persepolitan palace was two hundred and twenty-five feet square and the roof was supported by a hundred columns, each at least thirty-five feet high.

George Rawlinson thinks that the palaces at Persepolis and Susa "must have been among the fairest creations with which human art ever embellished the earth," and that beyond a doubt they "compared favorably with any edifices which, up to the time of their construction, had been erected in any country by any people. It was in these glorious buildings that Iranian architecture culminated; and there is reason to believe that from them the Grecian architecture gained those ideas which, fructifying in their artistic minds, led to the best triumphs of Hellenic constructive art, the magnificent temples of Diana at Ephesus and of Minerva on the Acropolis of Athens."⁴

SEC. 269. *Persian Government.*—In regard to the social customs of the Iranians, we have little precise information of interest. Among the wealthy, the women were kept in seclusion. Polygyny was common, but the first wife was superior in political rights and in social dignity to the others. Her sons could not be deprived of their position as the main heirs of their father and as the custodians of the family worship.

The administration of the Persian Empire was much improved by Darius. He divided it, according to ethnographical boundaries, into twenty provinces, each of which was permitted to retain its hereditary language, customs, laws, religion, and local officials; and some of them were allowed to have a native governor. The satrap, or provincial ruler, had his own treasury and army, with unlimited power over the lives and property of his

subjects; but he was responsible to the emperor for the peace and general prosperity of his province, for a definite annual tribute to the imperial treasury, and for contributions of men, arms, transportation, and food supplies to the imperial army. If the satrap was ordered to take part in a military expedition beyond his province, he could choose a substitute to rule during his absence. A treasurer appointed by the emperor was established in every provincial capital with instructions to make frequent reports to his master.

At strong strategical positions, such as passes, bridges, fords, and the junctions of great roads, fortresses were built in every province, and were garrisoned by Persians, under trusty officers. Great roads, with post stations at intervals of fifteen miles, and mounted military messengers, gave facilities for sending governmental dispatches rapidly from end to end of the empire. The main road from Ephesus to Cabool was more than twenty-five hundred miles long. An annual visit was made to every province by the emperor or by an imperial inspector, who made a report of his observations.

The favorite weapon of the Persian soldiery was the bow; but the spear was also used. A large proportion of the army was mounted, and the cavalry was considered superior to that of any other country. When the armies of Darius and Xerxes invaded Europe, the chief care of the Greek commanders was to select positions in which the Persian cavalry could not be used to advantage; and it was by their cavalry that the Persians inflicted several crushing defeats on the Romans. Of Persian war chariots, we read very little.

SEC. 270. *The Avesta*.—For our knowledge of the religion of the ancient Persians, we are mainly indebted

to their sacred book, the Avesta, the composition and publication of which are ascribed to Zoroaster, spelled Zarathustra in the Avesta and Zerdusht in some later Persian books. He was also called Spitama, or spiritual chief. It is uncertain when he lived, but some parts of the Avesta seem to have their origin as early as 1500 B. C. The term Zendavesta, often applied to the book, is incorrect; Zend means commentary, and Zendavesta means the Avesta and its commentary. Zend had much importance to the later Persians, but it has relatively little for modern scholars.¹

In the time of Darius, the sacred book of Zoroaster comprised twenty-one divisions with eight hundred and fifteen chapters; but in the middle of the IVth century A. D., the old book was revised so as to be included in three hundred and forty-eight chapters; and of these only two have been preserved to our time. One of these, the Vendidad, relates to purification, and the other, the Yasna, relates to worship. These two chapters make up the Avesta as now known to us, and in their contents bear more resemblance to a prayer-book than to any other ecclesiastical book used among Christians.² "The greater part of the prayers and thanksgivings [in the Avesta] are without religious feeling or poetical fervor, and very far removed from the richness and abundance, the beauty and freshness of conception, which streams through most of the hymns of the Veda."³

The Avesta contains about 60,000 words, and purports to consist mainly of replies to questions addressed to Ahura Mazda by Zoroaster. This composition suggests one method of telling fortunes common among many savage and barbarous nations, of ancient and also of modern times. The Chinese temples in San Francisco

now have wooden blocks so made that when thrown up and allowed to fall at random on a table, they must come to rest on one of two sides, one of which means yes, and the other no, to any question which the worshiper asks, either silently or audibly, when he throws the block. Before appealing to the divinity for his decision, the devotee should make an offering; and in cases of great importance, he employs a priest, or person reputed to possess superior ecclesiastical knowledge, to make a solemn offering and throw the block. This method of procedure is based on the theory that the divinity controls the fall of the block, and when properly propitiated, and addressed, will control it so as to reveal the future to the questioner. If the reply should not be satisfactory, the question may be asked again the next day, and the next. The query should be framed so that it may be solved by a simple yes or no, and if one response is not sufficient to give all the information needed, a succession of others leading from general to particular points may be asked.

Something of this kind was customary among the ancient Jews: "Saul asked counsel of God, 'Shall I go down after the Philistines? Wilt thou deliver them into the hand of Israel?' But He answered him not that day. And Saul said, 'Draw ye near hither all the chief of the people.' . . . Then said he unto all Israel, 'Be ye on one side, and I and Jonathan, my son, will be on the other side.' And the people said unto Saul, 'Do what seemeth good unto thee.' Therefore Saul said unto the Lord God of Israel, 'Give a perfect lot.' And Saul and Jonathan were taken. And Saul said, 'Cast lots between me and Jonathan my son.' And Jonathan was taken."⁴ In that case, the method of casting the lot is not described, but the divinity refused to reply to the first

question, and Saul understood this refusal to mean that some Israelite had committed a sin, and had deprived the nation of a right to a reply. The lot decided who committed sin, and Jonathan confessed that it was true.

A similar proceeding for the discovery of sin is recorded in the book of Joshua.⁵ There we read that when the Hebrews attacked the town of Ai, they were badly beaten, because some unknown one of their number had sinned. The sinner was discovered by lot. The first lot fixed on the tribe of Judah; the second fixed on Zerah among the sons of Judah; the third designated Zabdi among the sons of Zerah; the fourth picked out Carmi among the sons of Zabdi; and the fifth reached the offender Achan among the sons of Carmi. Achan confessed and was slain.

We may imagine that Zoroaster obtained his revelation by lot. He may have asked a series of questions to which the dice replied, as he understood them, yes or no; and when he communicated his doctrines to others he may have changed the forms of the queries and responses, so that the divinity would appear to more advantage than if he had no chance to say anything save yes or no. The probability that Zoroaster received his revelation in this manner, is suggested not only by the question and answer in the Avesta, but also by the statements that he is "the publisher of the words of Ahura;"⁶ that his law is the answer given to him by Ahura; and that the Persian declares his faith in the word of Zoroaster, in his law and in the oracles received by him.

SEC. 271. *Ormuzd*.—The main idea of the Avesta is that two great spirits, one good and the other evil, are contending for the control of the world; that neither can now entirely overcome the other; that the good spirit

will finally triumph; and that all devout men should side with the good spirit and aid him by their worship and by virtuous actions. The good spirit is named Ahura Mazda, Ormuzd or Spento Mainyas; the evil spirit is Ahriman or Anglo Mainyu.

Ahura means lord, and Mazda omniscient; Ahura Mazda or Ormuzd is the all-knowing lord, the lord of high knowledge or the lord who bestows intelligence. The sun and fire are regarded as his sacred symbols, and all the more important acts of religion are done in the presence of one or the other, and with the face turned towards it, but without the thought of paying any worship to it, any more than the Christian worships the altar before which he kneels.

Every beneficent thing in the world was created by Ormuzd; and everything came from his hand in a condition of perfect purity. Among his works are life, light, truth, virtue, food, fire, air, earth, water, the horse, the dog, the cow, the sheep, the eagle, the vulture, and man. Ahriman, the evil spirit, created death, disease, decomposition, temptation, crime, vice, poison, smoke, the serpent, and every form of evil. To every good thing made by Ormuzd, Ahriman attached an evil accompaniment. He created darkness to resist light, and falsehood to resist truth; to life he attached death, and to fire, smoke.

The following is an extract from the Avesta¹:—

Now will I speak and proclaim to all who have come to listen,
Thy praise Ahura Mazda and thine O Vohumano.
Asha, I ask that thy grace may appear in the light of heaven.

Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your minds what
is purest,
So that each man for himself may, before the great doom cometh,
Choose the creed he prefers. May the wise ones be on our side.

These two spirits are twins ; they made known in times that are
by-gone

That which is good and evil in thought and word and action.
Rightly decided between them the good: not so the evil.

When these two came together, first of all they created
Life and death, that at last there might be for such as are evil
Wretchedness, but for the good a happy, blest existence.

Of these two, the one who was evil chose what was evil ;
He who was kind and good, whose robe was the changeless
heaven,
Chose what was right ; those, too, whose works pleased Ahura
Mazda.

They could not rightly discern who erred and worshiped the
Devas ;

They the bad spirit chose, and having held counsel together
Turned to rapine, that so they might make man's life an affliction.

But to the good came might ; and with might came wisdom and
virtue ;

Armaite herself, the eternal, gave to their bodies
Vigor ; e'en thou wert enriched by the gifts that she scattered,
O Mazda.

Mazda, the time will come when the crimes of the bad shall be
punished ;

Then shall thy power be displayed in fitly rewarding the righteous,
Them that have bound and delivered up falsehood to Asha, the
Truth-god.

Let us then be of those who advance this world and improve it,
O Ahura Mazda, O Truth-god, bliss conferring !
Let our minds be ever there where wisdom abideth !

Then indeed shall be seen the fall of pernicious falsehood ;
But in the house where dwell Vohumano, Mazda, and Asha,
Beautiful house—shall be gathered forever such as are worthy.

O men, if you but cling to the precepts Mazda has given,
Precepts which to the bad are a torment, but joy to the righteous,
Then shall you one day find yourselves victorious through them.²

The idea of dualism lies at the foundation of Mazdeism. Zoroaster thought that the existence of evil proved that his deity was either not perfect in goodness or not unlimited in power. But the goodness was to him more desirable than power in a deity; and therefore he represented Ormuzd as anxious but unable to overcome Ahriman. The promise of a victory to be achieved after a lapse of thousands of years, does not protect man from misery in his earthly life; he, like his creator, has a hard and long struggle. The Avesta recognizes various inferior beneficent divinities, and also the divine ancestral spirits or Fravashis, so that it is decidedly polytheistic. The following is an extract from the Avesta: "We worship the deified spirits [Fravashis] of all the holy men and holy women whose souls are worthy of sacrifice and invocation! We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women, our sacrificing to whom makes us good in the eyes of Ahura Mazda; of all those we have heard that Zarathustra is the first and best as a follower of Ahura and as a performer of the law. . . . We worship Zarathustra, the lord and master of all the material world, the man of the primitive law, the wisest of all creatures, the best ruling of all, the brightest of all, the most glorious of all, the most deserving of sacrifice, of prayer, of propitiation, and of glorification, and as worthy of sacrifice and prayer as any creature can be in the perfection of his holiness."³

Morality has a prominent place in the Mazdean religion. Truthfulness, justice, purity, and devotion to productive, and especially to agricultural, labor, are among the chief duties of its followers. To irrigate dry soil, to drain wet soil, to plough the ground, to sow grain, to plant trees, and to feed and care for domestic animals so

that they shall thrive and increase, are meritorious acts before Ormuzd, and honorable to every rank of society. Without devotion to some serious and beneficent occupation, no one can enjoy the favor of Heaven. Idleness is a great sin; faithful toil is better than any ceremonial observance.⁴

The Mazdeans believed in a future life, with heaven for the good and hell for the bad.⁵ They had a final judgment, with a resurrection of the body. The final triumph of Ahura over Ahriman will be aided by the Sosidch or Soshyos, a semi-divine redeemer who will be born of a virgin and will aid men in obtaining salvation.

"The pure Zoroastrian worship consisted of prayers and hymns (such as the gathas), both to Ahura Mazda and to his councillors and angels. For though the former was the only object of supreme adoration, a sort of inferior worship was rendered to the Amshashpands [angels] and Yazatas [spirits], and to all creatures superior to man, among the rest to the heavenly bodies. . . . With these prayers and hymns were combined the maintenance of the sacrificial fire and the curious ceremony derived from the highest Aryan antiquity of offering the juice of the plant called the Homa, the Soma of the Vedas, where the rite is much more developed and Soma becomes the moon-god in association with Mithra, as the sun-god. The ceremony consisted in the extraction of the juice of the Homa plant by the priests, during the recitation of the prayers, the formal presentation of the liquid extracted to the sacrificial fire, the consumption of a small portion of it by one of the officiating priests, and the division of the remainder of it among the worshipers."⁶

The modern Parsees, who number about 100,000, of whom the great majority are in Hindostan, and not more

than five thousand in Persia, are the descendants of the Zoroastrians, and preserve their ancient religion; but whether their faith is the same as that of the companions of Darius the Great is doubtful. Cyrus and Darius were buried in tombs, and the modern Parsees have no tombs. The magi were an order of hereditary priests who took charge of the Zoroastrian worship while the Medes were dominant; but whether their claims of sacerdotal authority were justified by the Avesta in its ancient completeness, is not now ascertainable. There are reasons for believing that the Median, the Persian, and the Parthian division of the Iranian people had each its religious peculiarities; but as to the amount of the differences between them, and as to the influence of the different divisions upon the religion of the modern Parsees, our information is unsatisfactory.

A peculiar feature of Zoroastrianism is its rule that the corpse shall be exposed where wild birds or quadrupeds shall eat the flesh. Death is the work of Ahriman; it is a defilement of the life given by Ahura Mazda. The dead body, being corrupt, must not be brought into contact with earth, fire, or water, all of which are pure, as they were created by the beneficent deity. Every community of Zoroastrians should have a "tower of silence," or dead house, on the roof of which the corpse may be exposed to the vultures. The most notable building of this kind is at Bombay, where it is one of the wonders of the city. Numerous vultures visit the place daily, and within an hour they leave nothing but the skeleton. When the bones are clean, they may be buried.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BABYLONIANS, ETC.

SECTION 272. *Chaldea*.—Babylonia, called also Chaldea, the fertile valley land in the basin of the Euphrates, south of latitude 34° , has a length of three hundred miles and a width of perhaps fifty. The summers are long and oppressively hot; the winters mild and brief, with light frosts and very rare snows. The soil is fertile, but for cereals requires irrigation. The chief crops are dates, wheat, barley, millet, lentils, apples, pears, olives, and grapes.

In a remote antiquity, Chaldea was a populous, wealthy, and powerful nation. It had numerous cities, great irrigating canals, highly developed mechanical arts, famous products of cloth, leather, metal, and glass, an extensive maritime commerce centering at ports on the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, and numerous caravans that transported freight across Asia. Its people excelled all contemporaneous nations in their systems of measuring dimensions, time, weight, and the circle, and in their knowledge of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.

According to the tradition of Western Asia, recorded in Genesis, Babylon was the oldest of cities; and in the Vth century B. c., it was the largest and most splendid. It was ten miles square, and its walls were at least seventy feet high and thirty thick. No smaller measurements are given by any ancient author; and these are

only about one third of the figures given by Herodotus, who tells us that the area was fourteen miles square, including nearly two miles square occupied by the royal palace and grounds, and also including many private fields and gardens. The Euphrates ran through the middle of the city, and the banks of the river were lined with high walls, with gates at the ferries, and at the one bridge which connected the opposite sides of the city. There was also a tunnel fifteen feet wide and twelve high under the river.¹ The straight and wide streets crossed one another at right angles.

Babylonia was the first country to engage extensively in commerce with distant nations, differing greatly in this respect from China, Egypt, and Hindostan, which never had much foreign trade, and by their situation or ecclesiastical policy were isolated for thousands of years. The first extensive and systematic commercial intercourse among many nations was that established by Babylon; and hers was also the first great accumulation of commercial wealth. Isaiah² considered Babylonia "the glory of kingdoms;" Jeremiah³ spoke of her as "the praise of the whole earth," and Ezekiel⁴ as "a land of traffic." To the author last named⁵ the capital was "a city of merchants," and her shipping was the chief subject of her "cry" or boast. Babylon has no fluvial or maritime commerce now, and is badly situated for it in modern times; but with ancient boats she was conveniently accessible. Her ships traded to all the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Babylon was the head of navigation on the Euphrates for sea-going ships. It was the place where merchandise was transferred from boat to camel on the way between Phœnicia and Hindostan. The Phœnicians as well as the Jews were the descendants of

emigrants from Mesopotamia; they inherited their mercantile talents from a remote ancestry. Although Xerxes had a vast number of other sailors in his fleet collected to attack Greece, he also had many from Babylon.⁶ Besides its marine trade with the coast of Hindostan, it had an extensive caravan traffic with Afghanistan, the Punjab, Bactria, Persia, and China.⁷ Thus it became the commercial, industrial, and intellectual center of barbarous antiquity; and it continued to be a great city until a cheaper and more expeditious route for the transportation of merchandise between Hindostan and the Mediterranean was opened, about the beginning of the IVth century B. C.

SEC. 273. *Chaldean Buildings*.—The chief building material was adobe, the surface of which in elegant edifices was lined and faced with burned bricks, enameled tiles, or slabs of stone, either plain or sculptured in relief. In high walls of adobe, at intervals of ten or fifteen courses, there was a layer of reeds or mats in bitumen, which prevented the spread of moisture and protected surfaces exposed to the rain. Stone was scarce and rarely used save in temples and palaces. These were erected on artificial terraces, or mounds, which sometimes reached an elevation of five, ten, or even more yards above the natural surface. Adobe being a material which absorbs water and has no strength when wet through, great care was taken to protect the lower parts of the walls from moisture. Foundations were made with burned brick, and the mounds were supplied with channels and underground drains to carry off water. The principle of the arch was known in a remote antiquity, though it was rarely used, as it is not suitable for application in adobe walls, unless over narrow openings. It was employed

however in the masonry supporting the Hanging Garden, in the tunnel under the Euphrates, and in some sewers or drains. The Babylonians made excellent lime mortar for use with stone and burned brick; and they applied bitumen extensively in damp ground.

The wall of Babylon was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world; and another was "the Hanging Garden," as it was called, though a better name would have been "the Elevated Garden." It was a garden four hundred and fifty feet square, seventy-five feet above the surface of the ground, sustained on columns and arches. A deep, rich soil, supplied with an abundance of water, was covered with luxuriant vegetation, including some large trees.

One of the most remarkable buildings of Babylon was the temple or observatory of Baal. It was two hundred and seventy-two feet square on the ground, and consisted of seven stories, the six upper stories being each forty-two feet less each way than the one below it. The three lowest stories were each twenty-six feet high, and the four above each fifteen feet. Each story was dedicated to one of the seven sacred planets, and each was painted externally with a distinctive color, beginning at the ground with black, and ascending through orange, red, purple, yellow, blue, and white to the top. The astronomical observatory at the summit was one hundred and fifty-two feet above the base. Much of the building was a solid mass of adobe masonry, with facings of brick, but there were internal halls and arches, as well as staircases.

SEC. 274. *Chaldean Learning*.—Instead of writing on papyrus or parchment, or cutting or painting their inscriptions on the walls of temples, tombs, and palaces, as did many other ancient nations, the Babylonians impressed

theirs on clay tablets, which were preserved with or without burning.

In the later period of Babylonian independence and prosperity, the writing was syllabic. There were about one hundred groups of cuneiform or wedge-shaped marks for as many syllables containing one consonant; and about two hundred marks for syllables each containing two consonants. Alphabetic characters did not come into use until Babylonia became part of the Persian Empire. With the syllabic character, the older word signs were often mingled, and the preservation of these implied that there was a time when word signs were used exclusively in Babylonia for writing.

The Chaldean erudition had its origin in very remote times. As early as 3800 B. C., there was a library at Agadé; and among its books was an extensive treatise on astronomy.¹ They had a work resembling that of Euclid in scope, and it is probable that he used much Chaldean material in his work. It was mainly because of their superiority in arithmetic, mathematics, and astronomy that in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries B. C., the Babylonians were reputed to be the most learned of nations. In their arithmetic, much prominence was given to the number sixty; and they had simple and complex multiplication tables. Of the latter, one gave the squares and another the cubes of all the numbers from one to sixty. They divided the day into twelve hours, the hour into sixty minutes, and the minute into sixty seconds. They divided the ecliptic into three hundred and sixty degrees, presumably adopting that number because it was the product of twelve multiplied by thirty, those multipliers being "the nearest numbers to the lunations in a year, and to the days in a lunation."² They divided

the lunar month into four weeks of seven days each, assigned a day to each of the seven planets, and called the last day of the week the sabbath, or rest of the soul.

They made maps and catalogues of the stars, divided them into groups, distinguished planets and comets from fixed stars, understood the relative distances of many planets from the earth, recorded occultations of planets by the sun and moon, observed the revolution of the stellar system, traced the track of the sun round the firmament, and divided its course into twelve sections, giving to each its constellation, name, and distinctive sign. It is from them that modern civilization has derived its zodiac and its divisions of the circle, of the day, and of the year. These measures must have been devised by scholars who had profited by the experience and the lessons of many centuries; and after adoption by the scholars, they were legalized by the government, superseding older and ruder standards. Of the many wonderful achievements of the Babylonians, one of the most difficult was the tracing of the sun through the sky, along a path which in the day is hidden, by the glare of light, and at night is discoverable to the reason and not to direct vision. Different languages were spoken in the Euphrates Valley, and these were studied with the aid of dictionaries and grammar.

Their astronomical observations were continued for at least nine centuries, and their records for so long a time were used by Ptolemy the astronomer, in the middle of the IIInd century A. D. Aristotle said that their astronomical observations ran back 31,000 years.³ They invented the astrolabe to measure the altitude of stars above the horizon. They recorded lunar eclipses, and by their tables found that these phenomena recur in cycles of two hun-

dred and twenty-three lunations or periods of about nineteen years. They measured with approximate accuracy the solar day, the lunar revolution, and the solar year. The last, according to their calculations, was about three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter. They invented two kinds of sun-dials for the measurement of time,—the vertical pillar and the more precise rectangular triangle with its hypotenuse pointing to the pole-star. They also invented the water-clock, to measure time, and with this they calculated the speed of the sun's movement and the diameter of its disk in relation to the length of its orbit. "At the moment when the sun was seen in the sky on the morning of the equinox, a jar filled with water was opened. From this the water was allowed to run into a second small jar, till the orb of the sun was completely visible; then it ran into a third and larger jar till the sun was again seen on the horizon on the following morning. They concluded that the diameter of the sun must stand in the same proportion to the cycle it passed through as the water in the small jar stood to the water in the large one. Hence they found that the diameter of the sun was contained seven hundred and twenty times in its course."⁴

"There can be no doubt that the Babylonian astronomy was more truly scientific than the Egyptian, and that it reached the highest perfection attainable without the aid of optical instruments. The Chaldeans knew the synodic period of the moon, the equinoctial and solstitial points, the true length of the year as dependent on the annual course of the sun (within a narrow limit of error), and even the precession of the equinoxes. But as might have been expected from their want of accurate instruments, they made a mistake in the amount of the pre-

cession and calculated it at thirty seconds instead of fifty. Hence their great cosmical year—that is, one complete revolution of the equinoctial points among the fixed stars—was made too long in like proportion, namely, 43,200 solar years instead of 26,000, to use round numbers.⁵”

SEC. 275. *Chaldean Government*.—We know little of the social, political, and military institutions of the Babylonians. The government was despotic and rested on the submissiveness much more than on the affection of the people. In proportion to the number and wealth of its subjects, its military power was not great. The Chaldeans were no match in an open field for the Assyrians, Persians, Medes, or Parthians; and they never won a great victory over a superior or equal number of enemies. That many of the people were slaves is manifest from the magnitude of the public works, which must have required the labor of many thousands of men employed for a long succession of years. The erection of the wall of Babylon was a greater enterprise than an Egyptian pyramid; and it was something that could not be finished in a generation, and to which the common people would not willingly devote a whole life-time. We have no description of a Babylonian palace, but immense mounds still remaining on the site of Babylon are the remains of vast buildings. One of these mounds is half a mile square and fifty feet high, and another is about a third of a mile square.

SEC. 276. *Chaldean Religion*.—The Babylonians were a devout people. One of their chief gods, of whom they had a multitude, was El, and from him their city was named the Gate of El—Babel. They used the titles of their divinities El, Baal, Beltis, Nebo, Merodach, Nergol, Shamas, and Asshur, in many of the names of their cities,

kings, nobles, and common people. Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabopolassar, and Shalmaneser, are a few monarchs who remind us of the popular and official piety.

Nearly every name of which the signification is known to us, has a religious meaning. Among them we find such as these¹:—

Belshazzar—Bel protects the king.

Belteshazzar—Bel guards secrets.

Belipni—Bel has made him.

Nebuchadnezzar—Nebo protects landmarks.

Nebuzaradan—Nebo has given the offspring.

Nabonassar—Nebo protects me.

Nabopolassar—Nebo protects my son.

Nabonahid—Nebo protects me.

Nabusallim—Nebo makes perfect.

Nabubilsami—Nebo is the lord of names.

Merodachbaladan—Merodach has given a son.

Abednebo—The slave of Nebo.

Temples were numerous in Chaldea, and so were the priests. The gods were worshiped with sacrifices of brutes and human beings, with offerings of flowers, fruits, and bread, with instrumental and vocal music, dancing, and prayer. There was one temple in Babylon where every maiden, before she could marry, was required to sell herself to some stranger, and to give the money to the treasury of the temple. After that time she must be chaste.

The Babylonians were Semites. Theirs was the first great monarchy of Western Asia. For more than a thousand years they were the most powerful and wealthy of nations. About 1300 B. C. they were conquered by their Assyrian neighbors and kindred, and they remained tributary to the Assyrian Empire until 637 B. C.,

when they regained their independence, which they lost again, and finally when they were conquered by the Persians. Their language, blood, political and ecclesiastical institutions, and great city, have disappeared forever.

Here is one of the Babylonian prayers: "Oh Lord, may the anger of your heart be allayed! Oh Lord, who knowest that I sinned in ignorance, look upon me kindly! Oh Goddess, who knowest that I knew not, be conciliated! I eat the food of wrath and drink the waters of anguish! . . . Oh my God, my transgressions are great. . . . I transgress without knowing it. I sin and know it not. I feed on transgressions and know it not. I wander in wrong paths and know it not. The Lord in the wrath of His heart has overwhelmed me with confusion. . . . I lie on the ground and no one reaches out a hand to me. I am silent and in tears, and no one says a cheering word. I cry out, and nobody hears me. I am exhausted and oppressed, and no one helps me. . . . My God, who knowest that I knew not, be merciful to me. . . . My Goddess, who knowest that I knew not, be merciful to me. . . . How long, O my God, must I wait for your mercy? . . . How long, O my Goddess, must I wait for your mercy? . . . Lord, thou wilt not repulse thy servant. In the midst of the stormy waters, come to my assistance, take me by the hand. If I commit sins, turn them into blessedness. If I commit transgressions, let the wind blow them away! My blasphemies are many; rend them like a garment! . . . Oh my God, who knowest that I knew not, my sins are seven times seven,—forgive my sins."²

The following prayer indicates a belief in seven great evil spirits: "They are seven! They are seven! Seven

they are in the depths of ocean. Seven they are, disturbers of the face of heaven. They arise from the depths of the ocean, from hidden lurking-places. They spread like snares. Male they are not; female they are not. Wives they have not; children are not born to them. Order they know not, nor beneficence. Prayer and supplication they hear not. Vermin grown in the bowels of the mountains, foes of mankind, they are the throne-bearers of the gods; they sit in the roads and make them unsafe. The fiends! The fiends! They are seven! They are seven; seven they are. Spirit of heaven, be they confused. Spirit of earth, be they confused.”³

They believed in sorcery. Here is a sorcerer's prayer: “As this onion is being peeled of its skins, thus shall it be with the evil spell. The burning fire shall consume it. It shall never be planted in the field. The ground shall not receive its root; its head shall bear no seed; it shall not be an offering at the feast of a god or king. The man who cast the evil spell, his eldest son, his wife, the curse, the lamentations, the transgressions, the written spell, the blasphemies, the sins, the evil in the victim's body, in his flesh, in his sores, may they all be destroyed like this onion; and may the burning fire consume them this day! May the evil spell go far away; and may light and health return.”⁴

Not one of the Babylonian mounds has been examined with care and thoroughness; and there is reason to hope that large additions will be made, within a generation or two, to the present stock of Chaldean literature. Until the archæological explorations in the valley of the Euphrates shall have come to an end, any statement of the culture of the Babylonians must be incomplete.

SEC. 277. *Assyria*.—Assyria, a hilly region, three hundred miles long and two hundred wide, in the northern part of the Tigris basin, had no promise of natural greatness in its geographical features. It had no great natural advantages over adjacent countries in fertility of soil, navigable waters, or productive mines. Its inhabitants had no strong stimulus to national pride in the exclusive possession of a distinctive blood, tongue, industry, polity, or religion. But they did have a superior military discipline. For seven centuries they were the best fighters in Asia. Before the rise of Rome, they maintained a dominion over many alien provinces during a longer period than any other nation. Duncker says that no state of the Orient, "beginning with a region so small, and provided with such scanty material means, rose so high as Assyria, attained a wider supremacy, or maintained it so long and so vigorously."¹

The Assyrians were predominantly Semitic in their blood, and regarded Babylonia as the country from which their ancestors came. For a long period they were subjects of Chaldea, but about 1300 B. C. revolted, established their independence, and conquered Babylonia, which, with occasional seasons of rebellion, remained subject to them nearly seven centuries. The Assyrian Empire included Armenia, Media, Persia, Babylonia, Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Egypt.

The first capital of Assyria was the city of Asshur, on the western bank of the Tigris, about latitude $35^{\circ} 30'$. Calah, about twenty miles farther north, on the western bank of the river, was the second capital, and the last and greatest was Nineveh, on the eastern bank, in latitude $36^{\circ} 21'$. It had a circuit of ten miles, within a brick wall a hundred and fifty feet high and fifty feet thick,

Some adobe was used in Assyria, but stone, of which a good quality could be obtained in the hills, and brick, were the preferred materials for building; and therefore the architectural remains are more interesting and more abundant than in Babylonia. As in Chaldea so in Assyria, the important public buildings stood on mounds, usually about thirty feet above the level of the valleys. The Koyunjik mound at Nineveh covers one hundred acres, and is ninety feet high; and the Nibbi Yunus mound is nearly half as large. The former of these mounds must have required the labor of 10,000 men for at least twelve years to complete it.

The royal palaces were large and splendid. The mound of Koyunjik is the ruin of a royal palace and temple with their grounds. The walls were adobe, with facings of thick limestone. Some of the blocks of stone weighed twenty-five tons each. The palace had several large courts. The walls were fifty feet high, and the larger halls one hundred and twenty feet long by thirty feet wide. The roofs were of timber, and were flat and used as a part of the house. The floors were covered with hard tiles, about fifteen inches square and two inches thick. The walls in the larger halls were lined with alabaster slabs covered with low reliefs, of which there were about seven thousand yards of surface. Twenty-four pairs of colossal winged bulls with the heads of men stood at the doorways. The sculpture does not indicate high artistic taste, but it is evidently the work of a great number of men who had been carefully trained to their business.

The Assyrians rivaled their predecessors and masters, the Babylonians, in literary activity. They kept full records of their public business, they accumulated libra-

ries, they prepared grammars and dictionaries, and they evidently had a large number of persons who spent their lives in study and in writing. Thousands of their clay tablets, which have been dug out from the ruins, make up a considerable literature, and it is hoped that many more will be obtained hereafter. Centuries may elapse before archæological and historical investigation will exhaust the materials now buried in the Assyrian ruins.

Among the Assyrian writings preserved to modern times are ancient myths (including some similar to certain narratives in Genesis), private letters, governmental dispatches, geographical, zoölogical and botanical descriptions, laws, legal decisions, contracts, conveyances, tribute and tax lists, assessment rolls, hymns, prayers, lists of the gods, with their titles and attributes, astronomical tables, grammars, and dictionaries. The literary activity of the Assyrians was greatest about the middle of the VIIth century B. C. The Assyrians showed their enterprise in many different directions. They were bold builders and engineers as well as hunters and warriors. They built numerous grand palaces, and they decorated them with fresco painting, enameled tiles, and with sculpture in the round and in relief. Their statuary shows a close study of nature, and the power of representing its leading features with spirit and accuracy. They had schools of sculpture with numerous students who had acquired a skill obtainable only by long practice. Such schools must have contributed to the alabaster slabs carved in relief for the walls of the Koyunjik palace. These were sufficient to cover more than two thousand yards of wall to a height of nine feet. The colossal human-headed bulls of Nineveh are the largest, but not the most artistic, productions of Assyrian sculpt-

ure. The Khorsabad palace was an immense structure, and its walls inclosed an area a mile square. The Assyrians supplied water to Calah by a tunnel. Indeed, though upon many points our information is defective, we can scarcely get a clear glimpse into the life of the Assyrians in any direction without seeing that they were an extremely energetic people.

SEC. 278. *Assyrian Polity*.—The Assyrian army consisted of about 200,000 men, drawn probably from 3,000,000 people. Not often, however, were more than 100,000 employed at a time. It was the policy of the government to keep these men at home in time of peace; they were not distributed over the country in garrisons. The provinces were left to themselves so long as they paid the required annual tribute. If the native king was slain or carried away as a captive, some man of the royal or of a princely family was placed on the throne. The laws, the priests, the town authorities, and the local usages were not disturbed. If the king failed to pay, he was dethroned; if the people rebelled, they were conquered and plundered. Their cattle were driven off, their temples despoiled, the walls of their cities destroyed, a considerable number of their boys and girls taken as slaves, and perhaps many families deported to some remote district, the vacant lands being given to settlers of different blood, religion, and tongue. A province, thus supplied with a considerable number of alien colonists, was crippled in its military efficiency, and not likely to organize a revolt until after several generations had elapsed. The Assyrians were the first conquerors who adopted the policy of deportation.¹

They did not expect and perhaps did not wish their empire to be peaceful. They ruled harshly and cruelly.

Their army needed a campaign every year to keep up its efficiency, and at some place within a month's march from their capital. Western Persia and Palestine were as far away as they could go conveniently. Egypt and Parthia were too remote. The best places for military practice were in Media, Persia, Babylonia, Armenia, Northern Syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, or Judea, and in one or the other of these provinces some insurrection broke out nearly every year.

SEC. 279. *Assyrian Religion*.—The doctrines and ceremonies of religion in Assyria were very similar to those in Babylonia. The chief god of the nation was Asshur. "His place," as George Rawlinson says, "was always first in invocations. He is regarded, throughout the Assyrian inscriptions, as the tutelary deity both of the kings and of the country. He places the monarchs upon the throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like. To him they look to give them victory over their enemies, to grant them all the wishes of their hearts, and to allow them to be succeeded on their thrones by their sons and their son's sons to a remote posterity. . . . They represent themselves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name."¹

Speaking of an inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., about 1100 B. C., the same author says: "The long and solemn invocation of the great gods with which it opens, the distinct ascription to their assistance and guardianship of the whole series of the royal successes, whether in war or in the chase; the prevailing idea that the wars were

undertaken for the chastisement of the enemies of Asshur, and that their result was the establishment, in an ever-widening circle, of the worship of Asshur; the careful account which is given of the erection and renovation of temples and the dedication of offerings; and the striking final prayer—all these are so many proofs of the prominent place which religion held in the thoughts of the king who set up the inscription, and may fairly be accepted as indications of the general tone and temper of his people. It is evident that we have here displayed to us, not a decent lip service, not a conventional piety, but a real hearty, earnest religious faith. . . . The king glorifies himself much; but he glorifies the gods more. . . . The whole tone of his mind is deeply and sincerely religious; besides formal acknowledgments, he is continually letting drop little expressions which show that his gods are in all his thoughts, and represent to him real powers governing and directing all the various circumstances of human life.”² In another passage, pursuing this train of thought, the same author says: “Even when bent on glorifying himself, the monarch is still ‘the illustrious chief who, under the auspices of the sun-god, rules over the people of Bel,’ and ‘whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions.’ If his enemies fly, ‘the fear of Asshur has overwhelmed them.’ If they refuse tribute, ‘they withhold the offerings due to Asshur.’ If the king himself feels inclined to make an expedition against a country, ‘his lord, Asshur, invites him’ to proceed thither. If he collects an army, ‘Asshur has committed the troops to his hand.’ When a people, not previously subject to Assyria, is attacked, it is because the people ‘do not acknowledge Asshur.’ When its plunder is carried off, it is to adorn and enrich the tem-

ples of Asshur and the other gods. When it yields, the first thing is to attach it to the worship of Asshur.”³

Many of their prayers and hymns have an elevated tone. An Assyrian hymn says: “In heaven who is high? Thou alone art high. In earth who is high? Thou alone, thou art high. As for thee, thy word in heaven is declared; the gods bow their faces to the ground. As for thee, thy word on earth is declared; the spirits of the earth kiss the ground.” Another hymn says: “O Lord my transgressions are many; great are my sins. The Lord in the anger of his heart has confounded me; God in the strength of his heart has set himself against me.”⁴ Of their curses the following is an example: “Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets . . . may Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, consign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemies! May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food and of the necessities of life afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and this race perish!”⁵

An Assyrian legend tells how the goddess Ishtar went down to the world of spirits. It says: “The daughter of [the moon-god] Sin, fixed her mind to go to the house where all meet, the dwelling of the god Iskalla; to the house which men enter but cannot depart from; by the road which men travel but never retrace; to the abode of darkness and famine, where earth is their food and clay their nourishment; to the place where light is not

seen, but in darkness they dwell; where ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings, and on the door and the door jambs the dust lies undisturbed." The queen of the lower world, offended by the intrusion of Ishtar, imprisoned, despoiled, and insulted her; and men and gods, deprived of the influence of the queen of love, fell into confusion and misery until the queen of the lower world had released the captive and allowed her to return to the domains of life and light.⁶

SEC. 280. *Phœnicia*.—Phœnicia was a strip of land about one hundred and forty miles long and twenty wide, extending from the thirty-third to the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, and from the shore of the Mediterranean to the summit of the Lebanon Ridge, which may have an average elevation of 6,000 feet. Along a considerable portion of this coast, there is no plain, the hills coming down to the sea. The soil is fertile, and the climate, except high up in the mountain, warm and equable.

The people may have numbered 2,000,000 when the country was in the height of its prosperity. They belonged to the Semitic family, and their earliest ancestors of whom they had any tradition, dwelt in the southern part of the Euphrates Valley. As early as 2400 B. C. they had four wealthy cities, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and Tripoli.

In agricultural resources, Phœnicia was so poor that it imported much of its food from other countries. Its people were skillful gardeners, bakers, cooks, weavers, dyers, fishermen, and workers in wood, stone, copper, bronze, iron, silver, and gold. Then purple dye, known as the Tyrian purple, was unequaled elsewhere, and was a source of large profit to them.

In regard to the social condition of Phœnicia, our

information is scanty. The women seem to have enjoyed more freedom than in most other ancient states, and to have been treated with much respect. The governments of the Phœnician cities were aristocratic. The political power was nearly all in a senate consisting of the nobles or the heads of the noble clans. In Tyre and Carthage, the nobles were divided into three tribes, each consisting of ten clans, and the heads of the clans were called princes or nobles of the highest rank. These princes formed the little senate of Carthage, and the large senate of the same city comprised three hundred members, including one hundred from each of the three tribes. There was also a senate of three hundred members in Sidon and Aradus. Tyre was a double city, situated on two islands, which, after having been separated for many centuries, were united by a mole. Before the connection each island had, as its chief official, a judge elected for life; afterwards, there were two judges in the one city, one being a check on the other, somewhat as the consuls were in Rome. The senior judge was the political and military head of the government, under the control of the senate. In Carthage, there were two judges who were elected for life and held the chief political, judicial, and military power. The Phœnicians undertook no aggressive war upon people equal or nearly equal to themselves in culture. They looked to trade, not to conquest, for their aggrandizement. Tyre and Sidon, after becoming subject to Assyria, Persia, and other empires, had to fight for their masters; and Carthage, in self-defense, was compelled to send armies to fight the Romans in Sicily, Spain, and Italy. They knew how to fight but they always preferred peace with security.

The Phœnician religion was similar to that of Babylon,

in its polytheism, its idolatry, its sacrifices (including human sacrifices, which were frequent in Carthage), and its doctrines. It had a written revelation, which has not been preserved. Each of several great gods had a temple with its own hereditary priests, who were not necessarily related in blood or connected in discipline with those of any other shrine. El, Yah, Baal, Melkarth, Adonai, Astarte, and Tanais, were among the prominent divinities, and not unfrequently a temple would have the idols of three gods in its sanctuary.

After Tyre had been conquered by Alexander and Carthage by Rome in the third Punic war, the political independence of the Phœnician states came to an end, and the literature, sacred books, and the people as a distinct nationality, disappeared forever. Their tongue was near akin to that of the Hebrews. Even after Carthage had been conquered in the second Punic war, it was the largest city on the Mediterranean. It maintained the customs and institutions of Tyre, but paid more attention than did the mother city to tillage, the breeding of domestic animals, political dominion over alien subjects, and war. Situated in the midst of an extensive coast, where the earlier inhabitants were much inferior in culture to her citizens, she gradually extended her authority over a large region on the mainland, and also over the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, Majorca, and Minorca, and over part of Sicily. But all these conquests were held as alien possessions; their people were not admitted to share in the government of the chief city, nor to hold the highest provincial offices. The power of Carthage was not based on the affection of her subjects, and yet her wealth and the enterprise, intelligence, and number of her citizens, made her for a long time the

greatest power in the Western Mediterranean. She was mainly a naval power; and those of her citizens who adopted arms as a profession preferred service at sea. Their land forces consisted mainly of alien mercenaries, who were often turbulent and treacherous. The third Punic war closed in 147 B. C., with the destruction of Carthage, and a few centuries later nothing was left on its site, of the Semitic blood or of the superior industrial skill which had filled it with wealth and splendor.

SEC. 281. *Phœnician Commerce*.—The Phœnicians were prominent in ship building, navigation, and commerce. They had the best merchants of antiquity, and in the number and excellence of their mariners, ship builders, and merchant ships, they surpassed all other nations. They also had an unequaled supply of conveniently accessible ship timber. The proximity of their forests to places where ships could be built and launched was perhaps the chief inducement for the first settlement of Babylonians, who may have traded in the Persian Gulf and then come with caravans to the Mediterranean.

The Phœnician mariners were familiar in a remote antiquity with all the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, with the coast of Africa to the Gulf of Guinea, with that of Europe to the Baltic, with the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.¹ From Hindostan they brought spices, silks, cottons, ivory, precious stones, pearls, and gold; from Northern Europe, amber; from Britain, tin; and they furnished nearly all the foreign products needed in the seaports of the Mediterranean.

The Greeks acknowledged the superior sailing qualities of the Phœnician ships and the superior skill of the Phœnician mariners. The latter steered at night by the north star, for centuries before other nations became

familiar with it. The Greek sailors for their guide took the Great Bear, and as that is twenty degrees from the pole, and changes to as far on the other side within twenty-four hours, it did not give accuracy of direction. Phœnician mariners, however, and to a still greater degree the Greeks, and later the Romans, preferred to keep within sight of land, and the pilot was expected to be familiar with the coasts, so that by their appearance he would know his position. When out of sight of land, and in doubt as to where he was, the shipmaster released a dove, which flew up to get a view, and if it saw land went to it, and if not, returned to the ship.

The Phœnicians invented the leading classes of merchant ships known to the ancients, such as the pentekonter, the bireme, and the trireme. The pentekonter had fifty rowers, twenty-five on each side, all on the same level. The bireme had a hundred oarsmen, on two different tiers, twenty-five in each tier on a side. The trireme had three tiers, with twenty-five on a side in each tier. The three patterns were of about the same length. All these boats had sails, but as the hulls were not deep enough to carry much sail, and as the art of rigging ships so that they could sail against the wind was not well understood, war ships almost exclusively, and merchant ships often, depended on their oars for propulsion. The rowers were slaves, sometimes chained to the bench, and the expense of rowing was not so much of a consideration as it would be in modern times. The ships were laid up during the three months of winter, when the sky was usually cloudy, and the weather cold and stormy. While not in use, the ships, instead of being left at anchor, were drawn up on the beach, out of reach of the waves.

For centuries the Phœnicians had no competitors in the foreign or international trade of the Mediterranean. Transportation brought other business to them. It gave them opportunities for becoming money changers, money lenders, slave traders, mine owners, and contractors for furnishing all kinds of supplies. They accompanied fleets and armies to buy and to sell whatever was offered or demanded. They needed resident agents in regions where the culture was much ruder than their own, and they established colonies at many places on the Western Mediterranean, on the shores of the Black Sea, and the Red Sea, in the British Isles, and on the Atlantic coast of Africa. They worked mines of silver and lead in Spain, and had numerous colonies there, including several cities. Their most prosperous colony was Carthage, which became one of the great powers of antiquity. In many cities of Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, the Phœnicians had resident traders, who had a separate district or quarter for their occupation. They were extensively interested in the caravan trade between Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt in the West, and Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Hindostan in the East. Before 950 B. C., most of the caravans had their western terminal point in Phœnicia, but after that time, in Asia Minor.

SEC. 282. *Phœnician Letters*.—The Phœnicians were the first people who established extensive international relations in the basin of the Mediterranean, and who carried the arts of one country to the people of many others. They gave indirect lessons in ship building, navigation, irrigation, mining, metallurgy, and in writing, to the rude tribes of Northern Africa, Southern Russia, and Western and Northern Europe. One of

their most valuable services to culture was their dissemination of the alphabet. As we have seen, the Egyptians invented the alphabet, but as they had first done all their writing with word signs, and had afterwards supplemented these with syllabic signs, and had used these word signs and syllabic signs on their monuments and in their sacred literature, their priests were compelled to study these three kinds of signs. Besides, their conservative habits made it fashionable to continue the employment of all these different symbols, of which a thousand must be familiar simple sound symbols, taking only one for each sound, in cases where the Egyptians had several. The Phœnicians not only copied the idea of the alphabet, but they copied its details with modifications, so that the imitation of the forms of the letters is distinctly traceable. The Greeks, Latins, Jews, and Goths copied from the Phœnicians, and modern Europe copied from the Latins. Thus it was that after Egypt had invented the alphabet, she derived comparatively little benefit from it. A magnificent opportunity to introduce a great reform in writing was offered to the Phœnicians, and they seized it.

The weights and measures of the Babylonians were copied by the Phœnicians and by them introduced into all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Wherever any industrial art was exercised with superior skill, in the range of their observation, they learned it and practiced it in their cities and colonies; and from these it extended to other nations in the vicinity. Thus for many centuries they rendered unsurpassed services to culture.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TEUTONS, ETC.

SECTION 283. *Teutonia*.—When first known to the Romans, about 200 B. C., the Teutons occupied nearly the same regions now inhabited by the Germans and Scandinavians. The Teutons were the ancestors of those two modern nationalities, and also of the Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Lombards, Burgundians, Anglos, Saxons, and Normans, who conquered Gaul, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, in each of which countries half the blood of some provinces is Teutonic, and England, in which the blood is nearly all Teutonic. They settled Iceland, which may be considered purely Teutonic in blood. They also conquered Carthage and the adjacent provinces in Africa, but little trace of Teutonic blood is left there. Their descendants preponderate in the United States, Canada, and Australia, and exercise a large influence in Spanish America. Since the overthrow of the Roman Empire, the Teutons and their offspring have been the leading conquerors, legislators, authors, and artists.

In the time of Cæsar, a large part of Germany was covered with marsh and forest; and the population was far less dense than now. Life was rude and violent. The dwellings in summer were of wattle daubed with clay; in winter, pits covered with earth supported by logs. In lakes and swamps, villages were built on piles. Edge tools of steel were costly; a few of bronze and of stone

were preserved from earlier times. The food of the people consisted mainly of grain, sour milk, pork, and game. Flax and various cereals were cultivated; and among the domestic animals were sheep, cows, horses, and pigs. Beer and mead were common beverages. The only garment of the poor was a mantle of linen or skins, without arms, reaching from the neck to the mid calf. It was worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The rich had an under-garment of linen. Clothing was rarely washed, and soap was unknown. The people were divided into nobles, commoners, freedmen, serfs, and slaves. The liberated slave or serf was a freedman, as was his son; his grandson became a commoner. Neither serf nor slave was permitted to testify against a commoner or noble. The great nobles had large estates in land; the commoners in the villages owned their tracts in common.

Woman enjoyed a high degree of social freedom and influence. More frequently than in other Aryan nationalities, she was allowed to inherit the regal office, to be a priestess, and to control her property and her children. Custom recognized only one wife, but the nobles had concubines, and traces are found of an earlier condition, in which the sexes lived together promiscuously. It is mainly to their ancestry that the modern nations of Teutonic blood owe the liberality with which they treat their women. Deformed children were exposed to die; and in times of scarcity and migration, persons helpless with age or disease were abandoned or slain.

The Teutons were divided into tribes, each governed by a council of nobles. Clan organization had either disappeared or had become much weaker than among the contemporaneous Celts. There were no national

laws, courts, revenues, or monarchs. Justice was administered by local councils or by feud between villages or families. There were no governmental records, and the art of writing was known to few.

SEC. 284. *Teutonic Army*.—They were a martial people, and as early as 50 B. C. many of them were enlisted in the Roman armies, of which they were a valuable portion. Many of these men, familiar with the best soldierly training of their time, returned to their native land with information about the wealth, the genial climate, and the sunny fields of Italy and Gaul, and of the oppression, discontent, and military inefficiency of the people. The ambition for the conquest of the countries of Southern Europe became a national passion among the Teutons. It was their chief hope in life, and was transmitted from generation to generation, leading to a succession of invasions, continuing at short intervals for four centuries, until they had become the masters of all the Roman provinces of the West.

An invading army began its organization by the election of a commander or king, who was surrounded by a council of nobles. The adventurers took their wives, children, and herds with them, and staked everything upon success. They must conquer or be exterminated. They had the advice of experienced drill masters, who had served in the Roman armies, and a discipline superior to any they had before known was introduced among them. If the invaders conquered a province and established themselves in it, they must be prepared to defend it. This required the continuance and improvement of their discipline, and the maintenance of political unity and subordination. They rapidly improved in the arts of war and government. They kept a firm hold on

the regions they had conquered; they became the nobles, while the previous inhabitants were reduced to serfdom and slavery.

Most of the invaders were footmen armed with spears; but there were also cavalymen. As they had no strongholds to which they could flee, and no familiarity with hiding places near them, and no friends among the country people in the Roman provinces, they fought with great desperation, which was called by the Romans "the Teutonic fury." It was better to die in battle than to be slaughtered as captives, or sent to distant regions as slaves. Long before the Germans succeeded in conquering any portion of the Roman Empire, they were recognized as its most dangerous enemies. Tacitus, who wrote about 100 A. D., said that they had been fighting against Rome for two centuries; that they were more formidable than the Samnites, Carthaginians, or Gauls had ever been, and that in their dissensions lay the chief hope for the safety of the imperial city.

SEC. 285. *Teutonic Religion*.—The religion of the Teutons was polytheistic without a definite creed. Great gods, local divinities, and ancestral spirits were worshiped with hymns, offerings of food and fermented drinks, and sacrifices of beasts and men. The greatest of the deities was Odin, or Wodan, whose home is the sun or the heaven, and after whom Wednesday is named. Frigg, his wife, the goddess of the home, and Thor, or Donar, the god of Thunder, made with Odin a triad of superior dignity among the gods. Tuisko, who gave his name to Tuesday, was the god of war. There was an evil spirit named Loki, and his assistants were demoniac giants. A multitude of fairy-like beings inhabited forests, caves, mines, rivers, and lakes.

In most of the Teutonic nations, there was neither a hereditary priesthood, nor any extensive or powerful ecclesiastical organization. The sacerdotal profession did not require long study, nor confer much wealth or power. There were almost as many priestesses as priests, and the chief sacerdotal occupation was divination. Every noble made the offerings to his ancestral divinities. There were no temples and not many idols. When beasts were sacrificed, the meat was eaten by the nobles, who were thus admitted to the communion of the god, and were bound to be faithful to one another. There was a future life, in which spirits had ranks, honors, occupations, and feelings, similar to those of this life. The highest rewards there were for military efficiency here.

The dead were buried with much ceremony. The wife, the concubines, some slaves and horses, were slain at the grave of the great noble; and not unfrequently some dependent freemen would sacrifice themselves to keep him company. When a hut was built, a dog was buried under the doorway so that his spirit should guard the inmates; and under the influence of a similar superstition, a lamb was buried under the doorway of a church by the early converts to Christianity in Germany.

Although the priests were not a prominent and influential class among the Teutons, the people had an elaborate and highly poetical mythology, much of which was preserved until modern times in the Icelandic Edda, which may be considered the sacred book of the Teutonic religion. Some myths are also preserved in the national epic of the *Nibelungen Lied*.

This may seem a brief account of an ethnological family, which unquestionably occupies the first place in

the history of culture, and which for the last eight centuries has far surpassed all others in the sum of valuable contributions to progress; but it must be remembered that not until after the Teutons had been brought under the influence of Rome, did they show their great capacities, and begin to exert a strong influence on other nationalities. Their glories belong to a later period.

SEC. 286. *The Celts*.—The first Aryan settlers in Gaul, Spain, and Britain were Celts, who arrived there probably not later than 3000 B. C., and found an earlier population, small in size, dark in color, and Turanian in blood, who were called Iberians in Central and Southern Spain, Basques in France, and Ligurians in Northwestern Italy. These Turanians were everywhere subjugated, and in Central, Northern, and Eastern Gaul, and in Britain, they were almost exterminated; in Spain and in Southern Gaul, they gradually mixed with the Celts, and greatly modified their blood, and in Spain modified their institutions.

It was not until the 1st century B. C. that the Celts were observed by authors, from whose books we can form a definite idea of the Celtic culture. At that time the population in Western Europe was about one fifth as large in proportion to area as it is at present.¹ The people had been influenced by traffic with Phœnicians since 1000 B. C., and with Greeks since 600 B. C. Every summer, merchants from the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean visited the coasts of the Celtic lands and exchanged jewelry, beautifully finished weapons, and cloths with brilliant dyes, for the tin of Britain, the amber of the Baltic, the gold, silver, tin, lead, and slaves of Spain and Gaul.

This traffic stimulated all branches of Gallic industry,

and before the time of Cæsar, the Gauls had developed a high degree of skill in many of the useful arts. They were the first to use large iron bolts in the frames of their ships; the first to build ships depending exclusively on sails for propulsion; the first to use chain cables with their anchors; the first to cover sheets of iron and copper with a coating of tin; the first to make and wear coats of chain armor; the first to manufacture soap; the first to reap grain with a horse machine; and the first to substitute wooden casks for skins and pottery, for storing beer and wine. Their priority and superiority in these respects implies that they made more improvements in industry than any other people of their time; that they held the leading place in the metallurgy of iron; and that their country felt the stimulus of an advantageous situation and of an energetic blood. Ancient Gaul had about the same boundaries as modern France, which is extremely rich in its natural resources. Its soil is fertile; its climate is genial, equable, moist, and favorable to agricultural production and human activity; and its position between Germany and Spain in one direction and between Britain and Italy in the other, fitted it to be a center of traffic, wealth, intelligence, refinement, and political power. Occupied by a homogeneous people, under a wise government it could not fail to exercise great influence in European history.

For their food, the Gauls depended partly on game, though they had numerous grain fields and herds of cattle. Much of their country was covered by forest and marsh, which abounded with wolves and wild hogs, and gave convenient opportunities for exciting experiences in the chase. Villages in which the houses were mostly of wood, were numerous, and there were a few large

towns. Of the social condition of the Celts we know little. They were divided into clans, organized on the basis of descent in the male line. Polygyny was permitted and was practised by most of the chiefs. In Britain some tribes had a system of promiscuous marriage, in which a number of men were the common husbands of a number of women.

SEC. 287. *Celtic Polity*.—The Celts in Gaul, Britain, and Spain were divided into numerous independent tribes, under chiefs or petty kings who had little power. Under the king or head chief were a number of chiefs, each possessing almost absolute power in his own clan, which included nobles, freemen, and slaves. The nobles and freemen were dependents of the chief and bound to follow and obey him in war; and in return he owed them protection and support. There was a sacredness in the mutual obligation. A man's highest duty was to the head of his clan; and the chiefs were neither loyal to their kings nor peaceful among themselves. The lack of a strong sense of national unity was the great defect of the Gallic polity, and the main cause of their disastrous defeats when they came into conflict with the Romans and Teutons.

The chiefs were the commanders of divisions, and, having reached their office by hereditary right, were generally incompetent. They had never been subjected to strict drill, and they did not know how to discipline their followers. There was no proper sense of subordination among the mass of the soldiers. They were a disorderly crowd. Their bravery and energy made their first onset very formidable, but if they were not immediately successful, they were easily thrown into confusion, and their lack of discipline left them without

confidence in one another, and without the means of correcting mistakes. Even when they won a battle they obtained little benefit from it, and in a campaign they were no match for inferior numbers of the better disciplined Romans and Teutons. They had all the elements for a great national success save strength of political organization, which would have brought military discipline with it. For lack of this, there was no united Gaul; for lack of this, they were wiped out from the map of Europe; for lack of this, there is no nation that can now justly claim to be Celtic by a strong predominance in blood; for lack of this, they were unable to resist the Romans; and the Latinized Gauls were unable to resist the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and the Franks; and the mixture of Latins, Gauls, and Teutons was compelled to submit to the Normans. The Celts never made a brilliant success in a long campaign except under the command of Hannibal; when the Celtic troops were taken from their hereditary chiefs, and compelled to submit to severe drill they showed what the Celts could do as soldiers.

SEC. 288. *Druidism*.—The inability of the Gauls to unite in one great nation, or even to give a strong political organization to any one of their many kingdoms, appears the more remarkable when we recall the fact that they had a consolidated ecclesiastical system, with jurisdiction extending over Great Britain and Ireland. There was a chief priest holding absolute sacerdotal power over a multitude of priests, arranged in numerous gradations of rank, and held in strict discipline. In unity of management, in thoroughness of ecclesiastical drill, and in completeness of education for clerical purposes, this Celtic priesthood was superior to any other that we

have hitherto found in the records of culture, and indeed it never had an equal save in the hierarchy of Roman Catholicism. The chief priest held his office for life, and was elected by a council of priests, who were his advisers. In each kingdom the priests of superior rank formed a sacerdotal council, which had authority to elect a king in case of a vacancy.

The Celtic priests or Druids were not a separate hereditary class, but were selected from the nobles. Their office was highly influential and honorable, and was considered very desirable to those young nobles who had no prospect of becoming the heads of their respective clans. No old man was admitted to the priesthood, and no young man until he had attended a Druid school, and had shown an aptitude for the sacerdotal profession. The Druids were divided into classes of bards, diviners, and sacrificers, and each class had its ranks. An excellent voice and an ear for music were needed for a bard; superior tact, fluent speech, and a dignified appearance, for a sacrificer or diviner; and a good memory, for every position. The diviners were the most influential class. They were the custodians and administrators of the civil and criminal law, the advisers of the kings and chiefs, administrators of the government in case of a vacancy in the royal office, the arbiters of disputed successions to titles, offices, and property, and the spiritual guides who decided whether the omens were favorable for war, peace, battle, or any important enterprise.

Their religion was polytheistic but not idolatrous. They worshiped a number of gods, among whom Esus and Beal or Baal were prominent. They believed in the transmigration of souls, in some cases at least. They believed in a future life with rewards for the good and

punishment for the bad. Their ecclesiastical ceremonial was elaborate; and in that and in many points of their religious doctrine, they bore much resemblance to the Phœnicians, from whom they had doubtless learned much, and had taken the names of some divinities. They considered the oak and the mistletoe growing upon it sacred; and most of their ecclesiastical ceremonies were held in oak groves, and in the open air. They had temples in Southern Gaul, and some of these possessed large amounts of precious metal. In Western France and in Great Britain and Ireland there are no traces or traditions of covered Druidical temples.

As among the Phœnicians, so among the Celts, human sacrifices were numerous. In some cases the Celtic victim was slain on an altar; in others, he was burned to death in a large frame of osiers, shaped like a man. He was preferably a criminal, but might be a prisoner of war or a slave.

All the priests were educated in schools, to which none but young men were admitted, and in which all were required to memorize a multitude of songs, hymns, liturgies, patriotic ballads, moral maxims, and formulas of exorcism, which none save a priest might teach, and none save a priest or clerical student might repeat, and none might commit to writing. Many of the priests found that they could not learn all their verses by heart until after twenty years of study. All the higher sacerdotal offices were held by males, but there were also priestesses who devoted themselves to divination. Some of them dwelt on an island on which no man might land. They rowed or paddled to the mainland when they wished to tell fortunes, or to meet their husbands.

The chief priest had not only absolute authority over

all the Druids in Gaul, but also great control over the nobles and freemen. Cæsar tells us that "if any person, either public or private, does not acquiesce in their decisions, they interdict him from their sacrifices. This is among them the severest punishment. They who are thus interdicted are reckoned impious and accursed; all men depart from them; all shun their company and conversation, lest they sustain some misfortune from their contagion; the administration of justice and the protection of the laws is denied them. and no honor is conferred on them."¹

The Gauls had a confident belief in a future life similar in many respects to the life in the flesh. They buried their dead, and in the graves deposited clothes, weapons, ornaments, and food, and also horses, dogs, slaves, wives, and friends sacrificed for the service of the departed. Every year they set out a feast on the grave for the entertainment of the spirits. They burned letters containing news for their friends in the next world; and they occasionally lent money to be repaid there.²

SEC. 289. *Stone Monuments*.—Besides singing hymns at their ecclesiastical ceremonies, the bards recited patriotic songs at public festivals, and accompanied the armies to arouse the enthusiasm of the troops when about to go into battle. One class of priests, probably the diviners, were judges, and had exclusive authority to declare the law. Tradition in Ireland says that the charges of serious crime were tried at Rocking Stones, or Stones of Judgment, as they are called in Gælic.¹ The Rocking Stone, there, is a large rock which is poised on a point in such a manner that it can be tilted from one side to the other, and back and forth, by a child; and in some cases it is very difficult to discover at first sight which way it may

be tilted. After it has been pushed to one side, fifty men without machinery can push it no farther in that direction. It is said that in the Druid trials, the accused was taken to the stone and ordered to tilt it, and if he failed at the first push, he was declared guilty. The tradition has been expressed in the following verse:—

“Behold yon huge
And unhewn sphere of living adamant,
Which, poised by magic, rests its central weight
On yonder pointed rock ; firm as it seems,
Such is its strange and virtuous property
It moves obsequious to the gentlest touch .
Of him whose breast is pure. But to a traitor,
Though even a giant’s prowess nerved his arm,
It stands as fixed as Snowdon.”²

These rocking stones are numerous in various Celtic districts, including Ireland, England, and Western France. There are none in Scandinavia or Germany.³ Perhaps the largest one known is in the parish of Constantine, Cornwall. It weighs seven hundred and fifty tons and is sixty feet long. Other notable monuments of this kind are found in the Cornish parishes of Kirkmichael, Kells Balvaird, Kilbrachan and Dron.⁴ It is possible that all these rocking stones were deposited in their present positions by glaciers or floating ice, but some authors have supposed that most of them were poised by art.

Besides the rocking stones, England, France, and Ireland have a multitude of rude megalithic monuments, called dolmens, menhirs, and stone circles. These were probably erected by the Druids. In Gaelic traditions, the dolmen is called a stone of the Druids, and a stone circle a place of assembly. The dolmen is a combination of three or more rough stones, one of which rests on and covers the others. In some cases the pillars are

more than sixteen feet high, but rarely more than five or six. At Confalens, France, one of these structures has a cap-stone fifteen feet long, twelve wide, and two thick. In the province of Brittany there are more than six hundred dolmens. They exist also in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Lombardy, Tuscany, the Balearic Isles, Malta, the Canaries, Algeria, Tunis, Arabia, Hindostan, and the Caucasus, in most of which countries their construction cannot be attributed to the Celts.⁵

A menhir is a rough columnar stone, which has its base planted in the earth. In some cases the height is twenty feet above ground, and the weight several scores of tons. The menhirs are found in England, Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia, and France, in which latter country the province of Brittany has more than seven hundred. They were called memorial stones by the Northmen. Many places in England and France have great numbers of upright stones planted in lines in the ground, suggesting that they were erected over graves, as perhaps they were. There are more than eight hundred such stones in one field near Carnac, Brittany.⁶

A stone circle is a ring of upright stones surrounding either a level piece of ground or a mound. The largest of these structures are in England and France, but they are also found in Germany, Scandinavia, and many other countries. Brittany has forty, mostly small. The most noted one is Stonehenge, in England. There were thirty rudely hewn pillars from four to eight feet wide, two to four feet thick, and sixteen feet high above the ground, and about three or four feet apart, forming a circle a hundred feet in diameter. Each of these pillars had on its top two tenons which rested in mortise holes cut in a

stone architrave connecting each pair of pillars. Most of the posts and architraves have fallen to the ground, but enough remain to show clearly the size and pattern of the structure. An inner circle of stones had ten posts in five pairs, each pair being about ten feet from the one on either side. The material of these posts and architraves is sandstone found in the vicinity; but inside of the second circle there is a third small circle with posts of blue igneous rock, supposed to have been brought from Ireland. The largest of these is seven feet long, two wide, and one foot thick. A large flat stone in the center of the circle is supposed to have been an altar. This ruin at Stonehenge is the most remarkable archaeological curiosity of Great Britain. Fergusson says: "In their simple grandeur they are perhaps the most effective example of megalithic art that ever was executed by man. The Egyptians and Romans raised larger stones, but they destroyed their grandeur by ornament or by their accompaniments; but these simple square masses on Salisbury Plain are still unrivaled for magnificence in their own peculiar style."⁷

At Avebury, England, there are two stone circles near together, one three hundred and twenty-five and the other three hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and both inclosed in a circular wall of earth 1,200 feet in diameter. In the center of one of the stone circles there is a dolmen. There are remains of an avenue lined on both sides with upright stones, leading half a mile from the outer wall of earth.⁸ France and England have a number of burial mounds dating from Celtic times. In many of them are found sepulchral chambers made with walls and roofs of unhewn or rudely hewn stone, with passages lined and roofed in the same manner leading to the open air,

Some of these mounds have a large central chamber with vault-like small chambers or tombs round their sides.

SEC. 290. *Etruria*.—Etruria was a region of about 7,000 square miles, west of the summit of the Apennines, between the Tiber and the forty-fourth parallel of latitude. It was divided into a dozen independent states, several at the north having an area of 1,000 and several at the south having not more than twenty square miles each. The capital cities were Veii now Isola, Caere now Cervetri, Tarquinii now Corneto, Volsinii now Bolsena, Vetulonia, Falerii, Clusium now Chiusi, Arretum now Arezzo, Perugia now Perugia, Volaterra now Volterra, Cortona and Rusellæ.

Much of our knowledge of the Etruscans has been obtained from the examination of their tombs in this century. Their sepulchers, constructed with much care, in many cases excavated in rock, ornamented with architectural designs, statuary, and paintings, and supplied with vases, jewelry, and armor, are numerous. Their alphabet, their sculpture, their vases, some of their useful arts, the names of several of their gods, and some of their myths, are similar to those of the Greeks, and were probably copied from them. In their sepulchral paintings, the flesh color of the Etruscan man is terra cotta red; that of the Etruscan women, a dull white; a difference that may be due to a conventional rule for distinguishing the sexes, or to a change in the colors under chemical influence.

The population of Etruria was dense. Districts, now desolate on account of malaria, contain many tombs of the Etruscans and ruins of their cities. Veii, which was the capital of one of their small states, had walls more than seven miles in circuit, indicating that the city was as

large as Athens in the height of her prosperity.¹ The cemetery of Tarquinii covered sixteen square miles.

SEC. 291. *Etruscan Industry*.—The Etruscans engaged extensively in foreign trade. They had large seaports and many ships. They obtained and perhaps they imported ivory from Africa and amber from the Baltic. They were skillful workers in stone. Remnants of their sewers, tunnels, bridges, city walls, and sepulchers are numerous, and for the age in which they were constructed, remarkable. It is supposed that the main sewer of ancient Rome still in existence, and the tunnel draining the Alban Lake, are their work. In those regions where tufo rock could be had conveniently, their city walls were usually built of that material in blocks about twenty-two inches square and forty-four long, laid up without mortar, the alternate courses being laid cross-wise. In some places, however, the stones are polygonal. No mortar has been found in any of the stone work that can certainly be attributed to them. They paved their streets with polygonal stones.

In irrigation, drainage, and agriculture generally, the Etruscans were superior to the other nationalities of Italy in their time. They manufactured glass and enamel, and they were expert smiths in bronze, iron, silver, and gold.

A peculiar kind of jewelry called the Tyrrhene, found in Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, and the Crimea, as well as in Etruria, and attributed in its origin to the pre-Etruscan inhabitants of Etruria, is thus described by Dennis: "The [Tyrrhene] style [of jewelry] is easily recognized by its elegant form, the harmony of its parts, and the purity of its design, but chiefly by the marvelous fineness and elaboration of its workmanship. The patterns,

which are always simple, yet most elegant and admirably harmonious, are wrought by soldering together globules or particles of gold, so minute as hardly to be perceptible to the naked eye, and by the interweaving of extremely delicate threads of gold, and are sometimes, but sparingly, interspersed with enamels. Tiny figures of men, animals, or chimeras, exquisitely chased in relief or in the round, form another and favorite feature in the ornamentation. On a close inspection, this jewelry astonishes and confounds by its wonderful elaboration; at a little distance, it charms the eye by its exquisite taste and graceful character and harmony of its outlines. In fact, it is the perfection of jewelry, far transcending all that the most expert artists of subsequent ages have been able to produce."

The Etruscans had a literature, with history, poetry, drama, and sacerdotal liturgy, all of which is now lost. They also had schools, to which the ruder Romans, in the VIth and Vth centuries B. C., sent their sons to get a better training than could be had at home. They paid some attention to astronomy, and the length of the tropical year as calculated, or accepted from some foreign source, by them, was three hundred and sixty-five days, five hours, and forty minutes. Their favorite and characteristic amusement was the gladiatorial fight, which was copied by the Romans, as were also their toga, their system of auguries, and much of their military system.

SEC. 292. *Etruscan Polity, etc.*—A notable feature of Etruscan life was that the wife had more freedom, and was treated with more honor, than in Greece. She was educated and accomplished. She sat at meals with her husband; and her children took her name in preference to that of their father.

Tradition, accepted by the Romans, said that the Etruscans arrived in Central Italy about 1100 B. C., and conquered and enslaved the previous occupants of the country. These independent states recognized their community of blood, language, worship, and political interests, and yet could not, or would not, unite in one nation, though they sometimes combined their forces against the Gauls and Romans. Their relation to one another was often discordant, and sometimes bitterly hostile. The governments of all the Etruscan states were aristocratic. A senate or council of nobles had general supervision of public affairs, and selected all the officers, including a chief or president. He held superior authority in sacerdotal, political, military, and judicial affairs. His sacerdotal office was considered the chief source of his dignity, and he was called chief priest or king. The majority of the people were slaves and serfs, and there was a large class of commoners. The nobles owned the land, and were a professional class of warriors.

SEC. 293. *Etruscan Religion*.—The Etruscan states had a common religion under a confederated priesthood, with a national sanctuary at Voltumnæ, the site of which is not now known with certainty, though it was probably about forty miles north from Rome. There the high priests of each of the twelve Etruscan states met at their annual festivals. It seems singular that these high priests, who were also the political and military chiefs of their respective states, did not establish a consolidated nationality, or at least succeed in preventing warfare among their subject communities. The religion was polytheistic and idolatrous. There were twelve great gods; but most of the public worship was

paid to deities similar in their attributes to the Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva of the Romans. These three divinities were adored in conjunction. Religion played a very prominent part in the lives of the Etruscans, and their devotions were conducted according to an elaborate liturgy. Sacrifices of beasts and of men were frequent; and before the commencement of any important enterprise, the omens were consulted by the priests. Every noble family worshiped its ancestors, who were represented by clay figures, the male head of the family being the priest in these devotions.

Great attention was paid to the dead. Tombs were excavated in the rock for all the wealthy noble families, and in them were deposited either the corpses or the urns containing their ashes, after cremation. The sepulchral chambers had couches for the dead and seats for the living. Jewelry, arms, clothing, and symbols of office or occupation, were placed with the man or woman in the tomb, and sometimes, also, vases and slabs of stone five feet long and three feet wide, covered with inscriptions giving their names, titles, and pedigrees.

The Etruscan states seemed to have reached the height of their prosperity about 400 B. C., and they not only could not unite to conquer Rome when she was weak, but they did not coöperate cordially and desperately afterwards with the Carthaginians or the Samnites, and the result was that they were not only crushed, but ultimately annihilated, so that no ethnological trace of them remains.

CHAPTER XIX.

HEATHEN BARBARISM.

SECTION 294. *Race and Place.*—Of the barbarous heathen nations, the Aztecs, Quichuans, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, and Burmese, belong, or belonged, to the yellow race, as did probably the Etruscans. The Semitic Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Syrians, and Sabeans, and the Aryan Hindoos, Persians, Celts, and Teutons, are or were white. The ethnological place of the Egyptians is doubtful; it was perhaps in the Semitic class. Various barbarous heathen nations are passed here without mention, because our information about them is not sufficient to furnish material for separate sections.

In early antiquity—that is, before the Xth century B. C.—the highest culture was limited to portions of a belt extending from the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean to the China Sea. The most advanced countries were Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Babylonia, Assyria, Hindostan, and China. Perhaps Saba in Southeastern Arabia, Burmah and Siam should be included in the list.

No nation rose from savagism to barbarism in an isolated position or in a remote antiquity, unless it occupied a region where the winters are mild. All the capitals or central cities of the early barbarians are in sub-tropical climes, with a mean temperature of not less than 45° in the coldest month. Thebes and Benares, the cen-

tral cities of Egypt and Hindostan, are in latitude 25° ; Woochang, the central city of China, is in 30° ; Babylon is in 32° and Tyre in 33° . These are the native homes of the earliest phases of barbarous culture. Nineveh in 36° and Carthage in 37° are later in the date of their origin and prosperity than their mother cities, Babylon and Tyre. The Persians, whose central city of Persepolis is in 30° , were still later; and their tardiness in appearing on the stage of history may be chargeable partly to the high elevation of their country, which, with a subtropical latitude, has a mid-temperate or cold winter. Cuzco in 13° S. and Mexico in 19° N. are higher above the sea than Persepolis, but, being nearer the equator, have much milder winters.

Isolation, that is natural protection by either mountain, desert, or sea against frequent disturbance by hostile incursions, was of great service in guarding the growth of early culture. Such fortunate regions were occupied by the Egyptians, Chinese, Babylonians, Hindoos, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Aztecs, and Quichuans.

SEC. 295. *Barbarous Industry*.—The possession of bronze tools and weapons, with which barbarism began, implied mining and the smelting of ore with the aid of artificial blast. It led to improved tillage, larger supplies of food in proportion to area, denser population, the moulding and burning of bricks, the quarrying and cutting of stone, the discovery of lime mortar, the construction of durable and commodious buildings, the erection of temples, palaces, aqueducts, and city walls, an advance in marine architecture, and the production of iron. Indeed, it fostered every branch of industry. Under its beneficent influence, barbarians invented the square, level, plumb-line, and carpenters' rule, which are indispensable

to accuracy of fit and strength of frame in substantial edifices and large pieces of furniture. They used carts for transporting freight. They manufactured porcelain, glass, and paper; they cut and polished gems; they discovered many beautiful dyes and the mordants needed to give them permanence; they distilled alcohol, crystallized sugar, and sublimated mercury; they made explosive powder and a rude mariner's compass; they dug surface wells and bored artesian wells; they cut ditches for irrigation and canals for navigation; they made paved roads extending thousands of miles, with stations for the shelter of travelers and messengers; they coined money; they established routes for international traffic by ship and caravan; and by the exchange of products they brought distant nations into regular and friendly intercourse with one another.

SEC. 296. *Barbarous Society, etc.*—Before coming within the range of historical examination, all barbarous nations had outgrown the feminine clan, and had either the masculine clan or consolidated nationality. Most of them gave to woman a much better social position than she had in savagism. They had a higher family organization, a more commodious dwelling, better implements for cooking, and a more regular and varied food supply. Their domestic fire was intimately associated with the ancestral worship, shared its sacredness, and the wife was its custodian. The matrimonial relation increased in importance, and among the Aztecs and Menu Hindoos rose to be a religious contract celebrated before a priest. The Aztecs gave the same social rights to the wife as to the husband.

In barbarism various systems of recording thought came into use, first with knotted cords and then with pictures.

The latter proved to be better adapted to the purpose, and they were employed more extensively. Original systems of hieroglyphics appeared in China, Egypt, and Mexico, and possibly in Babylonia. The peculiarities of their speech prevented the Chinese from developing their hieroglyphics beyond word signs; the Egyptians advanced to signs for syllables and simple sounds; but when they had invented the alphabet, instead of then promptly discarding their older and less convenient symbols, they retained all and mixed together three different modes of writing. The Phœnicians, became familiar with the achievements of the Egyptians, perceived the greatly superior value of the alphabet, adopted it exclusively, and gave it to the Greeks and Romans, through whom it became a permanent possession of all the most intellectual nations.

Arithmetic had its origin in the barbarous culturestep. The Egyptians (who were imitated by the Romans), the Aztecs, and the Hindoos, each devised an original method of writing numbers. The Hindoo system, suggested by the abacus, and based on the positional value of the symbols, proved vastly superior to the others, and superseded them in Aryan countries. The Babylonians devised the most complete system of measures for time, space, gravity, and the circle. They divided the year into months, the months into weeks, the weeks into days, each consecrated to its divinity, the days into hours, the hours into minutes, and the minutes into seconds. They observed the ecliptic, divided it into constellations, and used it in measuring the length of the year.

SEC. 297. *Great Achievements.*—If we wish to pick out a few of the greatest achievements of man while in

the condition of heathen barbarism, we shall find that they are the production of bronze and iron, the cutting of stone, the invention of the square, level, and plumb-line, the building of cities, the organization of nations, and the introduction of the alphabet. These are worthy successors of speech, tamed fire, edge tools of stone, and tillage, for which we are indebted to the savages.

One of the most important products of evolution is unquestionably the alphabet. In the chapters on the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Phœnicians, we have traced the development of the art of recording thought, and we have been "met by the same phenomenon which is so conspicuous in the history of language, namely, the fact that there is no such thing as arbitrary invention."¹ The first writing was with pictures, which had literal meanings; these were abbreviated into conventional word signs; figurative meanings were attached to them; symbols for words became representatives of the first syllables, and then of the first simple sounds of the words. Even then, however, the great work was not perfect. The old hieroglyphics still clung to mankind with a grasp that could not be broken until erudition fled to another land, and in crossing the national boundary succeeded in throwing off its oppressive burden.² Hieroglyphics were a blessing in early and a curse in later Egypt. In China, progress was aided for many centuries by their mode of writing, and now it is obstructed by the lack of an alphabet. In his early culture man has great need of a pictorial mode of recording ideas; in civilization he requires "some facile, graphic device such as the alphabet by means of which the art of writing can be so far simplified as to become attainable before the years of adolescence have been passed."³

SEC. 298. *Barbarous Polity, etc.*—Barbarism made much progress in polity. Large kingdoms became numerous; empires made their appearance. The administrative systems became complex and methodical. Public records and written laws became part of the government. Political office was differentiated into many different departments. The Chinese and Aztecs abrogated the hereditary feature of slavery; the former nation abolished the hereditary nobility; the latter elevated commoners and even slaves to the rank of nobles. Private retaliation was limited or abrogated. The administration of justice became the duty of public officials, and in Mexico was intrusted to judges, holding office during good behavior, and drawing salaries, sufficient for their comfortable maintenance, from the public treasury. The independence of the judiciary, the distribution of original jurisdictions among local courts, with appeals to an imperial supreme court on important points, the prohibition of hereditary slavery, the frequent elevation of commoners to the nobility, and the limitation of the sovereign's powers, are original and highly meritorious features in the political system of the Aztecs.

Very different in its constitution, and even more wonderful in some of its features, was the Quichuan government. Its systems of assimilating conquered communities, and of administering public affairs so that there should be no idleness, dissipation, extravagance, pauperism, or professional crime, have never been equaled in civilized states. Almost as remarkable in other points is the Chinese government, with no access to high office save through competitive examination, with a wonderful opening of political career to ambitious talent, and with a democratic system of communal administration.

In military affairs barbarous nations are vastly superior to savage tribes. They have metallic weapons and defensive armor. They have greatly improved discipline. They go into battle in compact masses. They have strong fortifications, long military roads, and regular relays of military couriers. Their large cities, dense populations, accumulated treasures, and systematic governments, give facilities for organizing, disciplining, and maintaining armies.

SEC. 299. *Religious Growth*.—Religion is man's conception of the basis and nature of his duties.¹ It is a part of the mental constitution of humanity. Nearly its whole essence, in some minds, is morality; but for the majority, it includes a belief in supernatural beings and in man's relation to them. It is found among Confucians and Buddhists, as well as among Brahmins and Parsees. It may exist without support from science or history, without aid from a priesthood or a revelation, without the dogma of an omnipotent deity or a personal immortality. The genuineness or fervor of religion does not necessarily increase with the number of dogmas or the multitude of gods. There may be as much religion in a man who denies every theory of supernatural existence, as in one who worships the numberless divinities of Brahminism.

In comparing the ecclesiastical institutions of barbarism with those of savagism, we observe much progress. Ethical conceptions have become more complex and precise; they have been extended to include obligations towards all men; and they are conceived as highly important to the welfare of every man. The Confucians and Buddhists tell us that virtue is indispensable to the enjoyment of this life; the Aztecs, Quichuans, Egyptians,

Persians, and Brahminical Hindoos say it is requisite for the happiness of the life to come.

In barbarous culture, the earlier belief in a world of disembodied souls preserved most of its old features and gained many new ones. The spirits surrounded men and frequently made themselves visible and audible. The persons who were in the habit of communicating directly with the tenants of the other world were not rare; in a district of 10,000 inhabitants, there might be five or ten who were credited with this power, and who really believed they possessed it. Among a thousand of these seers, one might possess occasional clairvoyant perceptions, which, though of no value for the purposes of practical life, had an immense influence on popular belief. The combination of such spirit communication with clairvoyance, dreams, and popular ignorance and credulity, were, among the heathens, the natural basis of belief in a world of disembodied spirits. The Egyptian, the Zoroastrian, the Brahmin, and the Buddhist is each anxious about the welfare of his soul after death, and each says that the method of salvation adopted by all the others is worthless. In Egypt, Hindostan, and Persia we find the bulk of the people accepting the claims of their hereditary teachers to be divinely commissioned to communicate to laymen the commands of the supernatural authority.

To this belief as it existed in savagism, nations, in the next culturestep, added rewards for the good and punishments for the bad beyond the grave. Future retribution forms part of every barbarous religion, which we have so far examined, except that of Confucianism. But while the barbarous creeds generally have a spiritual world, they differ greatly in their conceptions of its constitution, and in their plans of salvation.

The modes of worship changed little from savagism to barbarism. In the former culturestep, as in the latter, we find prayers, hymns of praise, music, dancing, processions, penances, offerings of fruits, flowers, incense, and sacrifices of beasts and men to ancestral spirits at graves and to gods in temples. In barbarism the temples became large and substantial architectural piles; and the rites grew elaborate. Among the Egyptians, Persians, Brahmins, and perhaps also among the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, the rituals appeared in books accepted as divine revelations. The books of the Confucians and Buddhists are sacred, though not attributed to a divine origin.

The more advanced religions which we have hitherto examined, consist of four parts: theological or ontological creed, ecclesiastical discipline, ethical rule, and mythological lore. All of these parts grow more complex in the periods of early culture, but do not keep equal pace with one another. In one country the mythology, in another the discipline, and in another the morality, takes the lead. Of all these parts, the one that has the least influence on general culture is mythology. It is little more than a decorative trimming, an ornamental fringe to religion, which reaches its highest development in barbarism, as among the Hindoos, Teutons, and early Greeks. Nowhere have we encountered any proof of religious decay. In barbarism as in savagism the changes are progressive. The ruder conceptions disappear or diminish in influence. The priest becomes a scholar; religion is associated with learning; creeds become more definite and more coherent; ecclesiastical organizations are supplied with better endowments and with increased differentiation of occupations; ethical

principles receive much development; spirits give way to gods, and a multitude of gods to a Great First Cause, or to dual divinities, who are the respective sources of good and evil. There is no trace of decay in the religions of Egypt, Hindostan, Persia, Babylonia, or Phœnicia: but we do find idolatry and exorcisms in Buddhism, though Siddhartha prohibited them. It is to be observed, however, that such practices should be regarded not as a decline of Buddhist faith but as the adherence, by some of its converts, to their hereditary superstitions. Many converts to Christianity have adhered for generations to pagan customs; and this adherence proved not a decay of Christianity, but its inability to suddenly raise some of its followers to its own level. The same remark applies to Buddhism. Its early converts were considerably above the intellectual level of many of its modern adherents.

SEC. 300. *Religious Comparison*.—Let us now briefly compare the religions of the barbarous heathens, for the purpose of finding their notable differences and characteristics.

The most peculiar features of the Aztec superstition are its multitude of human sacrifices, its deification of some of the victims, and its sanctification of the people by giving them a holy communion in the actual flesh and blood of the deified victims.

The distinguishing doctrines of the Quichuan religion are the divine blood of the Inca dynasty, and the theocratic autocracy of the Inca monarch.

The Egyptians had numerous gods incarnate in beasts; a mummy important if not indispensable to the immortality or enjoyment of the soul in the future life; a final judgment before Osiris; and a ritual describing the precise forms and phrases in which the trial was conducted.

The Aztecs, Quichuans, and Egyptians believed in an immortal future life in a spiritual world, with rewards and punishments to compensate the defects or supposed defects in the moral government of the world. These two doctrines of retribution in a spiritual sphere and individual immortality, are not accepted by the Brahminical Hindoos, who have punishment or purification by transmigration through successive material lives in the forms of beasts or men, ending by the final absorption of the human soul in a conscious pantheistic deity, whose existence is not inconsistent with that of a multitude of other great gods. They consider human existence a source of misery, and they believe that the three twice-born Hindoo castes are the favorites of heaven above all other men, and the Brahmins above the other two castes.

The Zoroastrians have only two divinities, one good and the other evil, who have been struggling, with divided success, through thousands of years, for the control of the world. The Zoroastrian worship is paid to Ormuzd, the good divinity, and to the ancestral spirits, without the aid of temples or idols. A peculiar feature of the Persian religion is that the flesh of the corpse shall be eaten by wild birds or quadrupeds, so that it shall not contaminate the purity of soil, water, or fire.

The religion of Confucius is almost exclusively ethical. He was agnostic in reference to god and immortality. He found ancestral worship universally practiced among his countrymen, and, regarding it as an aid to filial piety and social order, he made no objection to its observance.

The religions of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Etruscans, Celts, and Teutons, have no peculiar features of much importance.

SEC. 301. *Ecclesiastical Growth*.—The enlightened student, who impartially examines the Avesta, the Rig Veda, the Menu, and the Ritual of the Dead, at first finds it difficult to understand how such compositions could ever have gained extensive credence as the productions of supernatural wisdom. But the religions of barbarism are the natural developments of those of savagism. The popular credulity is the same in both culture-steps. The sacerdotal influence grew with the monarchical power. The early superstitions were strengthened by tradition, ignorance, credulity, and the combined influence of church and state. Sleeman, who lived for years in Hindostan, and studied the popular beliefs and modes of thought, found that the people never ventured to apply their reason to questions of religion. In regard to every matter relating to their ecclesiastical institutions, their minds were in a condition of torpidity. In reference to the sacred Brahminical poem of Ramayana, which is full of absurd mythical stories, Sleeman says: "Ninety-nine out of a hundred among the Hindoos implicitly believe not only every word of this poem, but every word of every poem that has ever been written in Sanscrit. If you ask a man whether he really believes any very egregious absurdity quoted from these books, he replies with the greatest *naïveté* in the world, 'Is it not written in the book; and how should it be written, if not true?' The Hindoo religion reposes upon an entire prostration of mind, that continual and habitual surrender of the reasoning faculties which we are accustomed to make occasionally while engaged at the theater, or in the perusal of works of fiction. . . . With the Hindoos . . . the greater the improbability, the more monstrous and preposterous the fiction, the greater the charm

it has over their minds; and the greater their learning in the Sanscrit, the more they are under the influence of this charm. Believing all to be written by the deity, or by his inspiration, and the men and things of former times to have been different from the men and things of the present day, and the heroes of these fables to have been demigods, or people endowed with powers far superior to those of the ordinary men of their day, the analogies of nature are never for a moment considered; nor do questions of probability or possibility, according to these analogies, ever obtrude to dispel the charm with which they are so pleasingly bound. They go on through life reading and talking of these monstrous fictions which shock the taste and understanding of other nations, without once questioning the truth of one single incident, or hearing it questioned."

A mental torpidity similar to that of the Brahmins when they read their sacred poems, may be observed among modern Christians in reference to omens, witches, ghosts, and spirits. Everywhere round us we find people who fear to undertake any important enterprise on Friday, to sit at a table in a party of thirteen, or to accept any cutting instrument from a cherished friend. The same credulous tone of mind, the same disposition to accept a statement without the least evidence, the same tendency to hereditary faith, led the heathens to follow their false priests.

Judging from what may be seen in modern times and in Christian countries, we may infer that the Egyptian, Hindoo, Persian, Babylonian, and Celtic priests generally believed their own creeds; but supposing their faith to be beneficial, they did not neglect opportunities to increase its credit by falsehood, trickery, concealment of the truth,

diversion of attention from damaging adverse evidence, and strenuous efforts to fix the public mind upon favorable facts of minor value. Besides we may assume that whenever they found the people suffering from some great general calamity, or under any influence that prepared them to be frightened and excited by talk about divine wrath, the opportunity of plundering them was never neglected. In such cases large sacrifices were ordered, pilgrim parties were organized, public penances imposed, and other methods adopted for filling the ecclesiastical purse and exalting the sacerdotal power. In the interest of social order the Polynesian priest poisoned the violator of a taboo; in the interest of the true faith, the medieval monk forged lives of saints and relics of martyrs; and in innocent piety the heathen priest wrote from his own fancy the revelations of Thoth, Ormuzd, and Brahm.

The only heathen religion established by preaching was Buddhism, and that was of relatively late origin, all the others having been founded and gradually expanded in their territorial jurisdictions, and some of them in their ecclesiastical systems, as the tribes grew into nations. The dogma and discipline were in most cases easy and natural developments of those accepted in higher savagism.

The introduction of the art of writing contributed much to strengthen some of the barbarous religions. Letters seemed to be productions of superhuman wisdom in those early ages when the separation between divinity and humanity was slight. The book, written as a compilation of ancient history or philosophy, might be accepted in a succeeding generation as inspired; and words might be interpolated here and there attributing

the statements to Ormuzd, Thoth, or Brahm; and finally the copies not so interpolated might be declared spurious and destroyed.

SEC. 302. *Natural Causes*.—At the close of the first volume, we examined the causes of man's advance in savage culture, and we found nothing save his mental constitution developing itself under natural laws. His industrial arts, his social institutions, his speech, his government, his military system, his belief in sorcery, omens, powerful disembodied spirits, and his gods, and his modes of worship by offerings, sacrifices, hymns, and prayers;—all these were considered, and not one of them could be traced to any supernatural source. We could not find conclusive proof nor direct testimony nor presumptive evidence that any god had ever appeared among the savages of Africa, America, or Polynesia, to teach them the arts of building boats, burning pottery, weaving cloth, tilling the ground, taming useful beasts, organizing families, clans, or tribes, leading them in war, or teaching them modes of worship. We did find that in many countries savage priests claimed to have divine commissions, to be in daily communication with the gods, and to interpret omens, to perform their sorceries, to curse the violators of taboos, and to sacrifice beasts and men in accordance with direct instructions from the deities; but we discovered that all these claims were made without good foundation. We concluded that man's observation, judgment, imagination, wants, and fears, and the conditions of external nature, had been his only guides in all his achievements while in the savage culturestep.

In tracing the advance of culture among the barbarous heathens, we have found no influences at work save those of natural laws. Man and his innate capacities deserve

the praise for all the good and the blame for all the evil that we have encountered in his actions. Literary and metallurgical art, temples of cut stone laid in mortar, and pyramids as enduring as the hills, extensive empires and vast cities, political institutions wisely planned to secure the happiness of the people and the permanence of the government, and civil and ecclesiastical codes represented to be divine revelations, all these we have found among the barbarians, as the products of man's natural capacity. Everything has grown slowly ; nothing has been created instantaneously in a state of complex perfection.

Natural law has reigned without interruption in the domain of the heathen religions as well as elsewhere. The Rig Veda, the Code of Menu, the Avesta, and the Funeral Ritual, notwithstanding their claim to divine authorship, are evidently human productions. All show the marks of natural growth, the traces of savage superstition, the effects of sacerdotal greed, the weakness of human ignorance, and the inconsistency of barbarous logic. All of them are text-books of national religion, and nationality is inconsistent with one of the fundamental principles of religion, as conceived by the more enlightened modern mind. The priests, who claimed commissions from national gods to teach and guide, to curse and to bless, to mediate and to absolve within limits bounded by certain ethnological or topographical lines, had an authority based exclusively on human invention. No god spoke through them any more than through the Congoese, Carib, Choctaw, Maori, or Tahitian priests. Their ecclesiastical systems cannot be traced to any source save delusions, and conceptions of private and public interest.

SEC. 303. *Departmental Values.*—Industrial art exerted

more influence than any other branch of culture on the life and progress of the nations studied in this volume. It supplied metallic tools and weapons, built substantial dwellings and large cities, maintained dense populations, divided labor into many separate occupations, laid the foundation for higher military discipline, and made a demand for extensive international commerce, and for public records. It led, indirectly, to the establishment of extensive empires, and to the development of the art of writing.

Improved social and political institutions were consequences rather than causes of the general advancement, in which they were prominent features. In every culture-step, good government is of vast importance; but in barbarism, as in savagism, it can be traced directly to superior industry, and to superior military art.

In barbarism, religion did not contribute much to the development of any other branch of culture. It did not greatly stimulate industrial art, beneficent social institutions, or military discipline. In Egypt it called for grand temples and tombs, and while it thus led to some architectural progress, it impoverished and oppressed the people, and obstructed improvement in other respects. It was the ally of despotism, ignorance, and superstition. The invention of hieroglyphics in the valley of the Nile is intimately associated with the sacerdotal profession; and yet the Chinese laymen were as successful in writing with original ideograms as were the Egyptian priests. The latter did not complete their work, or clearly understand the value of the alphabetic signs they had invented; they left the finishing touch to the keener perceptions of the Phœnician merchants.

Heathen religion did not make any nation great. It

did not contribute perceptibly to the organization or wealth of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, or Phœnicia. It gave aid to the political rulers, but took much else from them. It had little influence among the Chinese, and seems to have been a source of weakness to the Menu Hindoos, to the Celts, and to the Etruscans. It helped the Persians, but they owed their military and political successes, which were the most important achievements of their nation, mainly to their soldiers and kings, not to their priests.

Some of the barbarous nations have been distributed in pairs so as to suggest comparisons. Among these are Persia and Media, Assyria and Babylonia, Germany and Gaul. In each of these cases the country which was subject to the less sacerdotal influence had the better political and military system. Media was more priest-ridden than Persia, Babylonia than Assyria, and Gaul than Germany. Hindostan had a powerful priesthood, and its people have been compelled to adopt the official language and institutions of the Persian, Arab, Tartar, and British conquerors. China has a weak sacerdotal class, and its Mongol and Manchoo conquerors have accepted the language, religion, laws, and institutions of their subjects. The ancient Egyptians had a strong sacerdotal system and a weak army. The general rule has been the same in ancient as in modern times,—the stronger the church, the weaker the state; the richer the priesthood, the more degraded the laity. Religious liberty is important to the self-respect of the people and the dignity of the government. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians, though not priest-ridden, were overthrown; they had narrow bases in territory and population, and yet were wealthy and powerful states for cent-

uries, and maintained their independence as long as did other nations of their time, with much larger and more populous dominions.

Although religion is credited here with less influence than industrial or military art, yet its consideration occupies the greater part of this volume. A relatively large space is given to it because, in the barbarous culturestep, ecclesiastical systems are most numerous, and receive their greatest relative development. Besides, our information is much more abundant about the religion than about the other branches of culture in heathen barbarism. Most of the books preserved from early antiquity were written by priests about their sacerdotal affairs.

SEC. 304. *Change of Scene.*—Although we have studied the Chinese, Japanese, Aztecs, and Quichuans, who belong wholly or largely to modern times, and have considered the Celts and Teutons, who became prominent about the beginning of the Christian era, and have not yet taken up the Jews and Greeks, whose activity dates back to a period before the rise of Persia, yet, notwithstanding these inequalities in the chronological lines, the general story of human progress has now been brought down to 500 B. C.

As in the first volume the black tribes passed out of sight, so now, at the close of the second, we take leave of the yellow nations. Their stories have been told so far as concerns the present, though there is reason to hope that their future achievements may furnish abundant material to the historians of later ages. In my coming volumes I shall have to tell how the Aryans, who became dominant when Persia conquered Babylon in 539 B. C., held the leadership of progress until it was contested again by the Semites, and how these two branches

of the white race struggled through many centuries for the mastery in arms, letters, and arts, until at last the Aryan triumph became complete and incontestable.

The scene of the most important action is now about to change from Southern Asia and the basins of the Euphrates and the Nile to Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe. The character of the action will lose its predominantly national character and become mainly international; it will gain vastly in depth as well as in breadth, in brilliancy as well as in intensity. Its motives and its judgments will be more in harmony with civilized thought and emotion.

APPENDIX.

A list of the books cited or considered worthy of the reader's especial attention, is given at the end of this, as of the preceding volume. The Bible, Menu, and Avesta are cited by chapter and verse, other books by volume and page unless chapter is plainly indicated. Some of the citations cannot be understood without reference to the books mentioned as authorities.

NOTES.

SEC. 159. *Barbarism*.—¹ Webster.

That culturestep which I call barbarism, when considered in contradistinction to savagism, is called by Waitz and some other German authors the "Kulturzustand," or condition of culture. The barbarians are styled "Kulturvoelker," or culture-people, as opposed to the "Naturvoelker," or nature-people, of savagism. These terms of Waitz imply that every phase of culture above savagism is unnatural, and that the barbarian has outgrown the natural condition of humanity. Metallurgy and letters are undoubtedly very important achievements in culture, but so also are speech, the taming of fire, the invention of edge tools, tillage, weaving, pottery, and canoe building.

The savage, even the rudest known to civilized observation, is no longer in the same cultural condition as were the first men on the earth. They are not without art. They are no more in an exclusive state of nature than is an infant. Intellectual growth in the race is as natural to man as physical growth in the individual. Savagism, barbarism, and civilization, the main steps in advancing culture, are the natural phases in the development of humanity, as the sprouting acorn, the sapling, and the full grown tree are the natural phases in the growth of the oak. It would be as proper to assert that an acorn is an oak in a state of nature as that a savage is a man in a state in nature. Art sprouts out from man, not he from art. The arrow is made consciously, voluntarily, and with a

set purpose. Culture is not artificial in the same sense. It is, to a large extent, the result of unconscious and irresistible impulses, the tendencies of which were not even dreamed of among men until they had lived on the earth for many thousands of years; and remote and high tendencies hidden now from the most learned and wise, may become perceptible to the multitude who are to succeed us after the lapse of five or ten centuries more.

SEC. 160. *Bronze Tools*.—The leading authorities in regard to the tools of the Bronze Age are Evans B. T., Worsaae, Lubbock P. T., and Tylor E. H. ¹Chabas says the Egyptians had iron in 3000 B. C. Mariette contradicts this statement. Evans B. T. 6, 7. ²*Ib.* 18. ³*Ib.* 10. ⁴Max Muller S. L. ii. 247. Beck, i. 206, says that in a later edition Max Muller admitted that he was wrong in asserting that iron was unknown to the primitive Aryans. ⁵Deut. xxvii. 5, 8. ⁶Evans B. T. 23, 95. Lubbock P. T. 5, 220. Tylor E. H. 206. Keller L. D. 174, 402. ⁷Lubbock P. T. 391. ⁸Evans B. T. 460-463. ⁹Lubbock P. T. 15. ¹⁰*Ib.* 38. ¹¹*Ib.* 60. ¹²Keller L. D. 15. ¹³Evans B. T. 425. ¹⁴*Ib.* 469. Numerous engravings of articles in bronze may be found in the books of Evans, Lubbock, and Keller.

SEC. 161. *Superiority of Iron*.—¹Beck (i. 40, 41) says the melting point of copper is about 2,100° Fahrenheit, and of cast iron about 2,250°; but iron will settle down from its earthy material in the furnace at 1,300°. He thinks the ancients could not produce a heat greater than 1,300°. Evans (B. T. 472, 473) thinks bronze appeared in Britain about 1400 B. C., and iron in 500 B. C. Except in China, there was no cast iron before 450 A. D. Beck i. 3.

SEC. 162. *Anahuac*.—The best comprehensive authorities in regard to the culture of the Aztecs are Prescott C. M., Waitz iv., and Bancroft ii. ¹Waitz iv. 190. Prescott C. M. i. 405. In the time of Cortes, Tlascala was as large as Granada in Spain; now it has 4,000 inhabitants. *Ib.* i. 473. Cholula had 4,000 inhabitants; now it has 1,500. Waitz iv. 93. Several other cities then as large as Cholula are now mere villages. *Ib.* Yucatan had millions of inhabitants before the conquest, and has now only 100,000. Charney 232. ²Prescott C. M. i. 400. ³Waitz iv. 188.

SEC. 163. *Crops*.—¹Prescott C. M. i. 137.

SEC. 164. *Weaving, etc.*—¹Belt 33.

SEC. 165. *Metallurgy*.—¹Cortes says that tin and bronze were sold in the markets; and that in some provinces small pieces of tin were used as money. When he was in great need of artillery, he

collected this tin money to mix with copper for bronze cannon. Three attempts have been made to discredit Cortes; one by Hostmann, who contributes a chapter on the metallurgy of the Aztecs and Quichuans to Beck; one by L. A. Morgan in his "Ancient Society;" and one by R. A. Wilson in "A New History of the Conquest of Mexico;" and all are failures. Articles of bronze have been found in Chiriqui graves, according to the Popular Science Monthly, September, 1888, p. 716. Tylor in his "Anahuac" (139) speaks of seeing bronze hatchets, bells, and needles, made by the Aztecs. Evans (B. T. 166) mentions analysis of Aztec bronze. Humboldt (P. E. iii. 296) knew of tin mines in Mexico. The possession of tin and copper implies the possession of bronze. ²Prescott C. M. ii. 204. ³In making this statement, I follow Waitz (iv. 101), but not without desire for more evidence. Cortes (104) said nothing was sold by weight. ⁴Waitz iv. 105. Bancroft ii. 474.

SEC. 166. *Stone Work*.—¹Waitz iv. 95. ²*Ib.* 110.

SEC. 168. *Social Condition*.—¹Waitz iv. 124. ²See Chevalier (82) for address of father to son. ³Waitz iv. 98. ⁴*Ib.* 134. ⁵*Ib.* 98. ⁶Reville 43.

SEC. 169. *Records*.—¹Prescott C. M. i. 101. Taylor (i. 24) says: "The systems of picture writing, which were invented and developed by the tribes of Central America, are, however, so obscure and so little is really known about their history, that they must be regarded rather as literary curiosities than as affording suitable materials for enabling us to arrive at any general conclusions as to the nature of the early stages of the development of the graphic art."

SEC. 170. *Astronomy*.—¹Waitz iv. 178.

SEC. 171. *A Martial Empire*.—¹Prescott C. M. i. 439.

SEC. 173. *Imperial Office*.—¹Waitz iv. 71. ²*Ib.* 69. ³*Ib.* ⁴*Ib.* 70.

SEC. 174. *Laws*.—¹Waitz iv. 82. ²Reville 28.

SEC. 175. *Aztec Gods*.—¹Waitz iv. 138. ²*Ib.* 140. ³*Ib.* 122.

SEC. 177. *Human Victims*.—J. G. Muller 620.

SEC. 180. *Aztec Ethics*.—¹Waitz iv. 128. ²*Ib.*

SEC. 181. *Aztec Culture*.—Tylor (Anahuac 263) says: "It is curious that the jackal, or human figure in a jackal mask, should have been an object of superstitious veneration both in Mexico and in Egypt. This, the extraordinary serpent crown of Xochicalco, and the pyramids, are the three most striking resemblances to be found between the two countries; all probably accidental, but not the less noteworthy on that account."

SEC. 183. *The Quichuan Empire*.—The leading comprehensive authorities in reference to Quichuan culture are Prescott C. P. and Waitz iv. Squier and Tschudi are very good upon numerous special points.

SEC. 184. *Agriculture*.—¹Squier 442, 467, 475. ²*Ib.* 342. ³Prescott C. P. i. 134. ⁴*Ib.* ⁵*Ib.* 139. ⁶*Ib.* 145. ⁷*Ib.* 140. ⁸*Ib.*

SEC. 185. *Various Arts*.—¹Prescott C. P. i. 150. ²*Ib.* ii. appendix 2.

SEC. 186. *Buildings*.—¹Squier 154. ²*Ib.* 68. ³*Ib.* 163, 542. ⁴*Ib.* 407. ⁵*Ib.* 517. ⁶*Ib.* 394. ⁷*Ib.* 436. ⁸*Ib.* 281, 283. ⁹*Ib.* 475. ¹⁰A block 30 feet long, 15 wide, and 6 thick, at Tiaguanaco, must have been carried more than 100 miles. Waitz iv. 416. ¹¹Squier 279. ¹²*Ib.* 363. ¹³The ground plans of many buildings are shown in Squier, and also engravings after photographs of the ruins. ¹⁴Squier 70, 362, 372. ¹⁵Waitz iv. 442. ¹⁶*Ib.* 446. Rivero 232.

SEC. 187. *Mining*.—Hostmann, who is mentioned in the note to Sec. 165, argues that the Quichuans had no bronze; and in regard to them fails on that point as he did in regard to the Aztecs. All the eminent archæologists and scientists, who in this century have studied the culture of the Aztecs and Quichuans in their own countries, are agreed that those people had bronze. Among these authorities are Alexander Humboldt, E. B. Tylor, E. G. Squier, J. J. von Tschudi, and M. Chevalier.

SEC. 188. *Social Affairs*.—¹Waitz iv. 443.

SEC. 190. *Aggressive Policy*.—See Sec. 58 in reference to spear cords. ²Squier 470. ³Tschudi 340. ⁴Rivero 69, 70.

SEC. 191. *Quichuan Religion*.—¹Reville 170. ²Waitz iv. 459. ³*Ib.* 461. The cross was worshiped. *Ib.* 458. ⁴Squier 379. ⁵*Ib.* 531. ⁶Waitz iv. 467.

SEC. 192. *Quichuan Temples*.—¹Prescott C. P. i. 98. ²*Ib.* 99, 101.

SEC. 193. *Quichuan Ethics*.—¹Waitz iv. 466. ²Prescott C. P. i. 171. ii. 482.

SEC. 194. *Culture and Collapse*.—The population was more dense before the conquest. Bastian G. E. B. 16. Rivero 70. "The influence of Spain in Peru has," says Squier, (543) "been everywhere deleterious; the civilization of the country was far higher before the conquest than now."

SEC. 196. *China*.—The leading authorities to which I have had access are the books of Williams and Davis. That of Williams is the best description of a national culture known to me.

SEC. 199. *Different Arts*.—¹Williams M. K. i. 274.

SEC. 200. *Manners*.—¹Davis i. 200. ²Rein i. 393. ³Gill G. S. 55.

SEC. 201. *Matrimony*.—¹Davis i. 269, 273. ²Williams M. K. ii. 261. ³Max Muller N. R. 174.

SEC. 202. *Music, etc.*—¹Williams M. K. ii. 165. He gives the notes of several Chinese airs. ²*Ib.* i. 293. ³*Ib.* i. 293., ii. 184. ⁴*Ib.* 249. ⁵*Ib.* 257. ⁶Scherzer ii. 170. ⁷Rawlinson O. N. 269.

SEC. 203. *Speech*.—¹Max Muller S. L. i. 265. ²Williams M. K. i. 590.

SEC. 204. *Writing*.—¹Williams M. K. i. 613. ²*Ib.* 589. ³*Ib.* 622. ⁵Davis i. 276. ⁶*Ib.* 275. ⁷Felton i. 44. ⁸*Ib.* 43. ⁹Lay quoted in Williams M. K. ii. 172.

SEC. 205. *Imperial Power*.—¹Douglas 155. ²Brougham i. 174. ³Williams M. K. i. 369. ⁴*Ib.* 355. ⁵*Ib.* 376.

"Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear." Mencius in Amberley ii. 43. "Throughout the Shooking we find great stress laid on the doctrine that the rulers of the land enjoy the protection of Heaven only so long as their government is good." Amberley ii. 50. "Confucius said government should be based on the love of mankind," and "the monarch should govern according to the wish of the people."

Section CCX of the Chinese code provides that "if any officer of government, whose situation gives him power and control over the people, not only does not conciliate them by proper indulgence, but exercises his authority in a manner so inconsistent with the established laws and approved usages of the empire, that the sentiments of the once loyal subjects being changed by his oppressive conduct, they assemble tumultuously and openly rebel, and drive him at length from the capital city and seat of his government, such officer shall suffer death."

Williams (M. K. i. 351) says: "The system of mutually checking the provincial officers is also exhibited in their location. For example, in the city of Canton, the governor-general is stationed in the New City near the collector of customs, while the lieutenant-governor and Tartar general are so located in the Old City that, should circumstances require it, they can act against the two first. The governor has the general command of all the provincial troops, estimated to be 100,000 men, but the particular command of only five thousand, and they are stationed fifty miles off, at Shankingfu. The Tartar general has five thousand men under him in the Old City, which, in an extreme case, would make him master of the capital, while his own allegiance is secured by the antipathy between

the Manchoos and the Chinese. Again, the governor has the power of condemning certain criminals to death, but the death-warrant is lodged with the fuyuen, and the order for execution must be countersigned by him; his dispatches to court must also be countersigned by his coadjutor. The general absence of resistance to imperial sway on the part of these high officers for the two centuries the Manchoos have held the reins, compared with the multiplied intrigues and rebellions of the pashas in the Turkish Empire, prove how well the system is connected."

The following is an extract from an imperial decree criticising and degrading high officials. "Kweisan, subordinate minister of the cabinet, is hasty, and deficient both in precision and capacity; he is incapable of moving and acting for himself. Let him take an inferior station, and receive an appointment in the second class of the guards. Yihtsih, vice-president of the Board of Works for Moukden, possesses but ordinary talents, and is incompetent for the duties of his present office. Let him also take an inferior station, and be appointed to a place in the first class of the guards. Nark-ingé, the governor of Hukwang, though having under him the whole civil and military bodies of two provinces, has yet been unable, these many days, to seize a few beggarly, impish vagabonds. After having, in the first instance, failed in prevention, he has followed up that failure by idleness and remissness, and has fully proved himself inefficient. Let him take the lower station of lieutenant-governor of Hunan, and within one year let him, by the apprehension of San Chingstun, show that he is aroused to greater exertions." Williams M. K. i. 355.

SEC. 206. *Examinations*.—¹ Medhurst 175. ² Davis ii. 151. Brougham i. 17. ³ Martin 42. ⁴ Williams M. K. ii. 191. ⁵ Davis ii. 152.

"There is deeply rooted in the minds of the people a respect for civil merit, by which is meant learning; that is, such learning as they have been taught to consider important and sufficient. Their ambition, stimulated besides by the direct advantages to which learning leads, all points towards this quarter. Their desire is to make their children excel themselves by being better educated. Their hope even is to obtain direct rewards from the progress their children may make. Their recreation after labor is the reading or hearing read some portion of those books which they are accustomed to regard as sacred, though the works of uninspired men; works in which Confucius and his disciple Mencius have laid down the law of the land, and inculcated the rules of moral conduct.

With their respect for learning, their attachment to quiet, peaceful, orderly life keeps pace. They have no appetite for bustle or contention; a great dislike of violence; a great aversion to danger; hence they hate war, and they hate revolution, as much as they love learning and quiet industry. Their proverbial sayings, and no [other] people are so fond of proverbs, bear evidence of these, the prevailing dispositions of their minds. 'Train the mulberry tree while it is yet tender;' 'all men are alike, were it not for education;' 'if families have no sons devoted to learning, whence are the rulers of the country to come;' 'better be a dog in peace than a man in strife.'" Brougham P. P. i. 17.

SEC. 207. *Local Administration*.—¹Davis i. 372. ²Douglas 49. ³Williams M. K. i. 298. ⁴*Ib.* 298, 382. ⁵*Ib.* 351, 437. ⁶*Ib.* 475. ⁷*Ib.* 516. ⁸Williams M. K. i. 381. ⁹Davis i. 261. ¹⁰Williams M. K. i. 384; Douglas 54. ¹¹Davis i. 223.

"The rulers of China have contrived the system of provincial governments in an admirable manner; considering the character of the people and the materials they had to work with, no better proof of their sagacity in this respect can be required than the general degree of good order which has been maintained for nearly two centuries, and the great progress the people have made in wealth, number, and power. By a well arranged plan of checks and changes, in the provincial authorities, the chances of their abusing position and power, and combining to overthrow the supreme government, have been reduced almost to an impossibility; the influence of mutual responsibility among them does something to prevent outrageous oppression of the people, by leading one to accuse another of high crimes, in order to exonerate himself and obtain his place. The sons and relatives of the emperor being excluded from civil office in the provinces, the high-spirited and talented native Chinese do not feel inclined to cabal against the government because every avenue to emolument and power is filled and closed against them by creatures and connections of the sovereign; nor when in office, are they disposed to attempt the overthrow of the reigning family, lest they lose what has cost them many years of toilsome study and the wealth and influence of friends to attain." Williams M. K. i. 437.

"The same tolerance which is shown by the people towards the short-comings and ill deeds of the officials is displayed by these men in the discharge of their duties. Only aggravated cases make them take their pens in hand, but when they do, it must be con-

fessed that they show little mercy. Neither are they respecters of persons; their lash falls on all alike, from the emperor on his throne to the police runners in magisterial courts. Nor is their plain speaking more amazing than the candor with which their memorials affecting the character of great and small alike are published in the *Peking Gazette*. The gravest charges, such as speculation, neglect of duty, injustice, or incompetence, are brought against mandarins of all ranks, and are openly published in the official paper." Douglas 57.

SEC. 208. *Person and Property*.—¹ Williams M. K. i. 321. ² Davis i. 204, 279.

SEC. 209. *Confucius*.—¹ Douglas 106. ²*Ib.* 116.

Confucius said (Douglas 103): "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to none of which have I as yet attained,—to serve my father as I would require my son to serve me; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me; and to offer first to friends what one requires of them." Again Confucius said (Amberley i. 458): "It is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue while it becomes daily more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean man to seek notoriety while he daily goes more and more to ruin." Mencius, elaborating the idea of Confucius, wrote (Amberley i. 457): "The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the empire is not one of them. That his father and mother are both alive, and that the condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety;—this is one delight. That, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven; and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men;—this is his second delight. That he can get from the whole empire the most talented individuals and teach and nourish them;—this is the third delight. The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the empire is not one of them." ⁵

"Wherein lay the secret of the vast influence which has been exercised by Confucius? . . . To this we answer first that, being a Chinaman of Chinamen, his teachings were specially suited to the nature of those he taught. . . . With the idea therefore of a future life still unawakened, a plain, matter-of-fact system of morality, such as that enunciated by Confucius, was sufficient for all the wants of the Chinese.

"Secondly, it was to the interest of both the rulers and the ruled

to support his doctrines. The *de facto* ruler found in him a tower of strength; for if the throne was the reward vouchsafed by heaven for eminent virtue, then he who occupied it in place must necessarily have an unassailable right to it; and the constant exhortations to loyalty to be found on every page of the Confucian writings cannot but have been grateful to the ears of sovereigns.

"The ruled, on the other hand, felt that they were supreme in the estimation of the Sage. The promotion of their interests and material well-being was the first duty of the sovereign, and the extent of their loyalty was to be measured by his success in this direction. He recognized no ranks or titles save those won by merit, and thus every office in the state was open to everyone alike. The people were to be well cared for, and in case of neglect or oppression, they had the right of rebellion. . . .

"And, thirdly, the possession of so highly prized a literature at so early a date having suggested its adoption as the curriculum in schools, and the test of scholarship at all examinations, the people, ignorant of all else, have learned to look upon it as containing the quintessence of wisdom, and its author as the wisest of mankind. It might be considered impossible to calculate the effects of the concentration of a nation's mind, century after century, on the study of any given text-book; but in China we have the result worked out before us, and we find that it has amounted to the absolute subjection of upwards of forty generations to the dicta of one man." Douglas 169.

SEC. 210. *No Supernaturalism*.—¹ Pfeiderer i. 178.

SEC. 211. *An Honored Sage*.—¹ Douglas 161. ² Brougham i. 169.

SEC. 212. *Chinese Ancestors*.—¹ Williams M. K. ii. 269. ² *Ib.* 270, 275. ³ *Ib.* 270. ⁴ *Ib.* 266.

Of the Chinese idol worship we read that "the lower people, if after long prayer to their images, they do not obtain what they desire, as it often happens, they turn them off as impotent gods; others use them in a most reproachful manner, loading them with hard names, and sometimes with blows. 'How now dog of a spirit,' say they to them. 'We give you a lodging in a magnificent temple, we gild you handsomely; we feed you well and offer incense to you; yet, after all this care, you are so ungrateful as to refuse us what we ask of you.' Hereupon they tie his image with cords, pluck him and drag him along the streets through all the mud and dung-hills to punish him for the expense of the perfume which they have thrown away upon him. If in the meantime it happens that they

obtain their request, then, with a great deal of ceremony, they wash him clean, carry him back, and place him in his niche again, where they fall down to him and make excuses for what they have done. 'In truth,' say they, 'we were a little too hasty, as well as you were somewhat too long in your grant. Why should you bring this beating on yourself? But what is done cannot now be undone; let us therefore not think of it any more. If you will forget what is past, we will gild you over again.'" Quoted in Lubbock O. C. from Astley.

SEC. 213. *China's Place*.—¹Tylor Anthropol, 281. ²Yeats R. E. C. 328. Williams M. K. ii. 25. ³*Ib.* 75. ⁴*Ib.* 107. For date of silk weaving see Pop. Science Monthly, Feb., 1890, p. 505. Gill says the Chinese have no suction pump (76), no improvement of cattle (77), and no graft (78). Fortune, ch. xvi., and Doolittle, i. 45, say they practice grafting.

SEC. 214. *Japanese Society, etc.*—¹Rein 1412. ²*Ib.* 328. ³*Ib.* 477. ⁴*Ib.* 396. In reference to Japanese society the best book is that of Rein. He has also a good volume on the industry of Japan.

SEC. 216. *Japanese Religion*.—¹Shin means spirit and To doctrine; and considered etymologically, shintoism means the religion of spirits.

SEC. 217. *Egypt*.—The leading authorities in reference to Egypt are Wilkinson, Kenrick and Brugsch. The Ritual of the Dead is given in Bunsen, vol. v.

SEC. 218. *Egyptian Agriculture*.—¹Herodotus ii. 14.

SEC. 219. *Handicrafts*.—¹Wilkinson i. 383. ²*Ib.* ii. 171. ³*Ib.* i. 360. ⁴*Ib.* ii. 169. ⁵Kenrick i. 61. ⁶Wilkinson i. 340. ⁷Kenrick i. 228.

SEC. 220. *Egyptian Architecture*.—¹Mahaffy 409. ²Wilkinson ii. 139. ³Martineau, chap. 5. ⁴Sayce A. E. E. 37. ⁵Maspero 195.

SEC. 221. *Pyramids*.—¹Wilkinson i. 13. ²Brugsch i. 94. ³De Rougé quoted in Brugsch i. 202. ⁴Fergusson H. A.

SEC. 222. *Egyptian Temples*.—¹Fergusson H. A. i. 106. ²Martineau, chap. xvi. ³*Ib.*, chap. xiv.

SEC. 224. *Egyptian Homes*.—¹Mahaffy 173. ²Wilkinson i. 315. ³Mahaffy 293. ⁴Wilkinson i. 45. ⁵Renouf 242. ⁶*Ib.* 70.

SEC. 225. *Hieroglyphics*.—¹Herodotus ii. 32. Wilkinson i. 176. ²Taylor A. i. 69.

SEC. 226. *Egyptian Books*.—¹Mahaffy, 411. ²Rawlinson E. 45. ³Sayce A. E. E. 76.

SEC. 227. *Political Condition*.—¹Wilkinson i. 159. ²*Ib.* 69, 162.

SEC. 228. *Egyptian Gods*.—¹Wilkinson ii. 514.

SEC. 229. *Osiris the Mediator*.—¹ Mahaffy 263. ² Kugler i. 31.

SEC. 230.—*Sacred Beasts*.—¹ Wilkinson iii. 306.

SEC. 231. *Kings and Gods*.—¹ Mahaffy 357. ² Brugsch C. K. i. 412. ³ *Ib.* i. 423. ⁴ *Ib.* ii. 221.

SEC. 232. *Monotheistic Expressions*.—¹ Renouf 221. ² Mahaffy 264.

SEC. 233. *Adoration of Ancestors*.—¹ Renouf 137. ² Brugsch ii. 43. ³ Lippert G. P. i. 421.

SEC. 234. *The Mummy*.—¹ Sayce A. E. E. 66. ² Bunsen E. v. 135. ³ Wilkinson iii. 67. ⁴ *Ib.* iii. 465. ⁵ *Ib.* iii. 449. ⁶ *Ib.* iii. 450. ⁷ *Ib.* iii. 468. ⁸ Renouf 130 altered. ⁹ Brugsch i. 197. ¹⁰ Mahaffy 253.

SEC. 235. *Egyptian Morality*.—¹ Renouf 71. ² *Ib.* 71. ³ Mahaffy 272. ⁴ Brugsch i. 157.

SEC. 236. *Egyptian Gospels*.—¹ Lippert G. P. i. 394. ² Mahaffy 273. ³ Lippert G. P. i. 405. ⁴ Bunsen E. v. 133. ⁵ Lippert G. P. 183.

SEC. 237. *Last Judgment*.—¹ Bunsen E. v. 259. ² *Ib.* v. 258.

SEC. 238. *Egyptian Priests*.—¹ Maspero 107. ² Wilkinson iii. 425. ³ *Ib.* iii. 345. ⁴ *Ib.* i. 237, iii. 355. ⁵ Kenrick i. 37. ⁶ Wilkinson iii. 359.

SEC. 239. *Egyptian Antiquity*.—¹ Brugsch i. 492. ² Herodotus ii. 143. ³ *Ib.* ii. 4. ⁴ *Ib.* ii. 142. See also Rawlinson's Herodotus Appendix Book ii., ch. 4. ⁵ Herodotus ii. 50. ⁶ *Ib.* ii. 58. ⁷ Max Muller N. R. 323.

SEC. 241. *Primitive Aryans*.—¹ Max Muller C. i. 62. ² *Ib.* ³ *Ib.* ii. 17. The following table shows the words for some leading grades of kin in leading Aryan tongues, from Max Muller C. ii. 21.

ENGLISH.	father.	mother.	brother.	sister.	daughter.
SANSKRIT.	pitar.	matar.	bhratar.	svasar.	duhtar.
A. PERSIAN.	patar.	mpatar.	bratar.	ganhar.	dughtar.
GREEK.	pater.	meter.	frater.		thugater.
LATIN.	pater.	mater.	frater.	soror.	
GOthic.	fadar.		brothar.	svistar.	dauhtar.
SLAVONIC.		mate.	brat.	sestra.	dukte.
IRISH.	athair.	mathan.	brathan.	siur.	dear.

Here are the persons of the present tense indicative mood of the verb "to be" from Max Muller C. ii. 71.

SANSKRIT.	A. PERSIAN.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOthic.	ENGLISH.
asmi.	esm.	emmi.	sum.	im.	am.
asi.	ahi.	essi.	es.	is.	art.
asti.	asti.	esti.	est.	ist.	is.
smas.	hmahi.	esmes.	sumus.	syum.	are.
stha.	sta.	este.	estis.	synth.	are.
santi.	henti.	enti.	sunt.	sind.	are.

And here are the numerals from one to ten.

ENGLISH.	GERMAN.	SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.	SLAVIC.
one.	eins.	eka.	eis.	unus.	jedin.
two.	zwei.	dua.	duo.	duo.	dwa.
three.	drei.	tri.	treis.	tres.	tri.
four.	vier.	chatuar.	tessares.	quatuor.	chetory.
five.	fuenf.	pantchan.	pente.	quinque.	piat.
six.	sechs.	chash.	ex.	sex.	chest.
seven.	sieben.	saptan.	epta.	septem.	sedm.
eight.	acht.	ashtan.	okto.	octo.	osm.
nine.	neun.	navan.	ennea.	novem.	deviat.
ten.	zehn.	dasan.	deka.	decem.	desiat.

For discussions of the home of the Primitive Aryans see Pictet i. 69. Morris 38-50, 79. Lippert G. P. ii. 344. Max Muller S. L. i. 212. Latham V. M. Sayce I. S. L.

In regard to the order in which the different Aryan nationalities left the land of their Primitive Aryan ancestors Max Muller (C. i. 62) says: "It is more difficult to prove that the Hindoo was the last to leave this common home, that he saw his brothers all depart towards the setting sun, and that then, turning towards the south and the east, he started alone in search of a new world. But as in his language and in his grammar he has preserved something of what seems peculiar to each of the northern dialects singly, as he agrees with the Greek and the German where the Greek and the German differ from all the rest, and as no other language has carried off so large a share of the common Aryan heir-loom,—whether roots, grammar, words, myths, or legends,—it is natural to suppose that though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindoo was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family."

SEC. 243. *Vedic Hindoos*.—¹Max Muller C. i. iii. ²Pictet iii. 520.

Pictet (ii. 506) says he has examined some Hindoo astronomical tables which in his opinion must have been compiled in 3100 B. C. He mentions nine tables and formulas which when first made known in Europe could not have been prepared fraudulently, because there was not enough astronomical knowledge to make the calculations backwards with accuracy.

SEC. 244. *Vedic Religion*.—¹Duncker iv. 62. ²Rig Veda i. 113. ³*Ib.* i. 65. ⁴Amberley i. 30.

SEC. 245. *Vedic Hymns*.—¹Williams H. 29. ²Veda Mandala i. 121. ³*Ib.* x. 129, Williams' translation. ⁴I have substituted "spirit everlasting" for "the eternal man" in accordance with Williams' note that the latter phrase might be translated the "everlasting spirit." ⁵Williams H. 28. ⁶Max Muller C. I. 71. ⁷*Ib.* 26.

SEC. 246. *Hindoo Literature*.—¹Felton i. 37. ²*Ib.* 37. ³Max Muller C. i. 17. ⁴Mill H. I. ii. 47. ⁵Max Muller N. R. 335. The Mahabarata is spoken of by Talboys Wheeler, quoted in Bose (198) as "that grand epic poem which still continues to exercise an influence on the masses of the [Hindoo] people infinitely greater and more universal than the influence of the Bible in modern Europe."

"At all festivals and fairs, at the marriages of the wealthy, episodes from one of the two poems [Mahabarata and Ramayana] are recited to eager crowds of assembled hearers; the audience accompany the acts and sufferings of the heroes with cries of joy or signs of sorrow, with laughter or tears." Duncker iv. 109. ⁶Tylor A. 315. ⁷Hunter I. E. 119. ⁸Fergusson I. H. 104. ⁹*Ib.* 90.

"In contrasting the two Indian poems with the Iliad and the Odyssey we may observe many points of similarity. Some parallel passages have been already pointed out. We must expect to find the distinctive genius of two different people (though both of the Aryan race), in widely distant localities, coloring their epic poetry very differently, notwithstanding general features of resemblance. The Ramayana and Mahabarata are no less wonderful than the Homeric poems as monuments of the human mind, and no less interesting as pictures of human life and manners in ancient times, yet they bear in a remarkable degree the peculiar impress ever stamped on the productions of Asiatic nations, and separating them from European. On the side of art and harmony of proportion, they can no more compete with the Iliad and the Odyssey than the unnatural outline of the ten-headed and twenty-armed Ravana can bear comparison with the symmetry of a Grecian statue. While the simplicity of the one commends itself to the most refined classical taste, the exaggerations of the other only excite the wonder of Asiatic minds, or, if attractive to European, can only please imaginations nursed in an oriental school.

"Thus in the Iliad, time, space, and action are all restricted within the narrowest limits. In the Odyssey they are allowed a wider, though not too wide, a cycle; but in the Ramayana and the Mahabarata their range is almost unbounded. The Ramayana, as it traces the life of a single individual with tolerable continuity, is in this respect more like the Odyssey than the Iliad. In other points, especially in its plot, the greater simplicity of its style, and its comparative freedom from irrelevant episodes, it more resembles the Iliad. There are many graphic passages in both the Ramayana

and Mahabharata, which, for beauty of description, cannot be surpassed by anything in Homer. It should be observed, moreover, that the diction of the Indian epics is more polished, regular, and cultivated, and the language altogether in a more advanced stage of development, than that of Homer. This, of course, tells to the disadvantage of the style on the side of nervous force and vigor; and it must be admitted that in the Sanscrit poems there is a great redundancy of epithets, too liberal a use of metaphor, simile, and hyperbole, and far too much repetition, amplification, and prolixity." Williams I. W. 420, 421.

"The myths of the Indian epics are still closely interwoven with present faith. In fact, the capacity of an uneducated Hindoo for accepting and admiring the most monstrous fictions is apparently unlimited. Hence the absence of all history in the literature of India. A plain relation of facts has little charm for the ordinary Hindoo mind." *Ib.* 433. "The wildest fictions of the Ramayana and Mahabharata are to this very day intimately bound up with the religious creed of the Hindoos." *Ib.* 432.

SEC. 247. *Brahminism*.—There is no comprehensive treatise on Brahminism worthy of the subject, known to me. The information must be sought through a great number of volumes. The best book is that of Ward published in 1818. ¹ Menu ii. 6.

SEC. 248. *Menu*.—¹ Duncker iv. 195. ² Menu viii. 3-7. ³ *Ib.* i. 107. ⁴ James Mills H. I. i. 194.

SEC. 249. *Caste*.—¹ Menu i. 87. ² *Ib.* ii. 31. ³ *Ib.* x. 129. ⁴ *Ib.* i. 100. ⁵ *Ib.* i. 98. ⁶ *Ib.* i. 100. ⁷ *Ib.* xi. 85. ⁸ *Ib.* xiii. 413. ⁹ *Ib.* viii. 112. ¹⁰ *Ib.* viii. 124, 380. ¹¹ *Ib.* xi. 40. ¹² *Ib.* xi. 6. ¹³ *Ib.* ix. 323. ¹⁴ *Ib.* i. 100. ¹⁵ Caste divides a people into huge families, each member of which has a right to know everything about his caste brothers, because the whole body might be polluted and degraded by the act of one individual. There is no such a thing as domestic privacy, and no system of espionage devised by rulers could be so complete as that self-imposed by the Hindoos." Burton P. M. 46.

"According to the orthodox views of the Indian theologians, not a single line of the Veda was the work of human authors. The whole Veda is, in some way or other, the work of the Deity; and even those who received it were not supposed to be ordinary mortals but beings raised above the level of common humanity, and less liable therefore to error in the reception of revealed religion." Max Muller C. i. 18.

"Caste can no longer hold its own against necessity and advan-

tage, against railroads and scientific inventions." Williams I. W. xxv. Robertson finds much in caste to commend. He says of it (180, 181): "To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection conspicuous in many of the Indian manufactures; and though veneration for the practices of their ancestors may check the spirit of invention, yet by adhering to these they acquire such an expertness and delicacy of hand, that Europeans with all the advantages of superior science and the aid of more complete instruments, have never been able to equal the exquisite execution of their workmanship. While the high improvement of their more curious manufactures excited the admiration and attracted the commerce of other nations, the separation of professions in India, and the early distribution of the people into classes, attached to particular kinds of labor, secured such an abundance of the more common and useful commodities as not only supplied their own wants, but ministered to those of the countries around them."

The superior success of the Hindoos in certain branches of industry is perhaps to be attributed to the density of their population as compared with their wealth, rather than to their division into castes. The occupations in which they excelled, and in which they exhibited a wonderful patience of the eyes, and dexterity of the fingers, did not contribute to the cheaper production of the necessities or comforts of life, and were evidences of extensive abject poverty, not of national enterprise or prosperity.

SEC. 250. *The Brahmins*.—¹ The Celtic, Greek, Roman, Teuton, and Slavonian nationalities have each a peculiar "national character" and "have each one act allotted to them on the stage of history." "Not so the southern tribes [the Hindoos]. They are absorbed in the struggles of thought; their past is the problem of creation, their future the problem of existence, and the present, which ought to be the solution of both, seems never to have attracted their attention or called forth their energies. There never was a nation believing so firmly in another world and so little concerned about this. Their condition on earth is to them a problem, their real and eternal life is a simple fact. Though this is said chiefly with reference to them before they were brought in contact with foreign conquerors, traces of this character are still visible in the Hindoos as described by the companions of Alexander, nay, even in the Hindoos of the present day. The only sphere in which the Indian mind finds itself at liberty to act, to create, and to worship, is the sphere of religion and philosophy, and nowhere

have religious and metaphysical ideas struck root so deep in the mind of a nation as in India. The shape which these ideas took amongst the different classes of society and at different periods of civilization, naturally varies from coarse superstition to sublime spiritualism. But, taken as a whole, history supplies no second instance where the inward life of the soul has so completely absorbed all the other faculties of a people." Max Muller C. i. 66.

² Menu iii. 1. ² Ib. vi. 35. ³ Duncker iv. 181.

"The power of the gods was to them a very real thing. The influence of the stars and the good or ill luck of the days on which the various customary ceremonies were to be performed, or the various businesses of life were to be set on foot, were to them of very real importance. There was indeed very little, if any, of what we should now call prayer. But the gods could be compelled by sacrifices rightly offered, by hymns properly intoned, to favor the fortunate worshiper; and charms rightly recited, horoscopes correctly cast, talismans whose power had been already tested, could insure the results which men had most at heart. The happiness of the soul, too, in the next birth, depended upon the due performance of settled ceremonies; and for all these things the help of the Brahmins was required, and had to be richly paid. It would be useless to attempt to disguise the evils resulting from such a state of things." Davids H. L. 26.

"The Brahminical order . . . delegated to the military class, however formed, the dangers and cares of government, satisfied with ruling from their spiritual throne the despots of mankind. To this single circumstance may, we think, be attributed the feebleness of the Indian governments, and the inefficiency of their armies. In countries where the priesthood forms a separate caste or order in the state, the education which fits a man to be a pagan priest (at least in such a system of paganism as prevails in India), at the same time disqualifies him to a certain extent from comprehending the theory or pursuing the routine of civil business. He belongs to a body more or less distinct from the state, seeking self-aggrandizement at all hazards, actuated by separate interests. His mind, clouded and darkened by a multitude of little passions, contracts itself perpetually, and quickly becomes a scene too narrow for the marshaling and development of grand ideas of public good. . . . If any course of action were proposed which, by promoting the general welfare of India, might incidentally trench, however slightly or remotely, upon the privileges of the Brahmins,

the priest, roused like a serpent in his lair, would inevitably oppose the measure to the utmost; and . . . his opposition would be decisive." Knight ii. 229.

"The Brahmins, in all things a shrewd, artful race, have nowhere shown a more signal example of that cunning which Lord Bacon dignifies with the name of 'wisdom for a man's self,' than in creating among their countrymen a deep-rooted belief that their persons were designed by the Deity to be under all circumstances inviolable, and that to deprive them of life, whether by direct violence or by causing their death in any way, is a crime which admits of no expiation. Upon this persuasion is founded a very extraordinary practice, once extremely common at Benares, called 'sitting in dharna,' which may be translated caption or arrest. When a Brahmin desires to gain some particular point which he has found it impossible to accomplish by any other means, he proceeds to the door or house of the person against whom his suit is directed, where he sits down in dharna, with poison, or a poniard, or some other instrument of suicide in his hand, threatening to use it should his adversary attempt to molest or pass him by. This menace completely arrests him. The plaintiff now commences a fast, in which, according to the rigid etiquette, in such cases rarely infringed, he must be accompanied by the defendant; and in this situation they both remain until the former obtains satisfaction. As few have recourse to this desperate step without a firm resolution to persevere, the plaintiff rarely fails of effecting his object; for were the individual thus arrested to permit the Brahmin to perish of hunger at his door, or should he by any harsh measures compel him to make use of his poison or his dagger, the sin would be forever on his head." Knight ii. 9.

SEC. 25I. *Suttee, etc.*—¹Ward ii. 275. ²Max Muller C. i. 35. Duncker iv. 62. ³Ward i. 3II.

"The widow about to commit suttee, appears at the funeral in her best dress, wearing her jewels, and advancing prays to all the gods, declares that life is nothing to her, and that she wishes to accompany her husband. She gives her jewels to officiating Brahmins, bids farewell to her relatives and friends, and then, addressing the assembled company, says: 'That I may enjoy the happiness of heaven with my husband and purify my ancestors and his, I ascend the pyre in expiation of these sins of my husband, even though he has murdered a Brahmin, torn asunder the bonds of gratitude, or slain a friend. On you I call, ye eight protectors of the world, as

witnesses of this action, ye sun and moon, air, fire, earth, ether, and water. Be witnesses my own soul and conscience, and thou Yama [God of Death], day and night and dawn, be ye witnesses, be witnesses! I follow the corpse of my husband to the burning pyre.' She mounts the pile, lies down beside the corpse, throws her arm over it in embrace, and says, 'I pray, suttee, suttee, suttee,' while the flames kindled by her son or nearest male relative swiftly rise and enshroud her." Duncker iv. 512.

SEC. 252. *Brahmin Women*.—¹ Menu ix. 17. ² *Ib.* ix. 18. ³ *Ib.* 8. ⁴ *Ib.* x. 147. ⁵ *Ib.* ix. 23. ⁶ *Ib.* ix. 94. A family with a daughter unmarried after she has become a young woman, "is considered to labor under the displeasure of the gods; and no member of the other sex considers himself respectable after the age of seventeen till he is married." Sleeman i. 50. ⁷ Menu iv. 43. ⁸ *Ib.* v. 157, 160. ⁹ *Ib.* ix. 81. ¹⁰ *Ib.* v. 154. ¹¹ *Ib.* ix. 23. ¹² *Ib.* viii. 400. ¹³ Ward ii. 234. ¹⁴ Menu iii. 56. ¹⁵ Oman 91. The Hindoo mother lays the child in the sun every day during the first three months of its life. Ward i. 173. This practice suggests the rule in Java that the children of Europeans must be allowed to go naked in their early years; otherwise they do not live to maturity. Bose 86, 208, 238.

SEC. 253. *Brahmin Morality*.—¹ Menu xi. 91, 92. ² *Ib.* iv. 170-176. ³ *Ib.* v. 4. ⁴ *Ib.* xi. 238. ⁵ *Ib.* xi. 242. ⁶ *Ib.* xi. 236. ⁷ *Ib.* xi. 228. ⁸ *Ib.* xi. 262. ⁹ *Ib.* x. 261. ¹⁰ *Ib.* xi. 245. ¹¹ *Ib.* xi. 223. ¹² *Ib.* xi. 249. ¹³ *Ib.* xi. 226. ¹⁴ *Ib.* ii. 87. ¹⁵ *Ib.* ii. 84. ¹⁶ *Ib.* ii. 76.

SEC. 254. *Brahmin Henotheism*.—¹ Menu xii. 87. ² *Ib.* i. 6-8. ³ *Ib.* xv. 85. ⁴ *Ib.* xii. 119. ⁵ *Ib.* iii. 85-89.

Max Muller invented the word henotheism and defines (O. R. 261) it as "a successive belief in single supreme gods;" that is the worshiper addresses one god as supreme and the only divine being and then addresses another in the same way. Muller adds that "in the Veda one god after another is invoked. For the time being all that can be said of a divine being is ascribed to him. The poet while addressing him, seems hardly to know of any other gods. But . . . sometimes in the same hymn, other gods are mentioned and they also are truly divine, truly independent, or it may be supreme." Elsewhere (275) he says: "Each god . . . is felt at the time as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god."

The Brahmins say "God is everywhere . . . but his spirit-

uality perplexes the mind. To collect and fix the ideas on the object of adoration, therefore, an image is chosen, into which image, by the power of incantations, the deity is imagined to be drawn. Hence in dedicating an image they call upon the god to come and dwell in it. . . . God has made himself known in these forms, and directed the various images to be made, that men may be fascinated and drawn to the love of worship. . . . Images are only necessary while men continue in a rude state, and may be laid aside by those who can attain to devotion by means of rational speculation." Ward ii. xxxv.

"Nothing can be more simple than esoteric Hindooism [as conceived by some Brahmins]. It is a creed which may be expressed by the two words—Spiritual Pantheism. A pantheistic creed of this kind is the simplest of all beliefs, because it teaches that nothing really exists but the one Universal Spirit; that the soul of each individual is identical with that Spirit, and that every man's highest aim should be to get rid forever of doing, having, and being, and devote himself to profound contemplation, with a view to such spiritual knowledge as shall deliver him from the mere illusion of separate existence and force upon him the conviction that he is himself part of the one being constituting the Universe." Williams I. W. Intro. xxvi.

SEC. 255. *Transmigration*.—¹ Menu xii. 80. ² *Ib.* xi. 48–53. ³ *Ib.* xii. 42–50. ⁴ *Ib.* xii. 73–82.

"It is probable that the idea of transmigration first originated in the curious trick of the memory by which we sometimes feel so sure that sensations we are experiencing have been experienced by us before, and yet we know not how or where." Davids B. 255. He refers to Carpenter's *Physiology*, p. 430, and Brodie's *Psychological Inquiries*, second series, p. 55.

SEC. 256. *Krishna*.—¹ Arnold S. C. x. 81. ² *Ib.* ix. 78. ³ *Ib.* ii. 13. ⁴ *Ib.* ii. 122. ⁵ Ward ii. 21, 23. ⁶ Barth 272.

SEC. 257. *Buddha*.—The best book on Buddhism is that of Kern; and next in interest is that of St. Hilaire. The best in English is David's *Buddhism*, but it is too brief to give a fair opportunity for the learning and ability of the author. ² *Buddhaghosa* Intro. xxxi.

"Early Buddhism had no idea, just as early Christianity had not, of the principle underlying the foundation of the higher morality of the future, the duty which we owe, not only to our fellow-men of to-day, but also to those of the morrow—to the race as a whole, but in the future even more than now. . . . The sense of duty

to the race has sprung out of a fact, only lately become a generally received conception—I mean the progressive continuity of human progress.” Davids H. L. iii.

“There is no reason to believe that Gautama . . . intended . . . to be the founder of a new religion.” Davids B. 151. As Davids is a high authority I quote his opinion, but it seems to me quite plain that Siddhartha did intend to found a new religion.

One of Siddhartha’s converts, named Poorna, announced that he would go as a missionary into the district of Sronaparanta. The master said to him:—

“The men of Sronaparanta are passionate, insolent, and cruel, and what will you think, Poorna, when they insult you?”

“Those who do not strike me with their hands or hit me with stones must have kind hearts.”

“But if they strike you?”

“If they do not use clubs or swords they must be kind.”

“But if they beat you with clubs or wound you with swords?”

“If they do not kill me I will think they are kind.”

“But if they should kill you?”

“Then I shall think that they render me a service in delivering me from a body that contains so much impurity.”

“It is well, Poorna,” said Siddhartha; “with your perfect patience, you can establish yourself in Sronaparanta. Go, then, O Poorna; being yourself saved, help to save others. Having arrived at the other shore, help others to cross. Being consoled, console others. Having become secure of Nirvana, help others to attain it.” St. Hilaire 96, 97.

SEC. 258. *Nirvana*.—The theory that Nirvana means annihilation implies that Siddhartha threw away “one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of every religious teacher. If this life is to end in nothing it is hardly worth the trouble which he took himself, or the sacrifice which he imposed on his disciples.” Max Muller C. i. 231. ² B. Suttas xi. 248. ³ Beal 86. ⁴ B. Suttas xi. 115. ⁵ Beal 111. ⁶ St. Hilaire 133, 134. ⁷ Davids H. L. 89.

Buddha said, “I do not bid my disciples perform miracles; I tell them, Live so that your good deeds may remain concealed, your errors confessed.” Duncker iv. 478.

Buddha says the transmigrated soul is like a flame kindled from another flame. Davids H. L. 101.

“One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvana. If the bikshoo, the disciple of Buddha, has

learned this, he will not yearn for honor; he will strive after separation from the world." Dhammapada v. 75.

SEC. 259. *Bikshoos*.—¹I am not fully convinced that the statement of Siddhartha's doctrine in regard to the killing of beasts by his lay disciples is correct, but I follow the authorities. It seems to me inconsistent, impolitic, and not in harmony with his judgment in managing men, that he should have ordered his laymen to abstain from the destruction of any life, while he allowed them to defend their rights, and permitted them, and even the bikshoos, to eat meat. How could people eat meat if beasts could not be killed? And if beasts were killed by unbelievers, was not the purchase of meat from them an encouragement of killing, and an indirect killing? And if the layman could defend his rights in war, why should he not have the consent of his religious teacher to kill the poisonous reptile that threatened his life, or the insect that destroyed his comfort? The people who live on the flesh of their cattle, of fish, or of game, cannot be Buddhists, if they are not allowed to take the life of beasts. I suspect that Siddhartha gave no command to laymen in reference to the killing of beasts; but the authorities are against me. ²Beal 215.

Kern, vol. 2, gives a full account of the discipline of the bikshoos: "For a part of the year they [the bikshoos] must live in the woods with no other shelter than a tree, and with no furniture but a carpet on which they must sit, and never lie down during sleep." Williams I. W. 58.

SEC. 260. *Laymen*.—¹Max Muller O. R. iii. ²Dhammapada i. 2. Buddhaghosa. ³Beal.

SEC. 261. *Viharas*.—¹Mills C. D. B. 77. ²Beal 116.

SEC. 262. *Discourses*.—¹Pfleiderer i. 215. ²Asvaghosha. ³*Ib.* 307.

The following is a Buddhist parable: "There was a certain pond, which contained many fish, and had diminished so much in an unusually dry summer that the supply of food for them had run very short, and appearances indicated that before the beginning of the rainy season, many and perhaps all of them would die of starvation. While they were worrying about the great danger of their situation, a crane came to them and told them that there was another and larger pond with abundant water not far off, and as a matter of benevolence, if they wished, he would carry them all to the better place. They listened to him very suspiciously, but finally consented to let the crane carry one of their number, who was old and half blind, to the larger pond, so that he could report. The

crane took the deputy fish to the pond, showed it to him, convinced him of its superior attractions as a home for fish, and then took him back. The half-blind fish made a report so favorable that all agreed to move to the new pond. The crane took them up one by one to the edge of the new pond, but, instead of putting them in, he ate them there. When all were dispatched, he took a crab, which consented to follow the fish, but he took care to take hold of the crane's neck with his claw, as he said for the purpose of holding on, but when he saw the pile of fish bones, and the purpose of the crane to kill him, he nipped off the crane's head and walked to the new pond. The shallow pond is the world; the other larger pond is salvation; the crane is the prevalent superstition; the half-blind fish is the priest; and the crab is Buddha." Davids H. L. 117.

A Hindoo apologue, to illustrate the readiness of the ignorant to believe stories told to them by designing rogues, whether in or out of the priesthood, is copied by Max Muller, and repeated by Cox A. M. i. 111. "Three thieves saw a peasant carrying a goat at some distance from his home, and on a lonely road; so they laid a plan to get it. They separated, and one after another met the peasant. Each asked him why he was carrying that miserable cur dog. He answered the first with a curse, the second with a stare, and the third by throwing down the goat and running away. Muller remarks that a man will believe almost anything if told by three different people."

SEC. 263. *Siddhartha's Death*.—¹B. Suttas. ²*Ib.* 103. ³*Ib.* 112.

SEC. 264. *Councils*.—¹Rockhill 157. ²St. Hilaire 110.

SEC. 265. *Asoka*.—¹Duncker iv. 529. ²Buddhaghosa xx. ³Duncker iv. 534. ⁴Davids H. L. 230. ⁵St. Hilaire 108. ⁶*Ib.* iii. ⁷*Ib.* 112.

SEC. 266. *Growth*.—¹St. Hilaire 186. ²Rockhill 221. ³St. Hilaire 329. ⁴*Ib.* 218. ⁵Davids. ⁶Beals B. C. 96. ⁷Asvaghosa xix. 26.

In his Buddhism Davids gives a table of the number of Buddhists as compared with the believers in other religions. According to him there are 500,000,000 Buddhists, 160,000,000 Brahminical Hindoos, 155,000,000 Mohammedans, 152,000,000,000 Roman Catholics, 75,000,000 Greek Christians, 100,000,000 Christians of other sects, 7,000,000 Jews, 1,200,000 Sikhs, 150,000 Parsees, and 125,000,000 others, mostly savages. The Buddhists are comprised in two main classes, the Southern and the Northern. The Southern Buddhists, including those in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and Anam, number 30,000,000; the Northern Buddhists number 470,000,000, including 416,000,000 in China, 33,000,000 in Japan, 8,000,000 in

Corea, 6,000,000 in Thibet, 5,000,000 in Manchuria and Mongolia, and 2,000,000 in Loo Choo, etc.

SEC. 267. *Hindustan's Place*.—¹Ward i. 477. ²James Mill H. I. i. 180. ³The Sikh Bible says, "God will not ask man what he is, but will ask what he has done;" and, "To be true belongs to thee; thy success to the Creator."

SEC. 268. *Land and People*.—¹Max Muller C. i. 81. ²*Ib.* i. 371. ³Rawlinson F. G. M. iii. 332. ⁴*Ib.* O. N. 104.

SEC. 270. *The Avesta*.—¹Vendidad Intro. xxx. ²Darmesteter Introduction xxxi. ³Duncker v. 100. ⁴1 Sam. iv. 14. ⁵Josh. xiv. 20. ⁶Lippert G. P. ii. 324.

SEC. 271. *Ormuzd*.—¹Vendidad Introduction. ²Rawlinson R. A. W. ³Darmesteter Avesta ii. 229. ⁴Max Muller C. i. 174. ⁵"The good immortal, the wicked destroyed." Whitney O. L. S. ⁶Philip Smith (433) adds, citing Rawlinson (iii. 114), "As the juice was drunk immediately after extraction, and before fermentation had set in, it was not intoxicating." Rawlinson evidently does not know the intoxicating qualities of the fresh juice of the ava.

The following extracts from modern publications of the Parsees—confessions of faith and prayer—are interesting as illustrations of the faith derived from the ancient Persians:—

"I believe in the existence, the purity, and the certainty of the good Mazdean faith, in the creator, Ormuzd, and the ampaschands [angels]; in the furtherance of the final reckoning, and in the resurrection with a new body." Then the believer adds, "I repent in word and deed for all kinds of sin, prohibited in the law, done by me in thought, word, or deed." Diercks i. 251.

"In the name of God, the munificent, the merciful, the loving, praise be to the name of Ormuzd, who ever was, ever is, and ever will be, from whom all authority comes, the great ruler, mighty, wise, the creator, the preserver, the refuge, the protector, the doer of good deeds, the overseer, pure, good, and just; at thy command I accept all the good things which life offers to me. In thee I think, and speak, and act. I believe thy true law. I seek forgiveness for all my sins by upright conduct. I observe the pure law by virtuous effort and abstinence from vice. I recognize the duties of using with pure purpose the six powers of thought, speech, action, memory, reason, and spirit." Diercks i. 235.

The modern catechism says: "I believe in one God; in the sublime Zoroaster as his true apostle; in his religion and his gospel, the Avesta, as above every doubt; in the goodness of God; and in

our duties to obey every command of the Mazdean religion, to avoid all evil, to strive to do good, and to pray five times every day. We believe that we shall be judged on the fourth day after death, and that justice will be done unto us; that we should hope for Heaven and fear Hell; that we should not doubt that there will be a day of destruction and of resurrection; that we must never forget that God's will has ever been and ever will be done, and that we should turn our faces towards the light." Diercks i. 258.

The commandments accepted by the modern Parsees are these: "To know God as one; to know the prophet, the exalted Zurthost as the true prophet; to believe the religion and the Avesta brought by him as true beyond all manner of doubt; to believe in the goodness of God; not to disobey any of the commands of the Mazdean religion; to avoid evil deeds; to exert oneself in good deeds; to pray five times in the day; to believe in the reckoning and justice on the fourth morning after death; to hope for heaven and to fear hell; to consider indubitable the day of general destruction and resurrection; to remember always that God has done what he willed and shall do what he wills; to face some luminous object while worshipping God." Max Muller C. i. 173.

SEC. 272. *Chaldea*.—¹Rawlinson F. G. M. ii. 514. ²Is. xiii. 19. ³Jer. li, 41. ⁴Ez. xliii. 14. ⁵*Ib.* xvii. 4. ⁶Rawlinson F. G. M. iii. 15. ⁷The routes of the caravans are shown on a map in Lindsay i. 1.

SEC. 274. *Chaldean Learning*.—¹Sayce A. E. E. 167. ²Kenrick ii. 275. ³Duncker i. 23. ⁴*Ib.* 283. ⁵Philip Smith, 400.

SEC. 276. *Chaldean Religion*.—¹Rawlinson F. G. M. iii. 82. ²Ragozin C. 178. ³*Ib.* 155. ⁴*Ib.* 162.

SEC. 277. *Assyria*.—¹Duncker iii. 83.

SEC. 278. *Assyrian Polity*.—¹Sayce A. E. E. 90.

SEC. 279. *Assyrian Religion*.—¹Rawlinson F. G. M. ii. 2. ²*Ib.* 73. ³*Ib.* ⁴Enc. Brit., Article Babylonia. ⁵Rawlinson F. G. M. ii. 71. ⁶*Ib.* R. A. W. 73.

SEC. 280. *Phœnicia*.—"The Phœnicians indeed were an eminently receptive people. Like the rest of their Semitic brethren, they lacked originality, but they were gifted beyond most other races with the power of assimilating and combining, of adapting and improving on their models." Sayce A. E. E. 184.

"The Phœnicians form, in some respects, the most important fraction of the whole group of antique natives, notwithstanding that they sprang from the most obscure and insignificant families. This

fraction, when settled, was constantly exposed to inroad by new tribes, was utterly conquered and subjected by utter strangers, when it had taken a great place among nations, and yet by industry, by perseverance, by acuteness of intellect, by unscrupulousness and want of faith, by adaptability and pliability when necessary, and dogged defiance at other times, by total disregard of the rights of the weaker, they obtained the foremost place in the history of their times, and the highest reputation, not only for the things which they did, but for many that they did not. They were the first systematic traders, the first miners and metallurgists, the greatest inventors (if we apply such a term to those who kept an ever watchful lookout for the inventions of others, and immediately applied them to themselves with some grand improvements on the original idea); they were the boldest mariners, the greatest colonizers, who at one time held not only the gorgeous East but the whole of the then half-civilized West in fee; who could boast of a form of government approaching to constitutionalism; who, of all nations of the time, stood highest in practical arts and sciences; and into whose laps there flowed an unceasing stream of the world's entire riches, until the day came when they began to care for nothing else, and the enjoyment of material comforts and luxuries took the place of the thirst for and search after knowledge. Their piratical power and daring was undermined; their colonies, grown old enough to stand alone, fell away from them, some after a hard fight, others in mutual agreement or silently; and the nations in whose estimation and fear they had held the first place, and who had been tributary to them, disdained them, ignored them, and finally struck them utterly out of the list of nations, and they dwindled away miserably, a warning to all who should come after them." Deutsch 162.

"The Phœnicians were certainly among the most industrious and persevering of mankind. The accounts which we have of them from various quarters and the remains which cover the country that they once inhabited, sufficiently attest their unceasing and untiring activity, through almost the whole period of their activity as a nation. Always laboring in their workshops at home in mechanical and esthetic arts, they were at the same time constantly seeking employment abroad, ransacking the earth for beautiful and useful commodities, building cities, constructing harbors, founding colonies, introducing the arts of life among wild nations, mining and establishing fisheries, organizing lines of land traffic,

perpetually moving from place to place, and leaving wherever they went abundant proofs of their diligence and capacity for hard work. From Thasos in the East, where Herodotus saw a large mountain turned topsy-turvy by the Phœnicians in their search for gold, to the Scilly Isles in the West, where workings attributable to them are still to be seen, all the metalliferous islands and coast tracts bear traces of Phœnician industry in tunnels, adits and air-shafts, while manufactured vessels of various kinds in silver, bronze, and terra-cotta, together with figures and gems of a Phœnician type, attest still more widely their manufacturing and commercial activity." G. Rawlinson S. P. 56.

SEC. 281. *Phœnician Commerce*.—¹Ships built by Phœnicians in the Red Sea brought gold, ivory, almug (sandal) wood, apes, and peacocks to Solomon. 1 Kings ix. 27, 28; x. 10, 22.

SEC. 282. *Phœnician Letters*.—¹"The advance from one stage in the development of writing to the next, is only attained by the transmission of a graphic system from one nation to another. The transmission of the Aztec hieroglyphics to the Mayas of Yucatan, of the Egyptian hieroglyphs to the Semites, and the thrice-repeated transmission of the Semitic alphabet to the Aryan nations,—to the Greeks, to the Persians and to the Indians,—are instances in point. Each of these transmissions was accompanied by important developments in the art of writing." Taylor A. i. 39.

SEC. 283. *Teutonia*.—In reference to the ancient Teutons, there is no one authority of superior comprehensiveness and accuracy.

SEC. 286. *The Celts*.—The same remark applies to the Celts. ¹Napoleon ii. 26.

Mommsen (i. 419, 420) says the Celtic blood "is deficient in those deeper moral and political qualifications which lie at the root of all that is good and great in human development," and therefore the Celts "have shaken all states and have founded none." This opinion seems to me to be unjust to the character and capacity of the Gauls. As compared with other peoples of their time, I see no serious moral or mental defect. The main reasons why they did not found a great modern nation are that their political organization was weak and they came into conflict with Rome before they had time to ripen in a consolidated monarchy.

SEC. 288. *Druidism*.—¹Toland vi. 13. ²"Cæsar brought to Italy so much gold and silver from the Druidical temples that there was a perceptible decline in the value of the precious metals. From one temple at Toulouse he took more than \$15,000,000." Lippert G. P. ii. 579.

SEC. 289. *Stone Monuments*.—¹Toland 313. ²Mason's Carac-tacus in Toland 325. ³Toland 316. ⁴*Ib.* 327. ⁵Du Chaillu i. 71, 72, 75, 273. ⁶*Ib.*, 311, 313, 320, 321. ⁷Fergusson R. S. M. 91. ⁸*Ib.* 63.

Fergusson, who made a careful study of the rude stone monuments of Western Europe, and gave us the best book about them, came to the conclusion that their builders certainly were not Aryan, but were Turanians after they had come into contact with the Romans not earlier than 100 B. C. While I have great respect for Fergusson's industry and ability, in this instance I cannot accept his conclusion. But works of such magnitude must have been erected by a nationality dominant at the time in the regions where these monuments stand, and we know not only that no Turanians have been dominant in France north of the Loire, in England, Scotland and Ireland where these works are most numerous, but that there has been not even one Turanian village there. Besides, the districts known or supposed to be Turanian—such as Finland, Hungary, Liguria, Etruria and the Basque provinces—have nothing of the kind.

Fergusson thinks the dolmen builders may have been descendants of the cave-dwellers; but how they could have erected these monuments after 100 A. D., without being known to history or tradition, is inexplicable. Besides, he admits (R. S. M. 258) that a stone circle was erected at Stennis in the Orkneys by Northmen; and that menhirs at Carnac commemorate a battle between Britons and Northmen about 500 A. D. (375). He (279, 281) also mentions the facts that the sites of several battles in Norway are covered with upright stones, resembling those of Carnac in their arrangement; and he (282) mentions a burial mound with a circle of stone round it and a dolmen on top in Iceland. Lubbock P. T., ch. v, gives a good summary of information about megalithic monuments. In reference to those in France see Duruy iii. 262-264.

Worsaae (78) thinks the dolmens were raised by men in the stone age. Many writers use the word cromlech as synonymous with dolmen; Fergusson (44) says cromlech has a different meaning. The descendants of the Turanians in France are all south of the Garonne; the megalithic monuments of France are nearly all north of that stream, and in the region bounded by it, the Seine and the Rhone. Duruy iii. 262. For statistics of ancient British graves see Lubbock P. T. 154.

SEC. 290. *Etruria*.—¹Dennis i. 15.

SEC. 297. *Great Achievements*.—¹Taylor A. i. 54. ²*Ib.* 39. ³*Ib.* 4.

SEC. 299. *Religious Growth*.—Max Muller (C. i. Preface) writes of "the inevitable decay to which every religion is exposed. . . . Wherever we can trace a religion to its first beginnings, we find it free from many blemishes that affected it in its later stages." He does not trace the history of any religion for the purpose of showing its decline, nor does he give reasons why all ecclesiastical systems must become corrupt with time. The best example to sustain his point would be Buddhism; but, when closely examined, it furnishes no proof. Siddhartha was superior in culture to most of his modern followers; their adherence to their ancient superstitions does not prove an inevitable tendency to decay in religion.

SEC. 300. *Religious Comparisons*.—General usage gives the name of religion to the belief of the Confucian and to that of the Buddhist; and therefore the definition of religion must include those beliefs; the common definitions do not. Those who find fault with my definition should give another equally comprehensive or deny the authority of usage in language. Max Muller devotes the greater part of his book on "Natural Religion" to a discussion of the various definitions of religion, and he offers (188) his in these words: "Religion consists in the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man." He says that "there is no conceptual knowledge which is not based on perceptual knowledge;" but we certainly do not perceive the infinite. We may infer the existence of the infinite from our perception of the finite; but the inference is a conception not a perception. Roskoff, as cited in Muller (189) defines religion as something that lifts man "above the real world." There are many religions, however, which do not lift him "above the real world," but carry him off in a fictitious sphere of existence. The transmigration of the Brahmin, and the cannibalistic heaven of the Fijian are not "above the real world;" they are on a level with the actual world of the believer, and far below the plane of the enlightened scholar. I quote the following passage from John Stuart Mill to sustain my definition: "The essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires towards an ideal object, recognized as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire. This condition is fulfilled by the religion of humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions even in their best manifestations, and far more so than in

any of their others. . . . The sense of unity with mankind and a deep feeling for the general good may be cultivated into a sentiment and a principle capable of fulfilling every important function of religion and itself justly entitled to the name." Mill agrees with general usage in recognizing the "religion" of Confucius, Sīd-dhartha, George Eliot, Herbert Spencer, and T. H. Huxley.

SEC. 303. *Departmental Values*.—The chief advocate of mythology as a powerful influence in the development of religion and of general culture is Max Muller, in his "Science of Language," and various other works. Among those who have expressed the opinion that mythology is not a prominent factor in culture are Lippert G. P. ii. 348 and W. Robertson Smith (R. L. 19).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SEC. 186.—It deserves remark that while Squier denied the use of lime mortar in the architecture of the Quichuans, he was much impressed by the hardness of a mortar which he called clay. Thus he spoke of "stones laid in a tenacious clay" (87); of "solid rubble walls" (144); of "a compact mass of rubble" (150); of "tenacious clay mixed with broken stones so as to form an indurated mass almost as hard as mortar" (119); of round stones in "a cement or mortar of kneaded clay" (215); of rough stones laid in "a tenacious clay which may have had some intermixture to give it greater cohesion" (152); of "tenacious clay mixed perhaps with other adhesive materials binding together rough stones into one enduring mass of wall" (436); of rough stone "cemented together with a stiff clay" (410); of rough stones laid "in some tenacious material which I have called clay" (518); and of a most compact *mamposteria* (156). The last word is Spanish, and means stone laid in lime mortar. These expressions, scattered about through two hundred pages of his book, describing ruins seen in different portions of Peru and Bolivia, including places a thousand miles apart, and seen at intervals of time separated by many months—these expressions were evidently not compared by their author with one another, for if they had been, he would have seen the necessity of making some comprehensive remark, which he did not make. This Quichuan mortar, much as it looks like clay, is certainly not clay, and it is presumably a mixture which deserves a study that has never yet been given to it. Squier gives engravings showing the ruins of Quichuan buildings with walls thirty feet high of rough stone laid in this clay-like cement, and that have stood without a covering for centuries in the rains of the high Andes. No clay would keep its

place under such circumstances, and through such a period of time. We may presume that the same material as that of this clay mortar appeared in the "clay stucco," as Squier calls it, used to cover many of the Quichuan walls of stone and adobe, and still found on the ruins. Its moulded decorations, and the bright colors of its original painting, are still plainly discernible in places which have been exposed to more than three centuries of storm. Such stuccoes are still visible at Pachacamac, Chimú, the island of Coati, the island of Titicaca, and the temple of Viracocha, south of Cuzco.

This clay cement and this clay stucco presumably owed its hardness to the same material which gave their unparalleled and unexplained durability to the Quichuan adobes, which have lasted like stone. Prescott (C. P. i. 156) says that "these adobes possess a hardness insensible alike to the storms and the more trying suns of the tropics;" and he remarks that "Ulloa, who carefully examined these [unburned] bricks, suggests that there must have been some secret in their composition, so superior in many respects to our own manufacture."

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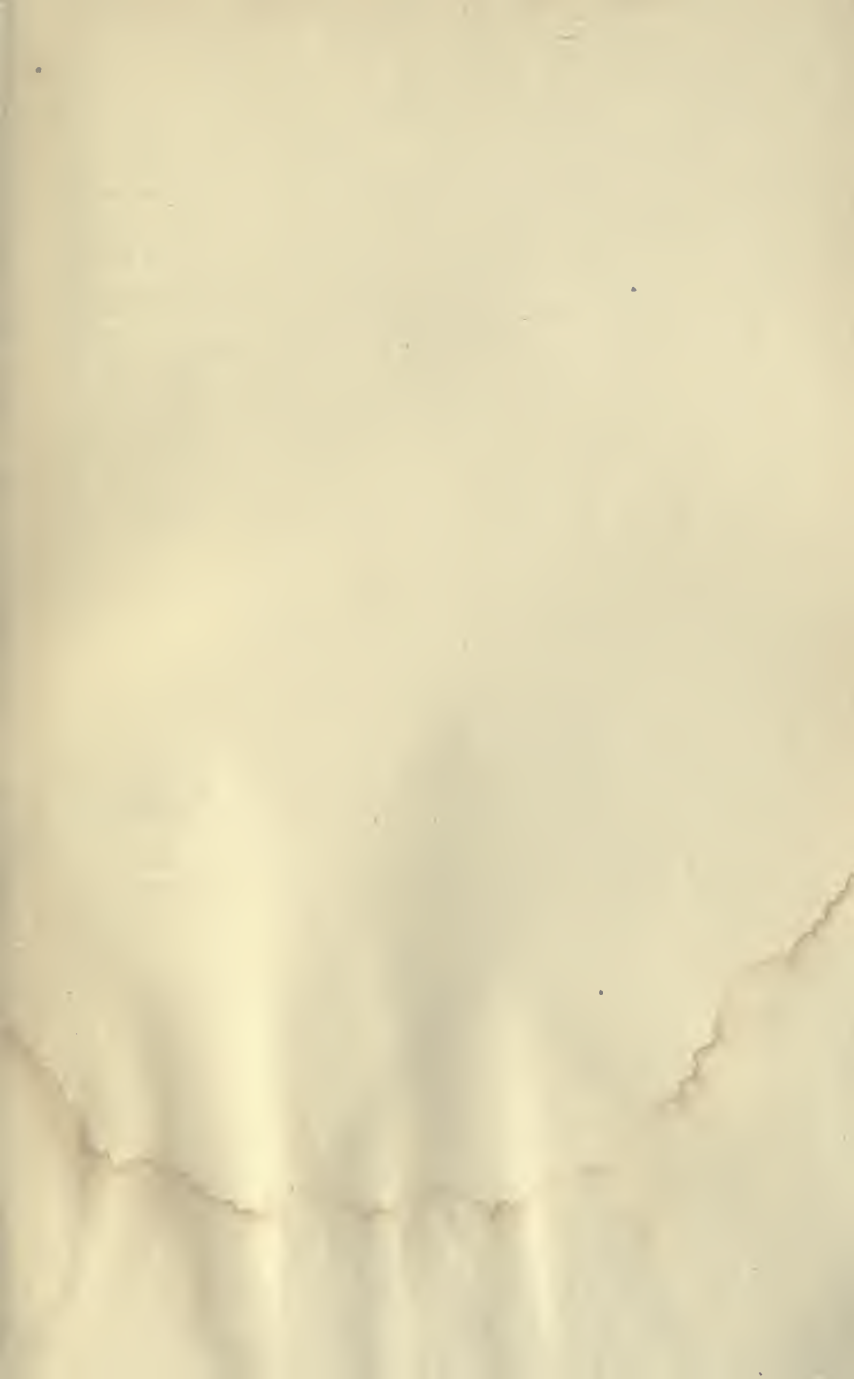
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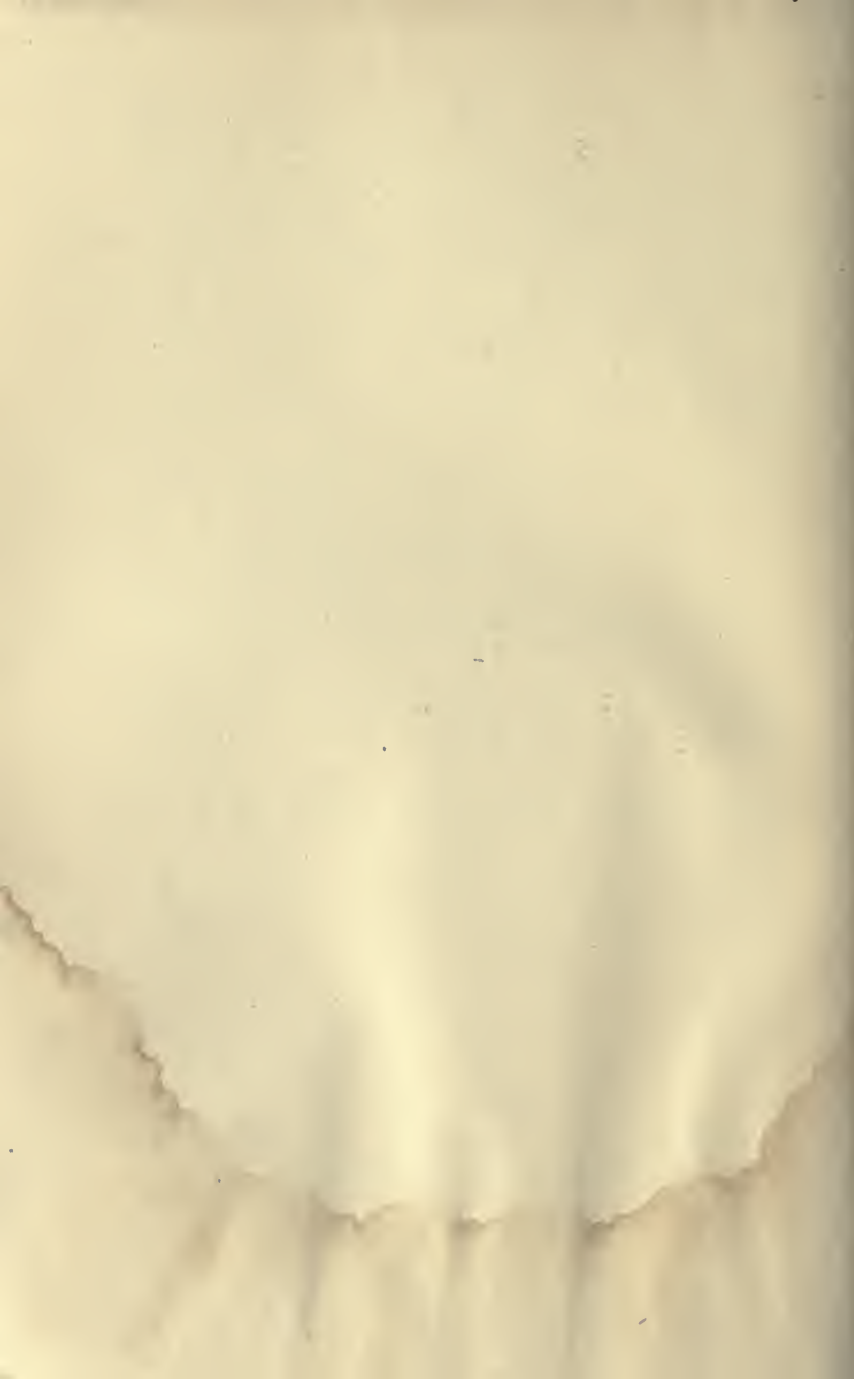
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IN
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VOLUME III.
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CHAPTER XX.

THE ANCIENT JEWS.

SECTION 305. *Palestine*.—Palestine, the country occupied by the ancient Hebrews, is about one hundred and forty miles long, between the thirty-first and thirty-third degrees of latitude, and forty-five miles wide. For nearly two-thirds of its length it fronts on the Mediterranean, but has no good harbor. Most of its area is mountainous, and better fitted for pasturage than tillage. The rainfall, limited to the winter and spring, is sufficient, if collected in reservoirs and distributed by ditches, to supply all the plain and much of the low hill land with abundant irrigation. The climate is subtropical. Among the chief agricultural products are olives, grapes, dates, wheat, and barley. The only river of note, the Jordan, empties into the Dead Sea, the surface of which is thirteen hundred feet below the level of the ocean. Palestine is not on the line of any great route of traffic by land; it has never had a great commerce, a large city, or great political power. Under a good government it

might support 2,000,000 inhabitants, but probably never had so many.¹

The ancient Hebrews did not excel in any useful or ornamental art. They were not eminent in agriculture, mining, mechanics, navigation, or traffic. The commercial talents, which distinguish their modern descendants, were not yet developed among them. They were not noted as spinners, weavers, dyers, potters, or ship builders. They founded no school of painting, sculpture, or architecture. When they built their temple, they sent to Tyre for workmen. Neither in their social nor political institutions were they original. They contributed nothing to the cause of freedom. They never had a great statesman or orator. They did not originate any new military drill, or copy an old one with much success. They never had a well-disciplined regiment or a famous general. No brilliant campaign or great victory gives luster to their annals. Most of such military strength as they had, lay in their mountainous country and strong national feeling.

The only important feature of their culture is their religious system, including its Bible, priesthood, temple, synagogue, creed, and ceremonial. Its sacred Scripture is especially prominent. Of all national literatures, that of the ancient Jews is the most ecclesiastical. All their books written before Alexander the Great and preserved to our time were accepted by them or their descendants as divinely inspired. Their proverbs, their love songs, their essays on the philosophy of life in the books of Job and Ecclesiastes, their history and their mythology, are all held out to us as of supernatural origin, wisdom, and authority. The ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Chinese, and Hindoos, as well as later nations, also had

their gospels, but these, in each case, were only a small part of the national literature.

SEC. 306. *The Jewish Bible*.—With numerous faults, the Jewish Bible is a wonderful book. Even those persons who can see nothing sacred in it, and who perceive its many serious defects, must acknowledge that, in many points, it is the greatest of books. It connects historical times with creation. It gives interesting accounts of important events in the early life of the human race. It replies to the questions how, when, where, and by whom government and religion, agriculture and mechanics, vice and sorrow, were introduced into the world. It is the gospel of all civilized and of many barbarous nations. It is accepted by Mohammedans and Christians as well as by Jews. It is the foundation of Christianity. It has been written, printed, translated, read and studied more, and, directly and indirectly, it has exercised more influence, on the fate of nations and on the happiness of individuals, than any other book.

The orthodox theory of the authorship and date of the Jewish Scriptures is that the books were written near the times of which they treat; that Moses, who lived before 1300 B. C., wrote the first five books; that Joshua, Samuel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were the authors of the books which bear their names; that Solomon wrote Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and the Song of Songs; that David composed most of the Psalms; and that all the books were written by holy men under the guidance of divine inspiration, with supernatural knowledge and truth, and have been preserved to our time, without material change, as necessary to the establishment and maintenance of the only true system of religion and morality.

Opposed to this orthodox theory is the critical theory, which is now accepted by biblical scholars of the highest authority for learning and judgment. According to this view, the Jewish Bible is the product not of a supernatural revelation but of natural evolution. The fundamental books, the first six in the collection, instead of having been written before 1300 B. C., were composed in subsequent centuries and were first arranged and published in their present shape after 550 B. C. The books of Samuel and Kings were compiled at an earlier date, with the aid of original national traditions and records, and were meant, in the main, to be truthful, and, though subjected to some interpolations, have been well preserved. The books of Chronicles are later in the date of their composition, and less trustworthy in statement, having been prepared under the influence of a strong sacerdotal bias. Deuteronomy, as a whole, was first published in the VIIth and Leviticus in the Vth century B. C., and each was designed to deceive the people, to add to the importance of Jerusalem, and to enrich a hereditary class of priests.

In the Hebrew Scriptures as accepted by Protestants, about half the space is occupied by history; one-fourth by prophetic books, which are to a considerable extent historical; one-twelfth by the law in Deuteronomy and Leviticus; and the remainder by the Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, and the personal experiences, real or mythical, of Job, Esther, and Ruth.

SEC. 307. *Myth and Legend*.—Genesis describes the creation of the universe, and tells us that at first there was neither vice nor evil in the world. Everything was harmonious and placid, until man violated a divine command, and thus brought sin, discord, toil, and suffering

into life. Men multiplied and soon became very wicked. "Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." "The earth was corrupt," and was "filled with violence." "It repented the Lord that He had made man." "The sons of God came in unto the daughters of men," and their offspring became "mighty men." "There were giants on the earth in those days,"¹ and the lives of common men were measured not by scores of years but by centuries. Most of the patriarchs between Adam and Noah saw their nine hundredth birthday. In the tenth generation after Adam, and in the sixteenth century of the creation, for the purpose of drowning out the wickedness of man, the Lord sent a great flood which "covered all the high hills that were under the heavens," and destroyed "all the flesh that moved upon the earth" excepting only those persons and beasts that were saved in the ark.² Human life then began anew. In the twelfth generation after Noah, Jacob was chosen by the Lord to be the ancestor of the Hebrews, the chosen people, the favorites of Heaven, the sole recipients among men of divinely revealed religion.

Jacob and his sons became residents of Egypt, where at first they were free and prosperous, but after his death his descendants were oppressed and enslaved. Nevertheless, they increased with such extraordinary rapidity that in the life of Jacob's great-grandson, Moses, they numbered 603,550 fighting men,³ equivalent to a total population of at least 2,500,000 persons. They revolted against the tyranny of the Egyptians, and marched back to Palestine, spending forty years on the way, during which time their leader, Moses, gave them revelations from their divine Master.

When they established themselves in Palestine, the

Hebrews consisted of twelve tribes, each comprising the descendants of one of the sons of Jacob, and each occupying its own district, except that the Levites, or sacerdotal tribe, were scattered through all parts of Palestine. From the time of Joshua to that of Saul, a period of five generations, there was no national unity; the tribes remained independent of one another, or they combined in leagues which had little permanence or power. Their rulers were petty princes or judges, and their government was so weak that "every man did that which was right in his own eyes."⁴ Having no national organization, they were repeatedly defeated and enslaved by the neighboring Philistines.

SEC. 308. *Oscillating Piety*.—At this time the religion of the Hebrews was polytheistic and idolatrous. We are told that they "served the Lord [Jehovah] all the days of Joshua and all the days of the elders that outlived him," but that the next generation "forsook the Lord and served Baal and Ashtaroath. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and He delivered them into the hands of the spoilers." After they had suffered the miseries of foreign domination, they cried for help to Jehovah, who gave them release and peace under their compatriot, Othniel, for forty years. After his death, "the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord" by returning to polytheism, and Jehovah permitted the king of Moab to enslave them for eighteen years. They "cried unto the Lord" again, and He gave them Ehud as a deliverer. "And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord when Ehud was dead, and the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin, king of Canaan, and the children of Israel cried unto the Lord," who again rescued them from the oppressor by the hand of

Barak. "And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord delivered them into the hand of Midian seven years," and "the children of Israel cried unto the Lord," who sent Gideon to liberate them. "And it came to pass as soon as Gideon was dead, that the children of Israel turned again . . . and made Baal-berith their god." Abimelech and Tola and Jair ruled over Israel, but we are not told of any change in the popular religion in their times. After the death of Jair, the Israelites "served Baalim and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Sidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and forsook the Lord, and served not Him. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and He sold them into the hands of the Philistines."

Thereupon "Israel was sore distressed. And the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, saying, 'We have sinned against Thee, both because we have forsaken our God, and also served Baalim.' And the Lord said: 'Did I not deliver you from the Egyptians, and from the Amorites, from the children of Ammon, and from the Philistines? The Sidonians also, and the Amalekites, and the Moabites did oppress you, and I delivered you out of their hand. Yet ye have forsaken Me, and served other gods; wherefore I will deliver you no more. Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen; let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation.' And the children of Israel said unto the Lord, 'We have sinned; do unto us whatsoever seemeth good unto Thee; deliver us only we pray Thee, this day.' And they put away the strange gods from among them, and served the Lord, and His soul was grieved for the misery of Israel."

Jephthah, whom He sent as a liberator, ruled over them

for six years, and Elon succeeded him for ten years, and Abdon was judge for eight years. During these twenty-four years, the Israelites were faithful to Jehovah. "And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord delivered them into the hands of the Philistines forty years." They were freed by Samson, who ruled over them for twenty years. After his time, the chronological relations of the story are not very clear. Civil war broke out among the Hebrews, and "all the children of Israel, and all the people, went up, and came to the house of God [in Mizpeh], and wept, and sat there before the Lord, and fasted that day until even, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord."¹ This language gives us an idea of the feeling of the Hebrews towards Jehovah, about the close of the legendary period, as depicted in their Scriptures.

SEC. 309. *The Seesaw Fiction.*—The biblical story of the period of the judges, written by an unknown author at an unknown time, silent as to many of the most important points of national progress and confused as to others, is an unsatisfactory attempt to string together vague traditions or fictions in such a manner as to form a connection between historical times and the earlier mythical period.

Among the traditions of the Hebrews were some that their ancestors had been enslaved repeatedly by heathen nations, and, according to the accepted Jewish philosophy, these national disasters must have been punishments inflicted by Jehovah for popular idolatry. In historical times the kingdoms of Judea and Israel were idolatrous, and were conquered by the heathen, and the conquest was held up by the priests as the inevitable result of apostasy; and, according to their philosophy, the misery

of their ancestors must have been the punishment for sins like those committed in the monarchy. If there were repeated subjugations, there must have been repeated apostasies. It is possible that the authors of these stories were more anxious to give impressive lessons in the profit of piety than to adhere to strict historical evidence.

But whether the Hebrews were conquered by the Philistines, Moabites, and Amorites, as told in the book of Judges, or not, we may be sure that they did not change their religion ten times in less than three centuries. They did not become idolaters after Joshua, and again after Othniel, and again after Ehud, and again after Barak, and again after Gideon, and then after each of these descriptions of their traditional religion, all suddenly become devout worshipers of Jehovah. The extreme rarity of revolutions in ecclesiastical systems is one of the prominent facts in authentic history, and the extreme frequency of such changes is one of the remarkable fictions of Hebrew legend. Hereafter we shall find much evidence that neither the Hebrews before, nor Samaritans after, the separation ever recognized Jehovah as their exclusive national divinity, nor did the Jews until nearly three centuries after the time of David.

SEC. 310. *The Hebrew Monarchy*.—The historical period of the Hebrew nationality begins with the monarchy in the first half of the XIth century B. C. Its founder, Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, after a reign troubled by much domestic and foreign warfare, was succeeded by David, of the tribe of Judah, who held the throne forty years, became more powerful than his predecessor or any of his successors, founded a durable dynasty, and became the favorite of the priests and the hero of national tradi-

tion. His son and successor, Solomon, was the last king of the Hebrews. Immediately after his death the realm was divided into two states; one called that of the Jews, and the other that of the Israelites or Samaritans.

The governments of these kingdoms were grossly despotic. The sovereign was absolute master of the property and lives of his subjects. There was no legislative body, no independent judiciary, no law to which the monarch owed obedience. The chief check to his arbitrary power was the priesthood, which was usually under his control. He found it prudent, however, to comply with the demands of the popular superstition; he could not safely do anything that would have been regarded by the multitude as an offense to the gods.

In countries that are both monarchical and polygynous, custom permits the newly installed sovereign to slay his half-brothers, or other heirs of the preceding monarch, as a protection against their conspiracies and against the plots of dissatisfied provinces or troops. This has been the usage in many ancient and modern states. Its existence in the Hebrew monarchy is indicative of the political culture of the people. When Saul was king, and at the height of his power, David considered it a great favor to become his son-in-law. After some years, when David had gained a reputation as a military leader, and had collected a little army ready to obey him, he defied Saul, attempted to dethrone him, and divorced his daughter. When the king was slain in battle by the Philistines, David seized the crown, and slew the sons of Saul, and the sons of his own repudiated wife.¹

David had sixteen wives; and among these Bathsheba, whom he had taken after he reached middle life, was his

favorite. Whether her influence over him was due to her beauty, her relative youth, or the crimes which her husband committed to obtain her, we do not know, but she had enough of it to secure the throne to her son Solomon, though older sons by other wives had more experience in public business, and were more admired by the multitude. Absalom, the eldest son, and by that fact entitled to the throne under the customs of other countries and also under the Jewish rules of inheritance, was not only a very handsome man, but was also extremely popular. He saw the dangers of exclusion from the throne and of murder, which, in such a political system, would follow his exclusion. He rebelled, drove his father from Jerusalem, and declared himself king. He was slain in battle, and David returned to his capital. Then Bathsheba induced her husband to associate Solomon with him in the royal office, but before this had been done, Adonijah, the son next in age to Absalom, publicly asserted his right to the succession. He was soon dispatched, and we may presume that other half-brothers followed him to the grave. They appear no more in history. The reign of Solomon was the most peaceful and splendid in Jewish history, perhaps in reward for his piety.

Slavery and polygyny were common customs, recognized by law. There was no limit to the number of wives, except that imposed by the poverty of the husband, who besides had almost unlimited privileges in the matters of divorce and concubinage. As an evidence of the greatness of Solomon, his chronicler boasted, perhaps with much exaggeration, that he had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines.

SEC. 311. *Religious Condition.*—The polytheistic and

idolatrous features of the popular religion were maintained under the Hebrew monarchy. The name of David was derived from that of a heathen god,¹ and so probably was that of Solomon, and also that of Saul, with slight modification. It is significant that a son of Saul was called Eshbaal, and one of David, Beeliada, equivalent to Baaliada.² Many divinities were worshiped at altars in all parts of Palestine, some with obscene rites, and some with human sacrifices. One of the chief objects of adoration in Jerusalem through all this period and many earlier and later generations, was a brazen serpent. When the kingdom of Israel was established, one of the first acts of its sovereign, at a time when he would naturally have been careful to avoid offending any considerable class of his subjects, was to erect two brazen calves or bulls in his capital, Shechem. The Israelites acted as if they had been accustomed to worship such idols in Jerusalem. Not a word of objection from people, soldier, or priest is reported. Baal, Chemosh, Moloch, Astarte, and other heathen divinities had their altars in the Jewish capital, and Jehovah had to wait more than half a century after the foundation of the monarchy before He had a temple. Solomon, who erected it, also built "a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, on the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon. And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burned incense and sacrificed unto their gods."³ As Solomon had hundreds of wives, many of them daughters of heathen princes, there must have been a large variety of altars in Jerusalem.

The temple of Solomon was not constructed in accordance with the ideas attributed, at a later date, to Moses. Among its decorations were sculptures of lions and oxen,

and it had colossal cherubim (figures of oxen with the heads of men) fifteen feet high, copied from the palaces of the Assyrians.⁴

SEC. 312. *The Prophets*.—A prominent class of men in the early monarchy, as well as in the previous and succeeding periods of the Hebrew and Jewish history, was that of prophets, men who announced the oracles of Jehovah to kings and people, received and published the divine revelations, wrote the sacred books, preached against idolatry and immorality, and gave counsel in matters of public and private policy. They foretold the prosperity that would follow piety and the adversity that would punish sin, but predictions were made by them only as a minor part of their business. On occasion, they could offer sacrifices, consecrate kings, and perform other sacerdotal offices, reserved in later times to the descendants of Aaron.

The prophetic office required no hereditary qualification. Most of the prophetic books in the Jewish Bible were written by men who did not claim to speak for Jehovah by virtue of their blood. Besides conveying the idea that they were not priests, some of them were rather reformers, and enemies of those ceremonies which furnished revenue and occupation to the custodians of the temples.

Among the prophets we find such names as those of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Eli, Elisha, Elijah, Isaiah, Daniel, and Amos. Samuel was the spiritual head of the kingdom in the reign of Saul. The chief sacerdotal advisers of David were Nathan and Gad, who are mentioned as his historians in such a manner as to lead to the presumption that they had the credit of writing the book now known as the Second of Samuel.¹

One of the most influential of the prophets was Nathan, who, after the death of Samuel, was the chief agent of Jehovah in communicating his orders to David. As his story is told in the second book of Samuel, that king had no chief priest, and no son of Levi or Aaron among his councilors. He accepted the anointment as monarch not from Levites but from men of Judah; and when he consulted dice for divine guidance he threw them himself.² The priestly sons of Aaron are mentioned only twice in Samuel's account of David's life, first when the king rebuked them for neutrality during Absalom's rebellion, and second when one of them was associated with the prophet Nathan in anointing Solomon.

As yet there were no sacred Scriptures. If, as is not improbable, the priests had manuscripts of myths, and legends and notes of important historical events, these writings were not received as divine revelations, and they were not so marked or described that we can determine whether any of their text has been preserved in the Jewish Bible of our time.

SEC. 313. *The Jewish Monarchy*.—As did his father David, a member of the tribe of Judah, Solomon made his royal residence in its chief city, Jerusalem. He fortified it with strong walls and adorned it with a royal palace and with numerous places of worship, including the great temple of Jehovah. Jerusalem being near the southern end of Palestine, and neither convenient of access to the majority of the Hebrews nor well situated as a fortress for the defense of the central and northern tribes, the lavish expenditure of money in enriching the capital provoked much dissatisfaction. The result was that when Solomon died, in 977 B. C., most of the tribes,

nominally ten in number, refused to recognize his son and successor, Rehoboam, and established the independent kingdom of Israel. Its first capital was Shechem; its second, Samaria.

The Hebrew monarchy was never a great power, and its weak fragments, Judea and Samaria, increased their weakness by frequent wars with one another. Rehoboam had been on the throne only five years when "Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all."¹ The Jewish and Samaritan monarchs were usually vassals to Egypt, Syria or Assyria, and in 719 B. C., the kingdom of Israel finally disappeared. Its principal inhabitants were deported, and a century or two later their national character was lost. They have left no descendants to modern times, and they and their institutions have no importance in the history of culture. All that there was of value in the Hebrew blood has been preserved to us by the Jews. The throne of Jerusalem was maintained for a century and a quarter after that of Samaria was overthrown.

SEC. 314. *The Temple, etc.*—The sacerdotal office was not restricted to a hereditary class. Anybody could build an altar anywhere, to any one of a large number of divinities, and could there conduct the ceremonies of worship. So far as we can learn from the Hebrew Scriptures, the priests had nothing to do with the planning, construction, or dedication of the great temple. Solomon was the master of ceremonies at the consecration. He offered the sacrifices, delivered the only address and prayer reported to us, and at the close blessed the congregation. The biblical historian says, "So the king and

all the children of Israel dedicated the house of the Lord."¹ Nowhere in the account of the construction and dedication of the temple as given in the book of Kings, is the priesthood mentioned.

Either Solomon did not dedicate his temple to Jehovah, or the latter was then regarded as one of many divinities, similar to and friendly with Baal, Chemosh, and Moloch. Polytheistic communities are tolerant of strange gods, but strict in requiring that a temple once dedicated to a divinity shall be kept sacred to him. They fear to give offense to any divinity. They may admit friendly gods into a temple, but not unfriendly ones. They would not put the statue of Venus in the temple of Juno, nor that of Mars in the temple of Peace. There is no record in authentic history of the ejection of a god from his shrine in a polytheistic country, unless by a hostile people after a conquest. Now Jehovah, at least in later times, was conceived as a god who was hostile to all other gods. No statue, no priest, no altar no symbol of another god, could be admitted into His temple without a gross insult to Him. Yet we know that vessels for the worship of Baal were kept in the temple,² and this fact implies that priests of Baal resided in the temple and conducted their ceremonies there.

Of the eighteen kings who reigned over Judea before the captivity, beginning with Rehoboam in 977 and ending with Zedekiah in 586 B. C., a period of nearly four centuries, ten were idolaters, six were lukewarm worshipers of Jehovah, and only two were so strictly pious that they destroyed the altars of the heathen gods. These two were Hezekiah, who began to reign in 725 B. C., and Josiah, who took possession of the throne about 638 B. C.

The untrustworthy character of the history given in the Jewish Bible is made evident by a comparison of the accounts of the reigns of David, Hezekiah, and Josiah. Of the first we are told that "his heart was perfect with the Lord,"³ an assertion inconsistent with the fact that during his reign the brazen serpent was worshiped in Jerusalem. Of Hezekiah it is said that "he removed the high places and brake the images and cut down the groves" of the idolaters; "he trusted in the Lord God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among the kings of Judah nor any that were before him."⁴

About a hundred years after Hezekiah, when the royal dynasty of David was approaching the end of its career, Josiah reached the throne. "He put down the idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah and in the places about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the host of heaven. And he brought out the grove from the house of the Lord. . . . And he brake down the houses of the Sodomites that were by the house of the Lord. . . . And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or daughter to pass through the fire to Moloch. . . . And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh, the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom [Moloch], the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile. . . . Moreover, the altar that was at Bethel . . . he brake down. . . . And like unto him there was no king before him, that

turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him.”⁵

The heart of David was perfect with the Lord; but Hezekiah was more pious than any earlier or later king; and so also was Josiah. Much faith is needed to discover consistency in these statements. If what is told of Hezekiah be true, David permitted idolatry; and if what is told of Josiah be true, then the idolatrous temples of Solomon were not destroyed by Hezekiah. The general inference is that the kings and people generally practiced idolatry, and that rites as vile as those of the worst heathens, human sacrifices not excepted, were familiar in Jerusalem till the reign of Josiah.

Accepting as true the very questionable assertion that Hezekiah prohibited idolatry, we infer that the Jewish monarchy had existed for two hundred and fifty years before it found a ruler who treated idolatry as a crime. One of the biblical authors apologizes for toleration by saying that “as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers.”⁶ This means that, notwithstanding all the statements of the priests to the contrary, the Hebrews and Jews generally had never considered Jehovah their exclusive divinity.

The idolatrous figures of beasts placed in the temple by Solomon were supplied with companions by later sovereigns. Among these were horses, presumably of bronze, dedicated to the sun, and placed near the entrance,⁷ at an unknown date. Manasseh, who began to reign in 695 B. C., built “altars for all the host of heaven” in the precincts of the temple, and erected there a graven image of the grove,⁸ probably a figure not suited for precise description.

Sec. 315. *Hilkiah's Book*.—About the year 620 B. C., when Josiah, then on the throne, was twenty-six years old, the chief priest, Hilkiah, found a book called “the law of the Lord, given by Moses.”¹ This book was read before the king, and when he heard it, “he rent his clothes,” and he said to Hilkiah and three other priests, “Go, inquire of the Lord for me . . . concerning the words of the book that is found.” The object of their inquiry was to learn whether Hilkiah’s book really was a divine revelation, and whether it should be the sacerdotal law of the kingdom. The work was evidently new and unknown. There was no ancient copy of it; no records of a tribunal that had enforced its provisions; no class employed since ancient times in copying it; no school in which its interpretation had been studied; no congregation of priests who had lived by its rules; no tradition that it had been known in earlier times. Instead of going to the priests of the temple, who were not only the proper custodians of sacred books, if there were any, but also the proper persons to declare the oracles of Jehovah, Hilkiah and his associates went to a prophetess, a feminine fortune-teller, who gave them the following communication from the Lord God of Israel:—

“Behold I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read; because they have forsaken Me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke Me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore My wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched. But to the king of Judah, which sent you to inquire of the Lord, thus shall ye say to him, ‘Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, as touching the words which thou hast heard,

because thine heart was tender and thou hast humbled thyself before the Lord, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes and wept before me, I also have heard thee,' saith the Lord. 'Behold, therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered unto thy grave in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place.' "

After receiving that communication as a divine revelation confirming the sacred authority of Hilkiah's book, king Josiah "went up into the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people great and small; and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord. And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep His commandments, and His testimonies, and His statutes, with all their heart and all their soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood to the covenant."

King Josiah "commanded Hilkiah, the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven, and he burned them. . . . And he put down the idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah. . . . And he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun at the entering in of the house of the Lord, . . . and

the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the Lord. . . . And he slew all the priests of the high places. . . . Moreover, the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah, and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law, which were written in the book that Hilkiah, the priest, found in the house of the Lord.”²

Hilkiah's book, thus accepted as a divine revelation by the Jews, is not described by the biblical historian in such a manner that it can be unmistakably identified. He does not mention it as the Pentateuch, or as containing five parts. He does not say it gave accounts of the creation of the world, of the early history of mankind, and of the career of the chosen people after the selection of Jacob as their progenitor. But he says it provided for the celebration of the passover, which is a prominent feature in Deuteronomy. It made death the penalty for idolatry and witchcraft, as does Deuteronomy. It limited the right of the priesthood to the Levites, as does Deuteronomy. It was known to Jeremiah, the contemporary of Hilkiah, as was Deuteronomy, and as the other books of the Pentateuch were not. Therefore we must conclude that Hilkiah's book was Deuteronomy.

Before the time of Josiah, the Jewish priests often spoke of “the law of Moses,” meaning either some few commandments or a system of unwritten rules. The new book produced by Hilkiah purported to have been written, at least eight centuries before, by the most famous of the Hebrew prophets. It introduced many new ideas into Judea. It was the first book of revelation known to the Jews. It comprised many precepts of

civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical law. It provided that it should be read to all the Jewish people at certain festivals. It thus gave a popular and educational character to their religion. It made them "the people of the book," and gained a popular authority, higher than that of any older revelation. It demanded study. It provoked thought and discussion. It educated scribes and commentators. It made schools of interpreters. It laid the basis for traditions and sects, for Pharisees and Sadducees.

It prohibited worship at all places save the one where the shrine of Jehovah was established, and that place in the time of Josiah was Solomon's temple in Jerusalem. It abolished the old rule that a sacrifice must be offered whenever a beast was slain, and reduced slaughter for food to a profane business.

SEC. 316. *The Captivity*.—In 586 B. C. the first Jewish monarchy reached a disastrous end. Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian monarch, captured Jerusalem, broke down its walls, burned its temple, royal palace, and all its good dwellings, blinded the king, after slaying all his sons before his eyes, and then took him and his principal subjects into captivity. Nine years before this destruction of the Jewish capital, Nebuchadnezzar had besieged and taken it, and then "he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valor, even 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths. None remained save the poorest sort of people."¹ After the second capture and deportation, relatively few of the Jews were left in Judea, and yet those few rebelled against the Babylonians, and then, fearing punishment, "all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the armies, arose and came to Egypt,"² where they made their homes.

Nebuchadnezzar took his captives to Mesopotamia, where he established most of them in a district by themselves, and allowed them to preserve their language, customs, and religion. Except that they were not permitted to leave their district, they enjoyed a considerable degree of liberty. They tilled the soil for themselves, and were allowed to accumulate property. They had their priests, their prophets, their religious meetings, and their law, which they read and cherished.

SEC. 317. *Synagogue*.—The synagogue, the most important original feature of the Jewish religion, a house for worship, with gospel reading, lecture, song and prayer without sacrifice,—was introduced by an unknown person, at an unknown time and place, probably in Mesopotamia during the captivity. It was a natural outgrowth of the circumstances of a people who had a sacred law that was to be read periodically to “men, women, and children;” to a people of strong national feeling, who regarded this reading as one of the strongest bonds of their union; to a people whose seventh day was sacred to ideas of worship; and to a people who were forbidden to erect any temple or altar in the land of their exile. This people established the custom of meeting, at first, presumably, in private houses or in the open air to hear their law, and afterwards in buildings erected for the purpose. Every synagogue had its copy of the books of Moses, and its reader, who read a portion of the law on every Sabbath day. Not unfrequently explanatory remarks were made by a rabbi, a man who had made a study of the text. The privilege of speech was not limited to personages of an official character, there were times when any man of Jewish blood, faithful to the traditions of his people and of good repute, could

express his opinions upon the meaning of the law, and take part in the discussions that might ensue. No priesthood was necessary in any person connected with the synagogue.

The demand for copies of the sacred books, to be read in these houses, trained a class of copyists, or scribes, who made a study of the text, and the discussions led to interpretations and comments which became parts of the national traditions, and were recorded in writings, the summaries of which are preserved in the Talmud. The synagogue became the center of the intellectual life and religious education of the people; it was almost as important to them as the assembly was to the Athenians in the age of Pericles. It gave to them a longing to read, a familiarity with the Mosaic law, a fondness for discussion, an exceptional mental activity, a consciousness of superiority over their heathen neighbors, and a confidence in their national cohesion. Popular feeling demanded that every town with ten Jewish families must have its synagogue, and the rule was generally observed in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, Greece, Italy, and other countries of antiquity, and has come down to our times.

The synagogues had a large influence, not only in educating the Jews, and giving them a strong attachment to their law, but in bringing the Hebrew Scriptures into their present shape, in developing that strong nationality which has triumphed over the cruelest and most enduring persecutions to which a people was ever subjected, and also in laying the foundation for Christianity.

The synagogue is not mentioned in the Pentateuch or in the historical books of the Old Testament.¹ It was an afterthought, the result of the concurrent influences of the possession of Deuteronomy by the Jews, their desire

to study it, the destruction of their temple, and their captivity in Mesopotamia. Their new house of worship became a nucleus for social, educational, and charitable movements; and, as copied by the Christians, and developed by them into the parish church, it became the admirable basis of the modern ecclesiastical organization.

SEC. 318. *Predictions*.—The rebellion of the ten tribes and the Babylonian captivity were great humiliations to the national pride of the Jews, and might well cause them to doubt whether they were the chosen people of Jehovah, or whether He was the supreme master of the world. Under a creed which promised immediate and adequate rewards in wealth, power, and worldly prosperity to piety, the situation for the Jewish priests at Babylon was difficult. They claimed that their people were appointed to enjoy a perpetual national existence and pre-eminence as the favorites of heaven, and yet their people were in exile, poverty, weakness, bondage, and in danger of total dispersion and extinction. Similar cases have occurred in other nations, and the sacerdotal explanation has always been the same in its main features. The people were not pious enough; they deserved even more punishment than they suffered.

The Jewish priests and prophets could not give relief from the evils of the present, over which they had little control, but they could assert a large jurisdiction over the remote future. They could promise better times to later generations. And they were very liberal in such promises. They predicted that all the descendants of Jacob should be reunited in an everlasting monarchy; that the founder of the new kingdom should be a Messiah, an anointed king, an heir of David, who, as the founder of the Jewish dynasty and its most powerful monarch, was

regarded as a pattern of piety and a special favorite of Jehovah; that his capital should be Jerusalem, to which all the heathen nations should pay tribute; that the temple of Jehovah should be rebuilt, and that His priesthood, His sacrifices and His law should be maintained forever. The following passage from Ezekiel, author of one of the latest prophetic books, is a striking sample of such predictions:—

“Therefore will I save my flock. . . . And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them. I the Lord have spoken it. . . . And I will make them and the places round about My hill [Jerusalem] a blessing; and I will cause the shower to come down in his season; there shall be showers of blessing. . . . And they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beast of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid.”¹

An heir of David, qualified by his blood to lead the people in a war of liberation and to reign over them afterwards, was the only Messiah foretold in the Scriptures, and the only one hoped for by the zealots. The predictions of such a hero, like many others in the prophetic books, were never verified; but they stimulated the national feeling of the Jews, contributed to preserve their language, blood, and faith, and prepared them for the re-establishment of their government in Judea.

In 538 B. C. Cyrus became master of Babylon, and among his subjects, found the Jewish colony in Mesopotamia. He soon treated them with favor. Perhaps he learned that they hated idolatry, that they had a religion

akin to his own, that they were not strong enough to maintain their national independence, and that because of their hatred for the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, they would be faithful to his interests.

SEC. 319. *The Return*.—An order issued by Cyrus, at an unknown date, permitted the Jews in Mesopotamia to return to Judea, but it led to no result worthy of note, perhaps because it did not provide for restoring to them their land or any political power. Under the Babylonian rule, Syrians and others had occupied the vacant estates, and Jews coming among them might be treated as enemies. In the seventh year of King Artaxerxes I.—that is about 458 B. C.—a new decree was issued to authorize the return of the Mesopotamian Jews to Judea, under conditions highly favorable to them. A document purporting to be a copy of this decree is given in the book of Ezra. It says: “Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace. . . . I make a decree that all they of the people of Israel and of His priests and Levites in my realm, which are minded of their own free will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee. . . . And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counselors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem, and all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the free-will offering of the people. . . . And I, even I, Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river [Jordan] that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily. . . . And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom [book] of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all

the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God, and teach ye them that know them not. And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.”¹

Under this order Ezra returned to Palestine, accompanied by 42,360 Jewish freemen, including women and children. He took possession of Judea, expelled the heathen occupants whom he found there, rebuilt Jerusalem, appointed judges, installed priests, and organized the political and ecclesiastical affairs according to his ideas.

The despotic power over the land and people of Judah conferred on him by Artaxerxes was used by Ezra with energy, and in a highly effective manner. He did not permit any persons, save worshipers of Jehovah of pure Jewish blood, to dwell in Jerusalem or to hold land in Judea. Every heathen, every alien, every Hebrew who had an alien wife and adhered to her, had to go. No worship was allowed save that of Jehovah; no person, unless recognized officially as a descendant of Aaron, could hold the priestly office. By such regulations, strictly administered, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Jewish nation reconstituted. He installed a new priesthood, with a sacred book, presumably the Pentateuch, much of which was new in its composition, and all of which was new in its arrangement, as the authoritative law of the whole nation. After long delays he saw the temple rebuilt, and the walls of the city restored. To him belongs the chief credit of having made the ancient Jews a distinct and peculiar people, with that strong ethnological vitality that endures to our own times.

As reorganized by Ezra, Judea was a Persian province

under a Jewish governor. The landowners and freemen were all or nearly all Jews. Remaining loyal to the Persian king, occupying a position where they could be of service to him, and enjoying his confidence and favor, they were peaceful and prosperous. They multiplied rapidly and increased by the return of many Jewish exiles from Babylonia and Egypt. For more than a century the policy of Ezra was maintained, and in this period the national character and religion became permanently fixed.

The books of Isaiah and several other prophets, many of the Psalms, and much of the material of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, were in existence before the reign of Josiah, but were not brought together in one collection, nor, with the exception of the Psalms, were they regarded as of divine authority. In the period of the captivity or in the following century, copies of these writings and of Deuteronomy were carried into Babylonia and Egypt, where, in the following century, they were beyond the reach of the innovating priests in Judea, who would, presumably, have been glad to destroy them or bring them into harmony with the books and institutions of Ezra.

The books of Chronicles were probably written by some priest after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, for the purpose of promoting the interests and gratifying the feelings of his sacerdotal associates. He took the bulk of his information from the books of Samuel and Kings, but materially changed the story by additions and omissions, and in his predominant tone substituted a sanctimonious unction for simple narrative.

He omitted to mention David's adultery with Bathsheba, his murder of Uriah, the worship of the brazen

serpent of Moses by the Jews for six centuries, the vessels of Baal kept in Solomon's temple, and the horses of the sun erected at its entrance. He changed the charge made by David on his deathbed to his successor. On that occasion, according to the older record, the chief thoughts of "the sweet Psalmist of Israel" at the approach of death were to secure posthumous gratifications of his hate. At the time of Absalom's rebellion, David had been cursed by Shimei, of the house of Saul, a house which David had treated with base ingratitude. After the death of Absalom and at a time when the restoration of peace was not yet secure, David had sworn to spare Shimei; but when about to die, he said to Solomon, "His hoar head bring thou down to the grave with blood." Joab had been the chief captain of the army, during the last half of David's reign. He defeated the rebellion of Absalom. Like his master, however, he had murdered some of his enemies, and thus had seriously offended the king, who, for fear or shame, did not venture to punish these crimes. But to Solomon he said, "Let not his hoar head go down to the grave in peace." These malignant injunctions were accompanied by another to walk in the way of Jehovah with all his heart and all his soul. Those were all the points in David's charge as given word for word in the First Book of Kings.²

Instead of that charge, the chronicler reports literally two charges, both entirely different from the one in the earlier book.³ In these later addresses David delivered to Solomon incredible amounts of precious metal (100,000 talents of gold, equivalent in weight to \$1,200,000,000 and 1,000,000 of silver, equivalent in weight to \$1,000,000,000), vast stores of bronze, stone, and tim-

ber, collected for the projected temple, and plans for the building. These plans had been communicated to David by Jehovah "in writing by His hand." One historian knows nothing of the collection of stores for the temple, and the other nothing of Shimei and Joab.

The canon of the Jewish Bible, as we now have it, with the exception of some minor additions and interpolations, was presumably made up in the IIIrd century B. C. by priests of the second temple, and was accepted as of divine authority by all the Jews who remained faithful to the Mosaic law current among them during the captivity.⁴ The Septuagint translation into the Greek, made at Alexandria about 270 B. C., is a guaranty for the existence of the Pentateuch at that time.

After the age of Alexander the ancient Jews have little culture-historical interest, except as they are connected with the origin of Christianity. In regard to their later political condition, it is sufficient for my purposes to add that, having been subject to Macedonian and other rulers for nearly two centuries, in 138 B. C. they re-established their national independence, which they maintained until 63 B. C., when they became subjects of Rome. In 70 A. D. their city was destroyed, and most of them were driven into exile.

Except in the case of Hilkiah's law, which is not described in such a manner as to enable us to identify it clearly, the Hebrew Bible does not tell us that any of its books, when first made known, was publicly accepted by the authorities of the state as a divine revelation. Ezra's law was imposed on the Jews by the decree of Artaxerxes, and was accepted by them, perhaps because Ezra had the power to enrich the submissive and to destroy the disobedient. Most of the books in the Jewish

Scriptures were first accepted as divine revelations by unknown authorities at unknown dates. Many were written by persons whose names have not been preserved. The Jewish Bible as a whole grew up in obscurity, just as if the Jewish prophets and priests had no conception of the importance of their work for distant times and lands, and as if they had no desire to let the world know how they obtained their inspiration.

Before the reign of Josiah the Jews were polytheists; after the conquest of Alexander they come into view as monotheists. We have no means of tracing the causes of the change. Perhaps familiarity with the religion of Zoroaster and with Ahura Mazda, the good spirit of the Persians, a god who had no proper name, had its influence on them.

Adhering to the beliefs that they were a peculiar people of superior righteousness, the especial favorites of heaven, that their monarchy was to be restored, and that it was to dominate over other nations, they considered it necessary to keep their blood pure; and therefore refused to intermarry or to associate intimately with the Gentiles. When they could do so with safety, they showed their dislike of the heathen and their hostility to the rites of heathen worship. Greeks and Romans spoke of them as "enemies of the human race."

SEC. 320. *Three Periods.*—Having told in preceding sections how and when the Mosaic books were accepted as of divine authority, I shall now proceed to examine some of their notable features, and to explain the traces of the gradual development of their ecclesiastical system. The history of the ancient Jews, so far as it is of interest to culture, extends from 1100 to 300 B. C., and comprises three main divisions. Of these the first is the prophetic

period before 620 B. C., when the prophets were the chief representatives of Jehovah; when a man of any tribe could be prophet or priest; when the prophets were the most influential personages of the sacerdotal class; when it was lawful to build an altar and sacrifice anywhere; when the blood of every beast slaughtered for food was offered as a sacrifice; when polytheism and idolatry were common; and when El was a common, if not the favorite, name for the divinity afterwards known as Jehovah; when no portion of what is now known as the Mosaic law had been written; when there was no sacred Scripture among the Jews; but when they already had much of what are known to us as the books of Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Samuel, Kings, Psalms, and Proverbs.

The second division, from 621 to 458 B. C., was the Deuteronomical period, when the sacerdotal office was restricted to the Levites; when the book of Deuteronomy was published and was accepted by the kings, as a divine revelation; when the Jews were conquered and their capital and temple destroyed by the Babylonians; when all the chief families among them were deported to Mesopotamia; when, during their captivity, they became zealous worshipers of Jehovah in accordance with the commands of their newly adopted law; when the books of Jeremiah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Joel were published; when the prophets sank into relative insignificance unless, like Jeremiah or Ezekiel, they were of Levitical blood; when the priesthood of Levi became powerful; when the synagogue arose with didactic congregational worship, and with social and charitable features new in ecclesiastical institutions; when the passover and various other ceremonial observances commanded

in Deuteronomy came into use; and when the Mosaic religion took a definite shape.

The third and Levitical period, covering a century and a half after the return of Ezra, is characterized by the publication and acceptance of Leviticus and its related chapters in Numbers and Exodus; by the enforcement of the new ecclesiastical discipline prescribed in those books; by the compilation of the Pentateuch as a whole; by the composition of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Ezekiel, and Malachi; by the collection and arrangement of the Hebrew Scriptures as we now have them; by popular and priestly recognition of them as divinely inspired; by their translation into the Greek language; by the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple; by the reorganization of the government; by the remarkable influence of their Bible on the character of the Jews; and by the development of their strongly-marked and peculiar nationality.

The evidences of evolution in the ecclesiastical system of the Jews may be found in numberless passages of their Scriptures relating to the authority of their prophets; to the qualifications, pedigrees, and ordinations of their priests; to the establishment of the office of high priest; to the observance of festivals; to the places and modes of sacrifice; to the name and anthropomorphic character of the divinity; to the prevalence of polytheistic ideas and of idolatrous practices; to defective ethics; to the composition, publication, acceptance, custody, and reading of the law; and to the lack of originality in ideas and institutions.

For the first period, our authorities are the books of Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, Nahum, and Judges; for the second period, Deuteronomy, Joshua, a

portion of the second book of Kings, and some interpolations in the earlier historical writings; and for the third period, Leviticus, portions of Exodus and Numbers, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. By the comparison of the three classes of authorities, their disagreements become evident, and the motives of the later sacerdotal writers are made intelligible.

SEC. 321. *Prophets*.—The books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, and Psalms convey the impression that, when they were written, there was not only no hereditary priesthood, but that Jehovah selected agents in every tribe of Hebrews to convey His revelations to mankind, and that His favorite representatives, those to whom He intrusted the most important commissions, those to whom He delivered his direct instructions most frequently, those whom He selected to write His sacred books and to rule His chosen people as sacerdotal judges, were not priests but prophets. Not until more than three centuries after the foundation of the monarchy did a prominent prophet or the author of a Biblical book claim to be a descendant of Aaron; and this fact cannot be explained by any theory except the one that the passages conferring an exclusive hereditary priesthood on the Aaronites were written or interpolated at a later date.

If the Aaronites had been the only priests of Jehovah in the time of Joshua, they would surely have appeared prominently in the early records of the Jewish people. They would have had a center of worship and a chief priest acting as the presiding judge of Israel. They would have exercised a great influence for the maintenance of political unity. But the book of Judges does not know of their existence.

Next to Moses, the greatest of the prophets was Joshua, an Ephraimite. He received the divine instructions by direct revelation, he took the oracles by lot, he built an altar, he read the law to the people, he governed them as the representative of Jehovah, without ever consulting an Aaronite or chief priest, and he divided the promised land among the tribes. After him the noted judges who ruled over Israel as representatives of Jehovah were Gideon of Manasseh, Tola of Issachar, Jephthah of Gad, Ibzan of Judah, Elon of Zebulun, Abdon of Ephraim, Samson of Dan, Eli of Levi, and Samuel of Ephraim. All these rulers seem to have been sacerdotal representatives of Jehovah, with general charge over ecclesiastical as well as over political affairs. When the people tired of the rule of priest judges in the time of Samuel, and demanded a king, Jehovah complained that "they have rejected Me, that I should rule over them,"¹ as if all their Hebrew judges until that time had been his immediate agents. The idea is conveyed that this was the first time in the national experience when the people had objected to theocratic, that is, sacerdotal rule. When the office of political and ecclesiastical chief was transferred from Eli, the Levite, to Samuel, the Ephraimite, by divine order, no mention was made of Aaron, as there would have been if his inheritance had been in question. After the captivity, it was observed that the story of Samuel did not agree with the claim of the priests, and a genealogy showing the descent of Samuel from Aaron was written.³

One of the leading figures in the Old Testament is Samuel, who got into the sacerdotal profession, not by inheritance, but because of a vow made by his mother.⁴ His father had nothing to do with the service of Jeho-

vah.⁵ He became a prophet. To Saul, who was seeking a divine oracle, Samuel said, "I am the seer,"⁶ and the explanation is given that "a prophet beforetime was called a seer."⁷ The language had changed after the days of Samuel before this part of the record was written. Some years later some messengers of Saul found a "company of the prophets, and Samuel standing as appointed over them."⁸ In all this book we do not read that Samuel was installed or anointed as a priest, he had no priests among his subordinates, and yet in his time he was the highest sacerdotal agent of Jehovah. He announced the divine revelations, he ruled over the chosen people, and he anointed Saul and David to be kings.

The prophetic books written before the captivity contain no recognition of exclusive or even of superior sacerdotal authority in the descendants of Levi or Aaron. They do not mention any chief priest or his office, or refer to its influence. Their silence on this point is intelligible only on the theory that there was no well organized hereditary priesthood in their day. Indeed, if there had been such a priesthood, the prophetic office would not have existed, and the prophetic books would not have obtained the credit which secured their admittance among the sacred Scriptures of the nation.

When we compare the prominence of these prophets in Jewish history with the relative insignificance of the priests said to have been contemporaneous with them; when we remember that they were the only sacerdotal authors of sacred books before the reign of Josiah; when we put Moses by the side of Aaron, and Joshua by the side of Eleazar, and Nathan by the side of Zadok; when we remember that for long periods of the national life no mention is made of priests save in books written after

the return from Babylon; when we remember also that these late books were written by priests who also had the custody and the copying of the older books, and could forge and interpolate without fear of punishment; and when we remember that, so soon as the priesthood of Aaron obtained control of the government under Ezra, the prophets disappeared,—when we recall all these points, a suspicion necessarily arises that the priesthood of Aaron was of late origin, and was attributed to early times for the purpose of increasing its power and revenue.

SEC. 322. *Levite Priests*.—Although the claim of the Levites to be the hereditary priests of Jehovah by an exclusive right is rarely mentioned, and then only by interpolation presumably, in the books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the prophets, it becomes a prominent feature in Deuteronomy. In that book we are told that “the Lord separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto Him, and to bless in His name, and that the Lord thy God hath chosen him [Levi] out of all thy tribes to stand to minister in the name of the Lord, him and his sons forever.”¹ “The Lord is their inheritance.” A Levite coming from another city to Jehovah’s sanctuary shall have the right to minister there “in the name of the Lord his God, as all his brethren, the Levites, do.”² A favorite phrase with the author of Deuteronomy is “the priests, the Levites,” and by it he conveys the idea that priest and Levite were to him equivalent words. Thus he says, “Thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites . . . and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment,” that is, they shall exercise the judicial power. He says, “The priests, the sons of Levi, shall come near . . . and by their word shall every con-

troversy and every stroke be tried.”³ The judicial office was associated with sacerdotal authority in theocratic governments, and in Deuteronomy every Levite was qualified by inheritance to become priest and judge.

Deuteronomy gives no prominence to Aaron, and never makes him the recipient of any direct revelation, either alone or in association with Moses. Neither does it resemble Leviticus in distributing the menial labor of the sanctuary among other families of Levites, leaving the priesthood proper as the exclusive inheritance of Aaron and his descendants. A portion of the book of Joshua was written or interpolated by the author of Deuteronomy or by one of his school.⁴

SEC. 323. *Aaronite Priests*.—According to Leviticus and Numbers, all the higher sacerdotal authority and all the privileges of speaking in the name of Jehovah were given to Aaron and his sons, the priests. The Lord was “their inheritance.” They were to have control of the tabernacle, temple, and ecclesiastical revenue. The other members of the tribe of Levi were to fill subordinate positions in the service of the priesthood, as musicians, ushers, dancers, attendants, servants, and laborers.¹ There are no uncertain or conflicting verses in these two books. In Leviticus, which might properly be called Aaronicus, more than forty verses declare in the most unmistakable terms that the priesthood belongs to Aaron and his descendants, and that the other Levites should be the temple servants of the Aaronites. We read of “Aaron and his sons,” “the sons of Aaron,” “Aaron’s sons,” and of direct revelations by Jehovah to Aaron, with a frequency and a meaning for which there is no parallel in Deuteronomy.

In the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah we

find the same conception of the priesthood as in Leviticus and Numbers, and the same frequent mention of the distinction between the priests and the other Levites. In the Chronicles we are told that "Aaron was separated that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons forever, to burn incense before the Lord, to minister unto Him, and to bless in His name."² Ezra took care to give his own pedigree, showing his descent in the direct male line from Aaron. In passages relating to sacerdotal affairs, his book and that of Nehemiah use phraseology similar to that of the writer of Chronicles, which last is a work of late date and of little credit. The author of the earlier and more trustworthy historical books knew nothing of sacerdotal pedigrees, and evidently attached no superior importance to descent from Aaron.

After the Levites had received from Hilkiah and Josiah the equal and exclusive right of acting as priests of Jehovah, and had enjoyed that right for nearly two centuries, though without opportunity of exercising it during most of that period, why did Ezra degrade the great majority of the tribe to the menial branches of the sacerdotal profession, and reserve the honorable and profitable priesthood for the sons of Aaron? The circumstances suggest the reply. In the small and struggling colony who were trying to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, there were too many Levites for the priestly office. There was neither sacerdotal business to occupy their time nor revenue to support them. It was a necessity of the situation that most of them should be reduced to subordinate positions.

The best way to correct the evil was to limit the priesthood to a small proportion of the Levites. The founder

of their tribe, Levi, had eight grandsons, and twenty-one great grandsons, among whom Aaron was one. If the story in Joshua be true, the descendants of Aaron were assigned to the sacerdotal offices in the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon,³ the tribes which afterwards formed the kingdom of Judah. When the Jews were led into captivity, the Levites among their number were descendants of Aaron, and at the reorganization of the nation, Ezra, an Aaronite, was clothed with almost absolute political and ecclesiastical power. He was custodian, compiler, and publisher of the sacred books. As a priest, he saw that to rule over other priests he ought to be their chief, and that he might avoid some serious difficulties by limiting the sacerdotal office to the sons of Aaron. He could invent his own pedigree and limit the priesthood to those Levites who belonged to Judah. And so he did.

SEC. 324. *The High Priest.*—The book of Leviticus creates the office of chief priest, and provides that he shall observe rules more strict than those imposed on other priests. He must not go out of the sanctuary, nor uncover his head, nor marry a widow or divorced woman, nor go into a room where any dead body lies, even if it be of his father or mother; “for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him.”¹ In Deuteronomy and the sacred books written before Ezra, we find no mention of the high priest, his anointment, his peculiar sanctity, or of his participation in any public ceremony.

Samuel was the leading priest of the Hebrews in his time. For many years he was their chief ruler. He anointed Saul and David as kings. He received many inspired messages from Jehovah. According to tradi-

tion, he wrote at least portions of the books that bear his name. But in those books he is never called the high priest, nor is any mention made of his anointment. In the latter part of the reign of David, and under Solomon, there was no high priest. We are told that in both reigns "Zadok and Abiathar were the priests."² Shortly before the death of David, Abiathar joined the party that tried to put Adonijah, the elder brother of Solomon, on the throne, and in punishment for his blunder he was expelled from the priesthood.³ After that event Zadok was "the priest," a title which had been given to him on previous occasions, but he was never called "the high priest" or "chief priest." When Saul, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, and their successors were installed, and when the temple was dedicated, the high priest should have officiated, and his name and office should have been mentioned, but we look in vain for them in the Hebrew Scriptures.

If the office of high priest had existed throughout the history of the Hebrew nation from the exodus to the secession, and throughout the history of the Jewish kingdom till the captivity, its influence would have caused many results which did not occur. It would have given us a list of the high priests with the pedigree and pontifical term of each. It would have established a strict sacerdotal discipline that did not appear till the time of Ezra. It would have lifted priest above prophet. It would have given the keeping of the annals and the composition of the historical books to the members of the regular sacerdotal profession.

From the time when Ezra established theocratic rule in Judea, about 444 B. C., until the Christian era, there was always a high priest and there were no more prophets.

The reasons for this were that the sacerdotal business of the Jews was concentrated in the hands of a family which claimed to be the descendants of Aaron in the main line of inheritance, and that all the acts of worship were performed in the temple at Jerusalem. There was no longer any occupation for prophets, and therefore they ceased to exist.

SEC. 325. *The Secession*.—From the account of the division of the Hebrew monarchy, as given in the First Book of Kings, and this is the most trustworthy story of the occurrence, it is evident that there was then no well organized priesthood of either Levites or Aaronites established in all the large towns of Palestine, with a chief priest in Jerusalem. Such an organization would have exerted a powerful influence in many ways to prevent a division of the nation, and in case of failure all would have migrated to Judea, or would have insisted on the establishment of an independent church under a national high priest in the new kingdom. But the historian of the secession knew nothing of any important sacerdotal influence in the affair. There was no protest of the priests, no demand for a temple of Jehovah in Shechem, no migration of Levites, nor were the Levites counted as part of the population faithful to the dynasty of David in Jerusalem. The Jewish kingdom after separation included only "the house of Judah and Benjamin." The "ten tribes" who seceded with Jeroboam included the bulk of the Levites. As with the Levites, so with the Israelitish people. They showed no attachment to the temple of Solomon; they made no pilgrimages to it, no lamentations about their political separation from it, no such disturbance as the people of Bavaria, Spain, or Portugal would make to-day, if their king should try to cut them

off from Rome. In short, the story as told in the book of Kings clearly shows that the separation of the Hebrews into two kingdoms was not considered at the time to have any significance in ecclesiastical affairs. Everybody could set up his own altar, everybody could be a priest, and everybody could worship any one of numerous divinities without giving offense to public opinion. The exclusive divinity, the exclusive sanctuary, and the exclusive sacerdotal authority of Aaron had at that time no hold on the Hebrew people.

SEC. 326. *Micah*.—A suggestive story is told in the book of Judges about Micah, a Hebrew of the Ephraimite tribe, who, having a silver idol of Jehovah, weighing about one hundred ounces, set up in his house a chapel for regular worship, and consecrated one of his sons as its priest. Afterwards he withdrew the priesthood from his son and conferred it on a Levite whom he “consecrated,” and to whom he gave ten shekels and a suit of apparel every year besides his food. The word Jehovah is not used in the authorized English version of this story, but it is in the Hebrew; and several expressions show that Micah and his mother, who furnished the money for the idol, were both zealous worshipers of Jehovah. At least, so the story in its present shape would have us believe; but the presumptions indicate very clearly that the original document represented Micah to be the worshiper of Baal or some other heathen divinity, and that some pious scribe thought it would look better to change the name of the god. Either such an interpolation was made or Jehovah was worshiped in the form of an idol. It is evident that Micah knew nothing of the prohibition of image worship, of the limitation of the sacerdotal office to the blood of Aaron, or of the limitation

of the chief acts of worship to the place where the ark of the covenant was kept in Judea. In other words, the books of Moses did not exist in the time of that scribe.

SEC. 327. *Many Altars*.—Before the accession of Josiah in the VIIth century B. C., the Hebrews had a place of sacrifice in every town. We are told that Jehovah said, “An altar of earth thou shalt make unto Me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen; in all places where I record My name, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee.”¹ This means that wherever the children of Israel should rear an altar to Him, thither He would come to bless his worshipers.

Joshua built an altar at Mount Ebal in Canaan, and afterwards set up the tabernacle at Shiloh, where, of course, he built an altar.² In neither case did he explain that the spot thus chosen was to be visited by all Hebrews who had sacrifices to make, nor did he refer to the fact that his selection of a site was not final. Not long after the death of Joshua, “the angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, in Ophrah, and said to him, ‘Build an altar unto the Lord thy God upon the top of this rock . . . and offer a burnt sacrifice.’ . . . Then Gideon took ten men of his servants, and did as the Lord had said unto him.”³ No Aaronite or Levite participated in the sacrifice. Manoah, a Danite, and his wife made an offering to Jehovah by the command of an angel, who ascended to heaven in the flame of the sacrifice; and in reward for their devotion, a child who became the distinguished warrior Samson was born to them. No Aaronite or Levite officiated on that occasion, and the only altar used was erected by Manoah, and never consecrated by a priest.⁴

In the time of the Judges there were altars to Jehovah at Ophrah, at Mizpeh, and at Gibeah.⁵ Samuel offered sacrifices at Mizpeh, Ramah, Gilgal, and Bethlehem.⁶ While Saul was in favor with Jehovah, he built several altars, the first of which was at Bethaven.⁷ David sacrificed at Bethlehem and at the threshing floor of Arauneh.⁸ Elijah, who was a great prophet of Jehovah, after the completion of Solomon's temple repaired the altar of Jehovah at Carmel and sacrificed there.⁹

That the Israelites in the time of David were accustomed to sacrifice at many places, and knew of no law to the contrary, is shown by the following passage: "And Solomon . . . made an end of building his own house and the house of the Lord; . . . only the people sacrificed in high places because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord until those days. And Solomon loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of David, his father; only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places. And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, for that was the great high place. A thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar. In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night."¹⁰ Here we have a distinct statement that the people and the king (while the latter was favored with direct revelations from Heaven, and while he was building the temple under the directions of Jehovah) were in the habit of sacrificing at different places, "because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord." The mention of the lack of a house as a cause of sacrificing at many places proves that nothing was known of Deuteronomy and Leviticus.

SEC. 328. *An Exclusive Sanctuary*.—According to Deuteronomy, Jehovah spoke thus to the Hebrews

through Moses: "When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when He giveth you rest from all your enemies round about so that ye dwell in safety, then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there. Thither shall ye bring all that I command you, your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and the heave offerings, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto the Lord. . . . Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest, but in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee."¹ This implies that soon after the conquest of Palestine the exclusive sanctuary should be established, and should remain forever the place of worship for all the descendants of Jacob.

The historical books of the Bible nowhere assert that, during the seven centuries before Josiah, worship among the Jews was ever limited to one sanctuary. The idea of making such an assertion does not seem to have occurred to them. In the time of Joshua, "the whole congregation of Israel assembled together at Shiloh [in the land of Ephraim], and set up the tabernacle of the congregation [with the shrine of Jehovah] there;"² and that was its proper place until the completion of Solomon's temple, a period of more than three centuries. Yet never do we read that this was the only place of worship.

In the book of Judges, covering three centuries, Shiloh, which should have been the chief city, is not once mentioned. When the Hebrews "cried to the Lord" for pardon, when they put away their strange gods, when

they wept and humiliated themselves, and confessed their sins, and promised to be faithful to Jehovah, and when He reproached them for their desertion, and accepted their word, and granted them relief, we should expect to read that there was some great gathering and pious demonstration at Shiloh, and that the high priest, the son of Levi or Aaron, absolved them from their sins. But we seek in vain for any mention of a shrine of Jehovah, an exclusive place of worship, a great pilgrimage, Shiloh, or a high priest on such an occasion.

The Hebrews never enjoyed the rest, from their enemies, that was to bless them when the time came for the erection of their temple. Within less than a quarter of a century after the completion of that structure, they divided into the two hostile kingdoms of Judea and Samaria; for two centuries and a half they were engaged in almost constant warfare with each other or with their neighbors, and for an additional century Judea struggled alone in vassalage, until she too was extinguished. According to the orthodox theory, the Hebrews had the promise of the temple for twelve generations and its enjoyment for one generation, before they separated into two nations.

SEC. 329. *Slaughter*.—It was a rule of many nations of antiquity that no domestic animal should be slaughtered for food except as a sacrifice to the gods. This custom prevailed among the early Hebrews, as well as among their heathen neighbors. By a few words the butcher could consecrate any stone as an altar, and could request the divinities to feast upon the blood, or life, of the victim. The ceremony was neither long, complex, nor costly; it was pious without being troublesome. It gave to the gods nothing save the blood, which men

generally did not want. But when it was prohibited to make a sacrifice anywhere save at one sanctuary in the nation, the conditions, of the butcher's business and of the meat supply, demanded the abandonment of the rule that every slaughter must be a sacrifice. To the Hebrews who might dwell at a distance from the national sanctuary the author of Deuteronomy said: "When the Lord thy God shall enlarge thy border, as He hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh because my soul longeth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after. If the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to put His name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the Lord hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after. . . . Only be sure that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is the life. . . . Thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water."¹

The rule that a domestic animal might be slain for food without offering its blood to Jehovah did not suit the author of Leviticus. He said: "What man soever there be of the house of Israel that killeth an ox or lamb or goat, . . . and bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle to offer an offering to the Lord, . . . that man shall be cut off from among his people."² It may be asserted, though there is nothing to justify the assertion, that this regulation of Leviticus was intended to apply only to the period of the wanderings in the wilderness; but even then a population of 3,000,000³ in a desert country must often have been scattered over a wide area, so that it would be very inconvenient for them to be limited to a single slaughter house.

SEC. 330. *Sacrifices*.—The Hebrew Scriptures provide that Jehovah should be worshiped with the sacrifice of animals, whose blood was to be smeared, and whose fat was to be burned, on the altar; but they do not explain why such usages should give pleasure to the Deity. The Jewish priests evidently accepted the sacerdotal practices of their heathen ancestors without supposing that it was necessary to give or to demand reasons.

The passages in the Pentateuch relating to sacrifice, as in reference to many other subjects, are scattered about in different books, badly arranged, and conflicting. They treat of the kinds of animals to be used, of the occasions when sacrifices may or must be made, of the numbers required at different times, of the ceremonial observances suitable to the various occasions, and of the methods of slaughtering the animals and disposing of their parts.

The sacrifices consisted of two main classes, which might be named public and private. The public sacrifices were those instituted for regular observance recurring at times precisely fixed in the law. The private sacrifices consisted of individual offerings occurring at times not so fixed. The animals publicly sacrificed were either sheep, goats, or neat cattle, young males and without blemish. No old, lean, sickly, lame, or blind beast was accepted by the priests. They expected to eat the meat, or part of it, and they demanded the best. One of the prophets thus cursed the man who selected the worst for the temple. "And if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts. . . . Cursed be the deceiver which hath in his flock

a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.”¹ For private sacrifices the poor could sometimes bring chickens or doves, but these were not regarded with favor.

The public sacrifices were those which recurred every morning and evening, at the beginning of every month, and at the great annual festivals. The daily morning and evening sacrifices required each a lamb; the sacrifice on the first day of each month demanded two bullocks, a ram, seven lambs, and a goat; and during the annual festivals there was to be a sacrifice every day, not less than at the beginning of the month. In the seven days of the annual festival of the seventh month, however, seventy bullocks, fourteen rams, ninety-eight lambs, and seven goats became victims.² Every public sacrifice of a bullock, sheep, or goat was accompanied with an offering of flour, oil, and wine. The private sacrifices were divided into those known as peace, trespass, sin, purification, and burnt offerings; for each of which classes, special directions were given in Leviticus.

As among the savages and the heathen barbarians generally, so also among the Hebrews, the sacrifices were regarded as “the food” of the gods, and were so styled in the sacerdotal speech.³ Jehovah feasted on the flesh, but he delighted especially in the fat and the blood; and the fat and the blood belonged to him exclusively. Trespass upon his right to these delicacies was a capital crime. He said to his chosen people, “Ye shall eat no manner of fat of ox, or of sheep, or of goat. . . . Whosoever eateth the fat of the beast of which men offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord, even the soul that eateth it shall be cut off from his people. . . . Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that

soul shall be cut off from his people.”⁴ The gods are entitled to eat the soul or life, of the victim and “the life of the flesh is in the blood.”⁵ “The priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar . . . and burn the fat for a sweet savor unto the Lord.”⁶

SEC. 331. *Sacrifice Denounced*.—Although the books of the Pentateuch devote many verses and even chapters to the importance of sacrifices, and of tribute to the priests, yet the prophets had very little to say in favor of offerings and some of them bitterly denounced the ceremonial observances. Through Jeremiah, Jehovah thus addressed the Jews: “Amend your ways and your doings and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not, in lying words, saying, ‘The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these.’ For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt; then I will cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers forever and ever. . . . I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices.”¹

Isaiah had a similar revelation. To him Jehovah said: “I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of goats. When ye come to appear before Me, who had required this at your hand, to tread My courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto Me; the new moons and the sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed

feasts, my soul hateth ; they are a trouble unto Me ; I am weary to bear them.”²

In the same strain was the word of Jehovah delivered to Amos: “I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell [the sweet savor of the sacrifices] in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer Me your burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them.”³

Micah is another prophet who knew of no command for sacrifices and pompous ecclesiastical festivals. Through him Jehovah said to the Jews: “O My people, remember . . . the righteousness of the Lord. Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? . . . He hath showed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?”⁴

In a similar spirit Jehovah revealed His words to the Psalmist: “I will take no bullock out of thy house nor he goats out of thy folds ; for every beast of the forest is Mine and the cattle upon a thousand hills. . . . If I were hungry, I would not tell thee, for the world is Mine and the fullness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?”⁵

Considered together, these passages plainly indicate that the leading prophets did not recognize any revelation ordering numerous sacrifices and great ecclesiastical feasts. Such denunciations of the ceremonial observances were not designed to have a brief or local application ; they are comprehensive as to space and time ; they imply that,

when written, the authors did not know the Mosaic books or did not accept them as genuine. "The sins rebuked by the prophets Joel, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, are such as we still hold to be sins. . . . But in these writers we read nothing about periodical fastings, ceremonial cleanliness, incense burning, sacrifice of beasts, sabbaths, sabbatical years, jubilees, new moons, and other festivals; little about tithes and first fruits, nothing about the genealogy of priests and Levites, threefold presentation of the person every year at Jerusalem, sacrificing at Jerusalem only, unclean meats, or any other part of the yoke which neither Peter nor his fathers were able to bear." ⁶

SEC. 332. *Festivals*.—Not only were the Israelites commanded to take all their offerings and tithes to the sanctuary, but they were required to drive to it all the firstlings of their herds, or, if the distance were too great, to sell these firstlings and spend the price in feasting at the sanctuary. "Thou shalt eat there before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thine household." ¹ These firstlings or their proceeds could be taken to the sanctuary at one of the three great annual feasts. "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread [the Passover in the spring], the feast of weeks [in midsummer], and in the feast of tabernacles [in the autumn], and they shall not appear empty before the Lord. Every man shall give as he is able." ² Of these festivals the Passover was the most important. Every family, or at the utmost two families, should sacrifice a lamb, which must be eaten within twenty-four hours, or, if part be not eaten, the surplus must be burned, and the blood of the lamb should

be smeared on both sides of the main doorway of the house.³ After reaching the Promised Land, this sacrifice must be made only at the national sanctuary, where the males must spend seven days of the Passover festival. If this ceremony had been observed during the reigns of David and Solomon, as required in Deuteronomy, it would have called together imposing throngs of the people, and herds of sheep. Roads and sanctuary cities would have been jammed. The census of David found that the nation numbered 1,300,000 adult males, "valiant men that drew the sword."⁴ These men required more than 400,000 lambs that should all be slain in one day, and in the court of one tabernacle or temple and at one altar. Any person who has seen a slaughter house where a hundred beeves are slaughtered in a day can imagine that the servants of the Hebrew tabernacle had some work to do when the day of the Passover sacrifice arrived.

The feast of weeks, in midsummer, lasted only one day, and was the least important of the annual festivals. In the autumn, on the tenth day of the seventh month, came the festival of the atonement, which is commanded in Leviticus, but not mentioned in Deuteronomy. At this feast the Hebrews were required to "afflict their souls, and offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord."⁵ Every adult male Hebrew must appear at the sanctuary of Jehovah to make his offering. Five days later came the tabernacle feast, which continued for eight days; Leviticus says, "Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord; on the eighth day shall be a holy convocation unto you, and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord."⁶

Since there was an interval of only five days between

the festival of the atonement and that of the tabernacle, the Hebrews whose homes were distant from the sanctuary would necessarily spend at least fourteen days there on that occasion, and with seven days at the Pass-over, and one at the feast of weeks, twenty-two days every year. Besides their stay at the sanctuary, most of them must give two days to the journey each way, or, in the aggregate, twelve days of travel, or more than a month in the year for these festivals.

But while the majority of the Hebrews might reach the sanctuary in two days, many of them would spend a week. The distance from Jerusalem or from Shiloh to the remotest districts of Palestine was more than a hundred miles by any road, over a mountainous country, and when people traveled afoot, and were also taking with them their families or their young boys, and, perhaps, driving their firstlings or their animals for sacrifice, they would not average more than twenty miles a day, especially where the opportunities of finding pasture for their cattle would be scarce as in Palestine, which, according to the report of David's census, must have had more than six hundred inhabitants to the square mile. The three annual festivals required all the Hebrew men in the extreme north of Palestine to be absent from their homes for at least six weeks between the middle of March and the beginning of December. At these times all outskirts of the nation would have been left without protection against robbers or invaders; and yet, in the books of Judges, Joshua, Samuel, and Kings we do not read that at such times the remote provinces were attacked or that the gatherings of the men at their sanctuary were ever used as occasions for anointing priests or kings, or organizing military enterprises.

Moses ordered that the autumn festival in every seventh year should be celebrated with special solemnity, and that then his book of the law should be read to all the people, men, women, and children, gathered at the sanctuary. But no historical book mentions such a festival. Nothing is said of the reading of the law; of the extensive arrangements that must have been made to render the reading audible to millions of people; of the precautions to prevent damage by invasion while the people were collected at one place; of the lamentation about inability to make the pilgrimage at those times when the Hebrews were held captive by heathen nations; or of the strong impression caused by the vast multitude of worshipers and animals for sacrifice encumbering the roads, and gathered three times annually at Shiloh, from the days of Joshua to those of Solomon, and at Jerusalem from the completion of the temple until the separation of the Hebrews into two independent kingdoms. Such silence is very suggestive.

SEC. 333. *Sabbatical Years*.—According to Leviticus, “the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying: . . . ‘Six years shalt thou sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord; thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed; for it is a year of rest unto the land. . . .

“And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to

sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement, shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you; ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of your vine undressed. . . . And if ye shall say, 'What shall we eat the seventh year? Behold, we shall not sow nor gather in our increase.' Then I will command My blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year." ¹

If these septennial and semi-centennial periods of rest had ever been observed in Israel, they would have deserved an important place in the historical books of the Hebrew people, and impressive mention in the Psalms and prophetical writings; but, as a matter of fact, they are not mentioned as having ever been observed or made the subject of comment in the times of the monarchs.

SEC. 334. *Sacerdotal Revenue*.—The Pentateuch provided liberally for the support of the priests. They were to live a life of secure ease. They were to have a tenth part of all the crops of the fields and of all the increase of the herds;¹ and besides they were to have a large part of the offerings made in the temple whether of beasts, of flour, of oil, or of wine. Numbers says: "Every oblation of theirs [the Israelites], every meat offering of theirs, and every trespass offering of theirs, which they shall render unto Me shall be most holy for thee

[Aaron] and for thy sons. In the most holy place shalt thou eat it; every male shall eat it; it shall be holy unto thee. This also is thine; the heave offering of their gift, with all the wave offerings of the children of Israel. I have given them unto thee, and to thy sons, and to thy daughters with thee, by a statute forever; everyone that is clean in thy house shall eat of it. All the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine, and of the wheat, the first fruits of them which they shall offer unto the Lord, them have I given to thee.”²

“ Everything devoted in Israel shall be thine [Aaron’s]. Everything that openeth the matrix in all flesh, which they bring unto Jehovah, whether it be of men or beasts, shall be thine; nevertheless the first born of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem. But the firstling of a cow, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy; thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat for an offering made by the fire, for a sweet savor unto Jehovah. And the flesh of them shalt be thine, as the wave breast and as the right shoulder [of other sacrifices] are thine.”³

In the XVth chapter of Deuteronomy we find a different command addressed, not to the Aaronites, but to all the Hebrews: “All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify to the Lord thy God. Thou shalt do no work with the firstling of the bullock, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep. Thou shalt eat it before the Lord thy God, year by year, in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, thou and thy household.”⁴ The differences between the two passages are strongly marked. One is addressed to the Aaronites, the other to the people; one sanctifies all the

firstlings, and the other only the males among them; one gives all the firstlings to the priests, and the other orders the owners of the herds to feast themselves, their families, and their friends on the firstling males at the sanctuary.

SEC. 335. *Law School, etc.*—Nowhere in the Old Testament is there any mention of a teacher learned in the law of Moses, or of a controversy about its interpretation, or of a school for its study, or of an oral or written commentary upon it like the Talmud, or of a class that made a business of copying it, or of sects of Pharisees and Sadducees which differed about its meaning. All these things existed after the Vth century B. C., when the Pentateuch was certainly in the hands of the Jews; and the lack of them in earlier times is very suggestive.

According to Deuteronomy, one of the commands of Jehovah was that after the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy, every king should “write him a copy of this law [of Moses] in a book out of that which is before the priests, the Levites; and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life.”¹ Neither in the historical nor in the prophetic books do we find any mention of this command, or any complaint of its neglect. Priests and kings, prophets and historians had evidently never heard of its existence. The Psalms and Proverbs, attributed to the two most powerful rulers of the Hebrew monarchy, do not suggest any knowledge of this command or show any familiarity with the law to which it refers. The prophets never cited or commented on the phraseology of the Mosaic law; they had never seen it.

Deuteronomy, the last of the Mosaic books, as arranged in the Hebrew Bible, purports to contain the injunctions of the great Hebrew lawgiver to his people

when he felt that death was drawing nigh. It says: "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, 'At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, . . . thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. Gather the people together, men and women and children and the stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law.' . . . Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, 'Take this book of the law and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee.'"² These instructions for the custody, copying, and periodical reading of the law were unknown to the priests and kings before Josiah. The book was not only never copied, never read in public, never cited as an authority in judicial or sacerdotal affairs, and never mentioned as being in the ark, but when found was unknown to anybody. When the temple of Solomon was consecrated, the ark of the covenant was brought in and opened with great ceremony. Here is the official record:—

"And king Solomon and all the congregation of Israel that were assembled unto him, were with him before the ark, sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor numbered for multitude. And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord unto his place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubim. For the cheru-

bim spread forth their two wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubim covered the ark and the staves thereof above. And they drew out the staves, that the ends of the staves were seen out of the holy place before the oracle, and they were not seen without; and there they are unto this day. There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel when they came out of Egypt.”³

After the ark had been thus opened, Solomon delivered his address of dedication, with not one word about the book of the law, or its loss, or the order of Moses that the book should be kept in the ark, or the importance of searching for it and restoring it to its place. These topics did not occur to anybody at the time, so far as we can learn from the Bible, nor were they made the subject of remark by the authors or compilers of the Jewish historical books of later times.

After Joshua had crossed the Jordan and had entered the Promised Land, he built an altar of “whole stones, over which no man had lifted up any iron, . . . and he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel.”⁴ The idea is here conveyed that the copying of the law of Moses occupied a brief space of time. It was not the work of a whole day, much less of a succession of days. The brevity of the time, as well as the scantiness of the available space, indicates that “the law” as there used could not have meant more than the ten commandments.

SEC. 336. *The Divine Name*.—The proper name of the God of the Jewish Bible is Jehovah, as it is popularly known, or Yahveh, as it is written by leading biblical

scholars. When Moses was directed to communicate his revelations, according to the story in Exodus, he said unto the Lord: "Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, 'The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you,' and they shall say to me, 'What is His name?' what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, . . . Thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, 'The Lord God [Jehovah Elohim, in Hebrew] of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. This is My name forever.'"¹ The words Jehovah Elohim in the Hebrew are translated "the Lord God" in English, but as lord and god are common nouns they are not exact translations of the proper name Jehovah Elohim, which means Jehovah God. Elohim is a plural form and originally meant gods, in which signification it is sometimes employed in the Hebrew Scriptures; but usually it conveys the idea of a divinity in the singular.

The translators of the English Bible have avoided the proper name of Jehovah, and have substituted the common noun lord in its place. Genesis in the Hebrew has Jehovah one hundred and seventy times, and in the English version of King James, not once. The first chapter of Deuteronomy has Jehovah twenty-five times in Hebrew and not once in the English version. The Hebrew Bible has it more than three thousand times; the English Bible only four. The New Testament in Greek also avoids the name Jehovah.

The aversion of Christians to the word which the God of Jacob said should be "My name forever" is based on the idea that any proper name of a god is polytheistic. A god who calls himself Jehovah puts himself on a level

with Baal, Chemosh, Moloch, Osiris, and Zeus. Such a name is necessary to a national divinity; but is inconsistent with the conception of a god who pervades the universe and is alone in his kind. A deity who is the only divine being is simply "God" or "the Lord." To give him a personal name is to deny by implication that he is the only one of his kind; it implies that he must be distinguished from his rivals. For the purpose of adapting the Jewish Bible to enlightened thought, it was a matter of good policy to exclude the word Jehovah, except in very few places, from the English translation; but that exclusion is a condemnation of the author of the Pentateuch and a proof that fidelity of language was a secondary object with the translators.

There is much reason to believe that Jehovah was not adopted as the national God of the Hebrews until after the foundation of the monarchy. There was a time when He was unknown to the children of Israel. He said to Moses, "By My name Jehovah was I not known to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."² The title of Israel, meaning, "El is a warrior," plainly shows that when that word was adopted to designate the Hebrew people, their chief divinity was El, not Jehovah. Other indications are found in the names of the patriarchs, judges, prophets, and kings till after the time of Solomon. The Babylonian deities, Baal and Moloch, contributed names for the children of Saul and David. Saul's sons were Jonathan, Malchishua (from Moloch), Abinidab, and Eshbaal. Jonathan had one son, Meribbaal, or, as he was called by one biblical writer, Mephibosheth, *bosheth* meaning shame, being considered more suitable for a pious tongue to speak than Baal. On the same principle the name of Eshbaal was converted into Ishbosheth.³

The sons of David were named Amnon, Chilcab, Absalom, Adonijah, Shephatiah, Ithrean, Solomon, Shammua, Shobab, Nathan, Ibhar, Japhia, Elishama, Beeliada, and Eliphalet. Of these, three were named after heathen gods, three after Jehovah, and three after El. It is incredible that Saul and David, if devout worshipers of Jehovah, with such counselors as the prophets Samuel and Nathan, could have named their children after Baal, Moloch, and other heathen divinities.

With these names compare those of the kings of Judah after Solomon: Rehoboam, Abijam, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Azariah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. Out of this last list of eighteen names, all save five have the initial Je or Jo or terminal iah, indicative of derivation from Jehovah. Among the patriarchs and early prophets we find no such names as those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, all of whom were born after the IXth century B. C. In the earlier times pious princes gave the names of heathen gods to their sons; and under the Jewish monarchy idolatrous kings named their sons after Jehovah. There are many queer things in the story of this chosen people.

It is a significant fact that in a large number of the Psalms, Jehovah rarely appears, and Elohim frequently. Thus in the thirty-three Psalms from XLII to LXXIV inclusive, the latter name is used six times oftener than the former.

SEC. 337. *No Monotheism.*—Orthodox Christian writers claim that the Hebrew Scriptures contain the earliest teaching of the doctrine of monotheism; but when we look critically at these books, we find that the doc-

trine is not there. It is irreconcilable not only with a multitude of passages in the Mosaic books, but with the fundamental principles of the Jewish religion. The worship of a national god is polytheistic; it implies a belief that every nation should have its own god. A monotheistic deity, the divine father of all mankind, could not say as Jehovah said to Jacob, "I am the Lord God of thy father Abraham," or, as he said to the Israelites, "Ye shall be holy unto Me, for I . . . have severed you from other people, that ye should be Mine;" or, as He said of them, that He had chosen them to be "a peculiar people above all the nations that are upon the earth," and "high above all other nations."¹ The universal deity could not have given to one nation for its exclusive knowledge and guidance, the only true revelation and the only divinely commissioned priesthood, such as the ancient Jews claimed that they had received by the favor of Jehovah.

He claimed to be "the God of gods," "great above all gods," "greater than all gods."² The last expression was used by Solomon after he became "the wisest of men," and at a time when he received direct revelations from Heaven, and also when many other gods were worshiped in his country. In his address at the dedication of Jehovah's temple, he said, "There is no god like Thee." The book of Genesis tells us that "the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men," before the flood. According to Job, "the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them." A prophet of Jehovah told King Ahab that Jehovah held a heavenly court, "with all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right hand and on His left."

The Mosaic law forbids the Jews to worship any god

save Jehovah, to make any "covenant with their [the Philistines'] gods," or to "mention the names of other gods;" and he told them, "Fear not the gods of the Amorites." He promised that He would punish "all the gods of Egypt." He called the Moabites "the people of Chemosh;" and when the Jews took heathen wives,³ He said in Malachi that Judah "hath married the daughter of a strange god." When He was indignant at the apostasy of the Israelites, He told them to "go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen." On many occasions He declared that He was a jealous God, jealous of other gods.

He promised to make Jerusalem the home of His heart forever;⁴ and He would always dwell with His chosen people in the land of Canaan, which was to be their "everlasting possession." He was a resident of Palestine. He had a professional as well as an ethnological and territorial specialty. He was "a man of war," the "God of hosts," "mighty in battle," and He "fought for Israel."

SEC. 338. *Henothicism*.—Although there are many monotheistic expressions in the Hebrew Scriptures, there is not one broad and unmistakable declaration of monotheistic belief, much less any conclusive evidence that such a faith was distinctly conceived and accepted by the Jewish people or priests at any period before the captivity.

The most impressive chapter in the Bible, as an expression of henothestic or monotheistic belief, is Psalm XIX, which says: "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language, where

their voice is not heard. Their light is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them hath He set a tabernacle for the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it; and there is nothing hid from the heat of it.

"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

But the Psalms generally are narrowly Jewish in spirit, claiming that the divine favor belongs to the children of Israel exclusively, and that the only proper place for worship is Palestine. They exalt the God of Israel, the Lord of hosts, the glory of Zion, the dynasty of David, the people of Jehovah, and the everlasting covenant between Him and the descendants of Jacob; and they heap special curses on the Assyrians, the Philistines, the Midianites, the Amalekites, the Moabites, and the Ishmaelites.

When the Jewish Scriptures are interpreted by the rules applied to the sacred books of the Brahmins and ancient Egyptians, those expressions which are apparently monotheistic become really henotheistic. They mean, not that there is only one divinity in existence, but that, for the time at least, there is only one whom the worshiper will recognize. The book of Menu says that the most important of all duties is to get a true knowledge of the "one supreme God;" that all the rules of good conduct are comprised in "the knowledge and

adoration of one God;" and that the universe was created by "the sole self-existing power." Ancient Egyptian scriptures say, "The one Gôd, living by truth, who makest all things, . . . almighty God, self-existent, . . . existent from the beginning." And again, "Glory to Thee who hast begotten all that exists, . . . who hast no being second to Thee, . . . the Light of the world."¹ But, notwithstanding these and a multitude of similar expressions much stronger and broader than anything found in the Jewish Bible, the book of Menu is thoroughly and unquestionably polytheistic; and so was the faith of the ancient Egyptians; as is the Penta-teuch by the same principles of interpretation.

SEC. 339. *Anthropomorphism*.—Many biblical passages indicate that, like the contemporaneous heathen, the Jews had rude conceptions of their divinity. They spoke of Jehovah as if He had the physical form, the imperfect knowledge, and the hasty passions of humanity. They tell us that "God created man in His own image," that is, in the same material "likeness"¹ or mould. The mental nature was not the same, for man had not yet learned the difference between good and evil. Jehovah worked and "rested from all His work."² He walked "in the garden in the cool of the day;" He spoke audibly to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Abimelech, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, and He appeared visibly to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses.³ With the latter He spoke "mouth to mouth," "face to face," and "as a man speaketh with a friend." On one occasion when the great prophet wanted to see the glory of Jehovah, the latter would not exhibit anything but his back.⁴ At another time the Hebrew divinity was more gracious, for when "Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel" went

up upon Mount Sinai, they "saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness."⁵ Jehovah promised to "dwell among the children of Israel,"⁶ and His home was between the cherubs.

His anger frequently outran His judgment, and He made menaces which He did not fulfill. He threatened to destroy Sodom unless it could produce fifty righteous men; and four times at the solicitation of the more merciful Abraham, He reduced the number.⁷ He declared His intention of exterminating the idolatrous Israelites, but after Moses had explained how His name would be brought into discredit by the destruction of His chosen people, He said, "I have pardoned according to thy word."⁸ On another occasion, within a few days after the seventy elders had seen their Deity on Mount Sinai, the holy nation worshiped the golden calf under the priestly ministrations of Aaron, and then Jehovah told Moses to hold his tongue, so that the divine wrath could be gratified without interference; but, nevertheless, Moses did interfere, and again succeeded in obtaining mercy for the offenders.⁹ Before the flood He repented that He had made man,¹⁰ and repeatedly afterwards He repented for the mistakes which He had made, or had intended to make.

SEC. 340. *No Immortality*.—There is only one point in which the Hebrew Scriptures can claim to be original, at least as compared with all other sacred books, and that is in the denial of a future life. The idea of man's mortality is distinctly conveyed in many passages of the Mosaic books, and especially in those relating to the first sin and its punishment. After Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit, Jehovah said to Himself, "Behold the man

is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat and live forever"—and thereupon the offender was driven from paradise with the curse: "Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return."¹ The plain meaning of these words is not contradicted or explained away in any other part of the Bible, but is confirmed in many passages.

When Jehovah chose Abraham to be the progenitor of the holy nation of Israel, and made a covenant to be the God of the Hebrews, promising that they should be a populous and prosperous nation and should have "all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession," and defining the mutual obligations of service on both sides, not one word was said of reward in a future life to the faithful worshipers.² Abraham's subsequent willingness to sacrifice his son elicited a promise of great blessings for himself and his posterity without the least suggestion of immortality.³

The punishment of Cain for murdering Abel was to be that the earth should refuse to yield crops to his tillage.⁴ The wickedness of the antediluvians was so great that "it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at heart," yet there is no mention of any punishment after death.⁵ The sin of Ham was compensated by the condemnation of his descendants to slavery.⁶

When the law was delivered to Moses, with its promises and threats, its blessings and curses, there was no reference to future life. When the ancient Jew reached the grave, he had nothing more to hope or to fear. With death, good and evil came to an end for him. When publishing the ten commandments, Moses said to

the Hebrew people, "Ye shall walk in all the ways which the Lord your God hath commanded you, . . . that He may prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess."⁷ Again he said, "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long in the land."⁸ In the VIIth, VIIIth, and XXVIIIth chapters of Deuteronomy, very explicit statements are made of the blessings which the Hebrew nation should earn by faithful worship. Jehovah there promised to love and bless them; to give fertility to them and to their cattle without exception, and to their fruit trees and grain fields; to protect them against all sickness; and to aid them in utterly destroying the heathen occupants of the Promised Land. The blessings include many kinds of earthly prosperity, and the long list ends thus: "The Lord shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, in the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers to give thee." The evils threatened for disobedience are the sword, famine, pestilence, "madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart," consumption, fever, inflammation, extreme burning, blasting, mildew, all the diseases of Egypt, trembling of heart, failing of eyes, sorrow of mind, renewed captivity; and "the Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke in all that thou settest thine hand to do until thou be destroyed."⁹ In all this there is not one suggestion of future retribution.

Nowhere in the Mosaic books is a future life promised or a belief in it mentioned; nor is one of its key words or phrases used. The great prophet never writes of immortality or eternal life; he never speaks of eternity connected with human life nor of heaven or hell as spheres of reward or punishment. Nor are those terms

used in other portions of the Old Testament. David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Job see nothing of human interest beyond the grave.¹⁰ The only distinct recognition of a future life in the Jewish sacred books is made by Daniel, who wrote after the Babylonian captivity, when the Jews had fallen under the Persian dominion and influence.

A dozen isolated passages, in scriptural Hebrew books of subordinate authority, may be forced by mistranslation and misinterpretation to convey the idea of a future life, but when balanced against the stronger evidences arrayed in this section, and many others that might be produced, they are entitled to little weight.¹¹

The belief in a life beyond the grave has certain natural accompaniments. These include the prominent and frequent use of such words and phrases as immortality, immortal life, eternal life, life everlasting, and the joys of heaven. They also include explanations of the different fates of pious and sinful souls in the other world. The Brahmin and Buddhist scriptures have much to say about transmigration; the Egyptian gospel gives long instructions to prepare the soul for defending itself in the supreme trial before Osiris; and the Christian has his last judgment, in which Jesus is to appear as the Redeemer, and Satan as the persecutor of mankind. The lack of these accompaniments of a belief in a future life and of everything equivalent or analogous to them in the Hebrew Scriptures is surely not accidental. Oversight is out of place in revelation.

After the return of the Jews from captivity and the re-establishment of a Jewish government in Jerusalem, the Pharisees, or teachers, who attached great value to tradition, accepted the doctrine of an eternal future life with rewards and punishments, but the Sadducees, including

the priests and high officials, continued to adhere to the Mosaic doctrine that death is an eternal sleep.¹² St. Paul said Jesus brought "immortality to light,"¹³ implying that it lacked recognition in the Hebrew Scriptures.

SEC. 341. *Jewish Morality*.—The morality of the ancient Jews was not superior to that of their time. Their sacred books command ecclesiastical persecution, witch burning, hereditary slavery, retaliation, ordeal, class privilege, aggressive war, despotic monarchy, and the divine right of kings. They give no protection against torture, mutilation, concubinage or polygyny. They provide no proper guaranty for the right of alien, slave, wife, or subject. They give no aid or comfort to the advocate of religious liberty or constitutional morality. They never rise to the conception of equal citizenship or self-respecting manhood.

The systematic and excessive glorification of David, continued through centuries without a dissenting voice, implies that their moral perceptions were not very delicate. He was their greatest national hero. He was blessed by their priests. He was commended by their Scriptures. His memory was cherished by the people. He was represented to be the author of the Psalms, the best book in the Bible. He was regarded as the special favorite of Jehovah. He was called "the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel."¹ He was a frequent recipient of direct divine revelations. He was "a man after God's own heart."² Jehovah said of him that he did "that which is right in Mine eyes," and "he kept My commandments and My statutes; and he did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord . . . save only in the matter of Uriah."³ Addressing Himself to David near the close of his life Jehovah said,

"I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of thy sight, and have made thee a great name. . . . And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever."⁴

The story of David is told more fully than that of any other ancient Hebrew in the Bible. As we read his actions there recorded, we find that his career is remarkable for the multitude, the magnitude, and the variety of his crimes; and also for the manner in which they are narrated, as if all save two were regarded by the prophets as entirely consistent with rare holiness of character. He rebelled against Saul, his king and father-in-law; he betrayed Achish, his benefactor and protector when he needed protection; he committed adultery with Bathsheba; he murdered her husband, Uriah, when he refused to become responsible for the adulterous child of his wife; he made a hypocritical pretense of lamentation for his victim; he repudiated his first wife when her political influence ceased to be valuable to him; he slaughtered her sons by a second husband, and her brothers; he perjured himself to Shimei; and he tortured his captives by sawing them in two, by dragging them to death under harrows, and by roasting them in brickkilns. And after all this is told, a song attributed to David is inserted in the Bible, and in it the singer says, "The Lord recompensed me according to my righteousness, according to my cleanness in His eyesight."⁵ If David was so exceptionally righteous and clean, as compared with his subjects, what must they have been?

Some singular cases of vicarious punishment will assist us to comprehend the Jewish ideas of divine justice. When David seized the royal office, he spared the dethroned family, and by his mercy to them offended Je-

hovah, who punished the king by afflicting all Palestine with a famine which lasted three years. Finally the Lord was appeased by the execution of seven men, who were not accused of crime, but were heirs of Saul.⁶

By an irresistible impulse, Jehovah moved David to make a count of his subjects, then treated the census as a great sin, and sent word to the sinner by Gad, the prophet, that the punishment would be either a famine for seven years, an invasion that would drive him from Jerusalem, or a pestilence. David was told to take his choice, but he went no farther than to pray to be saved from the invader. Jehovah sent a pestilence that raged from Dan to Beersheba, and carried off 70,000 Hebrews.⁷

When Solomon became an idolater, Jehovah, still continuing His habit of direct communication, said unto the king: "Forasmuch . . . as thou hast not kept My covenant and My statutes, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee. . . . Notwithstanding, in thy day I will not do it, . . . but I will rend it out of the hand of thy son; . . . and the Lord stirred up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad, the Edomite. . . . And the Lord stirred him up another adversary, Rezon. . . . And he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, . . . and reigned over Syria."⁸

Thus we are told that famine, pestilence, war, and national separation were the punishments inflicted on the children of Israel for the personal sins of David and Solomon, each of whom reigned for forty years. Such stories, accepted as divinely revealed, necessarily led the Jews to imagine that divine justice was very different from human justice, and that reason could not be trusted to question sacerdotal assertion.

The following passages in the Hebrew Scriptures are

not in the most authoritative places, nor are they in harmony with the general tenor of the Mosaic law:—

“What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.”⁹

“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. . . . The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.”¹⁰

SEC. 342. *Woman's Wrongs*.—In all ages of the Hebrew government, before the captivity, polygyny was legal, and among the rich and powerful was customary. David had at least eight wives. Solomon had seven hundred. Abraham and Jacob had each two. No law prohibited and no prophet condemned the general usage in this respect.

In one passage we read that “therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.”¹ This might be interpreted as a declaration that monogamy was established and polygyny prohibited by Jehovah, but the history of the Hebrews proves that no such ideas were attributed to the words by the people for whom they were written. In Deuteronomy express permission is given to the Jewish men to take several wives,² and the legality of polygyny is assumed in many passages. It was not limited to the kings or to any class.

Marriage was not a sacrament. The priest was not present to give it consecration. It was a mere civil contract, which could be dissolved by the husband at his pleasure, and could not be dissolved under any circumstances by the wife or by any judge at her request. Here is the clause in reference to divorce: “When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favor in his eyes, . . . then let him

write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house."³ That is a very simple method of procedure, but to the modern mind, it seems rather unfair to the wife. The Mosaic law gives a double portion of the estate of the deceased husband and father to the eldest son, and nothing to the widow or daughter. It deprives the widow of the guardianship of her own minor child.

The existence of slavery implies that of concubinage, and the two institutions existed together among the Hebrews from the time of Abraham to that of Hilkiah. Patriarchs, priests, and kings were permitted by law and custom to keep slave girls in their harems, and they did so. Solomon had three hundred concubines in addition to his seven hundred wives, and, notwithstanding his unequaled wisdom, was unable to find one character, that he respected, among them all.⁴

SEC. 343. *Slavery*.—Slavery is authorized in many passages of the Pentateuch, and it was extensively practised among the Hebrews, so long as they had the power to capture and to hold the people of neighboring nations. Moses attributed to Jehovah the following command: "Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen which are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy. . . . And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever."¹ Hebrews might also be held in slavery for six years, but must then be liberated.² The master had the legal privilege of blinding his slave in one eye. Here is the provision on that point:

"If a man smite the eye of his servant, . . . that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake."³ The law in reference to mortal wounds inflicted by the master on the slave is thus expressed: "If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished, notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money."⁴ It will be observed that a mortal wound, not fatal within twenty-four hours, is not punishable, and that no definite penalty is affixed to a blow immediately fatal.

SEC. 344. *Hatred of Aliens*.—The Jews were taught that it was right for them to attack, plunder, enslave, and exterminate heathen nations which had given no offense. Here are some of the words attributed to Jehovah: "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall be tributary to thee and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, then thou shalt besiege it, and when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword; but the women and the little ones and the cattle and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself, and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies which the Lord thy God hath given thee."¹

That command related to the treatment of all the heathen nations which the Hebrews might see fit to attack, without the least provocation, save the Canaanites, in reference to whom the following passage laid down the law: "But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance thou

shalt leave alive nothing that breatheth. But thou shalt utterly destroy them.”² At another time He said: “Thou shalt consume all the people which the Lord thy God shall deliver thee. Thine eye shall have no pity on them.”³ And once more He said: “When the Lord thy God shall deliver them unto thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them. Thou shalt make no covenant with them nor shew mercy unto them.”⁴ Of a more cruel or barbarous military policy than this, there is no record in history.

Under the Mosaic law, the duties of the Hebrew to his people were not the same as to aliens. The Gentiles only might legally be kidnapped and sold into slavery by a pious Jew; the Gentiles only he might hold in perpetual slavery; to Gentiles only he might make usurious loans; and to Gentiles only he was not under obligation to return a pledge.⁵

When Jehovah had established His chosen people in Canaan after the previous inhabitants had been conquered and despoiled, He congratulated them thus: “I have given you a land for which ye did not labor, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them. Of the vineyards and olive yards which ye planted not, do ye eat.”⁶ The Hebrews were repeatedly told that they were “a holy nation” and the exclusive favorites of the most powerful of the gods; and such a belief had a strong influence in gaining for them a widespread reputation among other nations of being enemies of the human race.

While the Gentiles generally were declared to be the rightful spoil of the Hebrews whenever opportunity should offer, the Ammonites, Moabites, and Amalekites were declared to be special objects of Jehovah’s aversion.

"An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord. . . . Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days forever."⁷ "The Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation."⁸ "Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt. . . . Therefore it shall be that when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about in the land which the Lord thy God hath given thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under the heaven. Thou shalt not forget it."⁹

SEC. 345. *Criminal Law*.—Private retaliation was legalized in these passages, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe."¹ "If a man cause a blemish in his neighbor, as he hath done, so it shall be done to him."² "The revenger of blood himself shall slay the murderer, when he meeteth him he shall slay him."³ As in other barbarous communities where the system of private retaliation prevailed, so, too, among the Jews, involuntary homicide or justifiable homicide committed in self-defense was punishable legally by blood revenge. If, however, the person who committed the homicide could reach one of the homicide asylums established in various parts of Judea, then the avenger could not execute retaliation until after a hearing before judges, who absolved the accused if he had slain the victim unintentionally or justifiably.

The Mosaic law provides that a charge of adultery brought against a Jewish wife shall be tried by ordeal. "The priest shall bring her near and set her before the Lord. And the priest shall take holy water in an

earthen vessel, and of the dust that is on the floor of the tabernacle, the priest shall take and put it into the water, and the priest shall set the woman before the Lord, and uncover the woman's head, and put the offering of the memorial in her hands, which is the jealousy offering; and the priest shall have in his hand the bitter water that causeth the curse; and the priest shall charge her by an oath and say unto the woman: 'If no man have lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness with another instead of thy husband, be thou free from this bitter water that causeth the curse, but if thou hast gone aside to another instead of thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lain with thee besides thine husband,' then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, 'The Lord make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when the Lord doth make thy thigh to rot and thy belly to swell.' . . . And he shall cause the woman to drink the bitter water, . . . and . . . if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, . . . her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot. . . . And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean, then she shall be free."⁴

Let us suppose that this ordeal was to be applied. The priest might be influenced by two main considerations, first, regard for his own sacerdotal influence, and, second, desire for substantial justice. Which would be the stronger would depend chiefly on his personal character. In many cases, they would appear in his mind to be harmonious. He would make inquiry, or have it made, to find out whether among her neighbors the accused was considered guilty or innocent, and if guilty, he would sprinkle such poison on the floor of the taber-

nacle, that when taken in the ordeal water, it should not only kill the woman, but cause those symptoms which are described in the law. This would be the ordinary method of procedure in ordeals of poison, whether administered in Judea, or in Congo. So long as the average character of man remains as it is, and remains subject to such influences as have controlled sacerdotal conduct in savage, barbarous, and civilized nations, so long the trial of crime by poison ordeal managed by priests will be regarded with suspicion by intelligent men.

SEC. 346. *Ecclesiastical Crimes*.—The sacerdotal authority was protected by many capital punishments. Thus the death penalty awaited him who imitated the oil used in anointing the priests or the special perfume selected for the altar of Jehovah; and him who broke the Sabbath; or who without consecration approached the altar; or who without belonging to the sacerdotal class claimed to have revelations in dreams; or who practised the profession of sorcerer; or who did “not hearken unto the priest;” or who did not afflict himself or pretend to be afflicted on atonement day; or who killed goat, sheep, or ox at a distance from the sanctuary; or who blasphemed the name of the Lord; or who enticed a Hebrew to serve other gods.¹ This makes a list of eleven capital ecclesiastical offenses. The thousands of witch executions in medieval and modern christendom were caused mainly by the Mosaic command, “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.”²

Moses pronounced an elaborate series of curses upon the Jews who should not worship Jehovah according to his commandments in Deuteronomy, and here are some of them: “Cursed shalt thou be in the city and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket

and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine and the flocks of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed. . . . The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And the heaven that is above thee shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. . . . And the Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. And the Lord shall smite thee with madness and blindness, and astonishment of heart.”³

SEC. 347. *Malignant Prophets*.—Referring to his enemy, David thus addressed Jehovah: “Set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned, and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few, and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places. Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the strangers spoil his labor. Let there be none to extend mercy unto him, neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children.”¹

This is the Psalmist's prayer against the Midianites, Amalekites, Moabites, and Ishmaelites: “O my God, make them like a wheel, as the stubble before the wind. As the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth a

mountain on fire, so persecute them with Thy tempest, and make them afraid with Thy storm. . . . Let them be confounded and troubled forever; yea, let them be put to shame and perish.”² Elsewhere he says, “Pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known Thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon Thy name.”³ This curse, it must be observed, is supposed to have been written many centuries before Jehovah had invited the heathen to worship Him.

Jeremiah prayed thus for the punishment of his enemies and their kin: “Deliver up their children to the famine, and pour out their blood by the force of the sword; and let their wives be bereaved of their children and be widows, and let their young men be put to death.”⁴

SEC. 348. *Originality*.—The Mosaic doctrines and ceremonies generally were not original with the Hebrews, but before the time of Abraham had been familiar to the Babylonians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, and other heathens with whom the residents of Palestine were brought into contact by martial and commercial expeditions.

The ideas that man was created pure, that an evil spirit corrupted him, and brought sin and evil into the world; that Jehovah selected the Hebrews to be His favorite nation, and the only possessors of His revealed law; that He selected one Hebrew family to have an exclusive hereditary right to the priesthood; that the Hebrews should worship their national Deity with the sacrifices of beasts, and as a reward for their pious fidelity should be blessed above all other nations,—not only were all these features of the Mosaic religion copied from the older heathen nations, but most of the points of the ritual, decoration and architecture of the Hebrew temple,

and of the dress, revenue, and discipline of the Hebrew priesthood were borrowed in like manner.

The heathens anticipated the children of Israel in giving the names El, Elohim, Jehovah (Yahveh, Yah, Yao, Jahu) Shaddai and Adonai to the Deity; in offering to Him the firstlings of their fields and flocks; in building altars for His worship; in reserving the blood for His nourishment; in selecting the best animals for sacrifice; in regarding the number seven (that of the planets) as sacred; in observing the seventh day as one of rest from labor; in giving the name of Sabbath to this day; in divination by means of lots or dice; in decorating the priest with a breast ornament called the Urim and Thummim; in having an ark as a highly sacred piece of ecclesiastical furniture; in supplying the ark with figures combining the head and body of a man with the wings of a bird;¹ in designating these figures as cherubs;² in practicing circumcision as a consecration to the divinity; in accepting dreams as divine communications; and in planning their temple with an open court, a covered hall, and a dark sanctuary. Even the common folk-lore is borrowed from the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. The myths of the creation, the deluge, and Potiphar's wife are merely new versions of stories long current in the older nations.³

The lack of originality in the doctrines of the Hebrew Scriptures and in the ceremonies of the Hebrew worship furnish conclusive proof that Judaism as a religion was a product of evolution. It is contrary to all our conceptions of an inspired gospel that it should be a patchwork of ideas and practices previously familiar to men in many countries. Things already known could not properly have a place in a revelation, or at least, they could not

make up nearly all its substance. The assertion that the Mosaic books were a repetition of previous communications made by Jehovah to Noah, Abraham, or other patriarchs before the exodus, is unsupported by evidence. The phraseology of the Pentateuch conveys the idea that the substance of the communications made to Moses was new to mankind. There is no suggestion of a repetition of a previous revelation, no mention of the distinction between truths already familiar and others then made known for the first time. The only important original idea in the Mosaic books, the soul's mortality, is one for which the believers in the divine origin of those books, claim no credit.

The greater part of Genesis is made up of two older documents which are known as Jehovistic and Elohistie, according to the names of God used in the Hebrew Bible. In the "authorized" English version, Elohim is translated God; Jehovah Elohim, the Lord God; and Jehovah, either Lord or Jehovah. This difference of divine names assists the scholar to trace the limits of the passages which give duplicate accounts of ancient myths.

Twice we are told how the world was created; twice how the deluge occurred; twice how Jehovah made a covenant with Noah; twice how Abraham was tempted; twice how he made a bargain with Abimelech; twice how Abraham's wife was appropriated; twice how Jacob saw Jehovah in a dream; twice how he went to Mesopotamia; twice how manna and quails were given to the Hebrews in the wilderness; and twice how the water flowed from Moses' rock. Even if these duplicate stories were in harmony as to their ideas with each other, as they are not, their difference of phraseology would show that they are different versions of the same legends.

SEC. 349. *Historical Inaccuracy.*—The Jewish Bible is seriously defective in its historical parts. Its account of creation is inconsistent with astronomy, geology, and zoology. It makes our globe the center of the universe, and limits its existence to seven thousand years or less. It tells us of a time when supernatural beings appeared visibly among men, conversed audibly with them, fought for them, and took mortal women for wives. It gives credence to miracles, divinely appointed omens, divine revelations in dreams, demoniacal possessions, and witches.

From beginning to end the chronology of the Jewish Bible is defective, and in many places conflicting. The account of the stay of Jacob and his descendants in Egypt is evidently legendary. It contains no material that enables us to connect it unmistakably with any reign, century, or dynasty of Egyptian history. It does not give the name of any monarch. It is not corroborated by any one of the almost innumerable Egyptian monuments or manuscripts.

Discrepancies are numerous. The books of Samuel and Kings give an account of the main events in Jewish history from the time of Samuel to that of Jehoiachin,—that is from about 1100 to 630 B. C., and the book of Chronicles gives a parallel story, but the two compositions vary in many of their statements, and are not pervaded by the same spirit. The Chronicles is a later work, and its author has evidently striven to magnify the influence and importance of the priesthood. The author of Samuel says Jehovah moved David to number Israel, and then treated his census as a great sin.¹ Chronicles says it was Satan that “provoked David to number Israel.”² According to Kings, Hiram made a present of

twenty measures of oil to Solomon, and according to Chronicles it was 20,000.³ A long list of such differences could be given, no one of much note, if considered separately, though all, when weighed together as parts of a work that is offered to us as divinely inspired, are very significant.

Anachronisms, which are a class of contradictions, are numerous. Thus the clean and unclean beasts are mentioned many centuries before the distinction between them was made; the tabernacle is spoken of before it was constructed, the Sabbath before it was established, and the priesthood of Jehovah as in existence when provision had not yet been made for its organization.

A well written law book has its ideas arranged in logical sequence. Each of its subjects is treated in its order, and exhausted before the chapter relating to it is closed. There is no conflict, no confusion, no repetition, no separation of things that belong together, and no conjunction of things that are incongruous. Such features, however, are not found in the Mosaic legislation, which is without parallel for its repetitions, contradictions, uncertainties, and other errors.

If we examine the legal portions of Exodus, for instance, we shall find a series of verses relating to ethics, another to criminal law, another to ecclesiastical discipline, another to ecclesiastical architecture, another to sacerdotal organization, and another to ecclesiastical discipline, with several of history intervening. Nearly all these subjects are treated again in Leviticus, and again in Numbers, and again in Deuteronomy, and nearly every book has some legal matter not only belonging exclusively to itself, but inconsistent with certain passages in the others.

SEC. 350. *Mosaic Authorship*.—The theory that one author wrote the books from Exodus to Deuteronomy, inclusive, abounds with improbabilities, each very serious if considered by itself, all, when considered together, amounting to absolute incredibility.

It is highly improbable that one man wrote both the thirteenth verse in the XXVIIth chapter of Genesis, in which Jehovah told Jacob that "I am Jehovah the God of Abraham," and the third verse of the Vth chapter of Exodus, in which He said to Moses, "By My name Jehovah was I not known to" Jacob. It is equally improbable that Moses wrote both the ninth verse of the XXIst chapter of Numbers and the XXth chapter of Exodus. The latter forbids the Hebrews to make "any graven image or any likeness of anything that is in the heavens above or is in the earth beneath;" and according to the former, Moses made a brazen serpent to cure his subjects of snake bites. It is hard to believe that any one man could have written both the XXth and the XXXIVth chapters of Exodus. The former gives an account of the delivery of the ten commandments as we now have them to Moses, and of his breaking the stones when he found the Hebrews worshipping the golden calf.¹ The latter tells how Jehovah wrote upon two other tables of stone the same commandments, and copies them word for word, but the decalogue thus copied is radically different from that previously given.² The second tables of stone, "the words of the covenant the ten commandments," relate entirely to matters of ceremony, and do not prohibit murder, adultery, perjury, theft, or covetousness.

It is not likely that a lawgiver, worthy of his office, with time to complete his work, would repeat and con-

tradict himself in numerous important points, as Moses did if he wrote the whole Pentateuch. He would not in one book give the priesthood to Levi, and in another to Aaron, nor consecrate the business of the butcher and also desecrate it, nor give the firstling heifer calves, ewe lambs, and she goats to the sacerdotal revenue, and exempt them from it. Neither would he, in many cases, take up the same branch of the same subject, in three different books, and in each treat the matter as if there were no other law relating to it, as the Pentateuch does in reference to the places of worship, the religious festivals, the priests, the tithes, the firstlings, and the emancipation of slaves.³

There is no satisfactory evidence that Moses wrote a line of the Bible. The passages in the Pentateuch purporting to record the events of his own time are mythical in their general character. They abound with miracles and incredible stories. They have no chronological precision, historical probability, or corroborative evidence. No inscription, no coin, no contemporaneous record gives credence to a sentence attributed to Moses.

But all the books of the law, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, claim Moses as their author. They purport to give revelations addressed to him for the Jews, and to be dictated or written by him. Deuteronomy begins thus, "These be the words which Moses spake unto the children of Israel," and near its close says, "Moses wrote this law and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi."⁴ As in these sentences, so in most others where the writer mentions himself, he does so in the third person, but he uses the first person when he says Jehovah spoke to him. His phrase on such occasions is, "The Lord said unto me."⁵

Leviticus begins with the words, "The Lord called unto Moses," and afterwards says, "The Lord spake unto Moses," on more than twenty different occasions. The last verse tells us that "these are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai." This book never imitates the phrase of Deuteronomy, "The Lord said unto me," and Deuteronomy nowhere has the Levitical phrase, "The Lord spake unto Moses."

The book of Numbers, or all that portion of it relating to the law, was evidently written by the author of Leviticus. It uses like terms, expresses similar ideas, begins and ends in the same manner. It closes with the words, "These are the commandments and the judgments which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab."

SEC. 351. *A Natural Product.*—The question whether the Jewish Bible is of natural or supernatural origin, belongs to the domain of history, in which it occupies an important place for readers in Christian countries. It must be stated and solved by every author who, in the last decennium of the XIXth century, writes a comprehensive account of human progress. The general reader, for whom this work is designed, does not need a full statement of the evidences. The proofs given in this chapter show that the books of the law were written by different persons in different centuries; and they imply that the other Hebrew books, which are comments on and supplements to the law, were composed without supernatural inspiration. The general conclusion is that the Jewish Bible, as a whole, is a production of natural evolution.

The ancient Jews did not possess any peculiar holiness

or decided superiority in ethical precept or practice over many contemporaneous heathens. They never were the exclusive favorites of heaven by an unjust and insulting preference over other peoples. Their intolerance and national seclusion were the results of what they considered celestial enlightenment, and of what the spirit of this age regards as an ecclesiastical delusion. Their sacerdotal system shared the fate of others of its age and kind. The temple and priests of Jehovah have disappeared as completely as those of Osiris, Baal, Moloch, Chemosh, and Zeus. The pedigrees of David and of Aaron are lost forever. No son of the former will re-establish the throne of Jerusalem, no son of the latter will ever again offer sacrifice at an altar of Jehovah. The Jewish religion still exists and is older than Confucianism, which has a much larger number of adherents, and perhaps older than Zoroastrianism, which has a superiority over Judaism in the modern observance of its ancient rites. Humanity lives, and ecclesiastical organizations die.

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY GREECE.

SECTION. 352. *Hellas*.—We now move from Judea to Greece, from Asia to Europe; from barbarism to civilization; from military mobs to well disciplined armies; from debasing despotism to ennobling liberty; from cruel autocracy to the equal political power of many; from a literature, largely ecclesiastical, to one almost exclusively secular; from rudimentary to highly developed architecture, sculpture and painting; from relative intellectual stagnation to great mental activity; from a condition of culture practically stationary to another marked by rapid advancement; and from national isolation to intimate and extensive international association.

While the Greeks were in the earlier stages of their political and intellectual development, and as yet had no foreign commerce, the western Asiatics already had a wide reaching traffic, and the Babylonians and Assyrians had organized considerable empires. But the commercial and political relations of these conquering and trading nations were not accompanied by an intellectual intimacy similar to that which resulted from the conquests of Alexander. Neither were the subjects of these states or of Persia brought together by bonds of sympathetic and educational influence like those that impressed the Greeks at Delphi, Olympia, or Athens.

Every savage tribe has traces of progress, and many barbarous nations supply us with interesting details about the manner, time, and place in which various important improvements in human life were developed; but such information as we can get about the introduction of the alphabet in Egypt or of printing in China is vague and disconnected when compared with that relating to the growth of polity, literature, and ornamental art in Greece. It is in Athens that we first obtain a clear view of the march of a comprehensive culture, with opportunities to observe step by step, and to trace numerous important effects to proximate and remote causes. An increased speed of progress, a higher literary development, a previously unapproached intellectual refinement, and a long series of original and great improvements in constitutional law, now appear as new features in the history of mankind.

Greece is interesting to us not only as the mother land of civilization, freedom, literature, and art, and the pioneer in the swifter march of progress, but also as the country where the Aryan blood first showed the great superiority of its intellectual and moral endowment, where it acquired a consciousness of its own worth, and where it indicated the pre-eminence that it was to give to Europe in the culture of the world.

Greece proper, including the Peloponnesus and the adjacent continental Hellenic states, had about the same area (17,000 square miles) as the present kingdom of Hellas, equal to a square about one hundred and thirty-miles each way, between the thirty-sixth and the thirty-ninth degrees of latitude. Its surface is intersected by numerous mountain ridges, some of which project as capes far into the sea. The country has been compared

to a hand reaching out from Europe towards Asia and Africa. With Asia a hundred miles distant to the eastward, Africa two hundred and fifty miles to the southward, and Italy as far to the westward, with a thousand inhabited islands in its vicinity, with the Black Sea stretching six hundred miles to the northeast, the Adriatic as far to the northwest, the Mediterranean nearly as far to the southeast and twice as far to the west, Greece had the best situation for maritime commerce in the basin of the Mediterranean, as it was in antiquity.

In most of the valleys the soil is only moderately fertile. The rainfall is not abundant. The streams are few, short, and small. The summers are long and hot, the winters short, and except in the more elevated places not severe, and yet cold enough in the valleys to cause great occasional discomfort.

SEC. 353. *The Hellens.*—The ancient Greeks, or Hellens as they called themselves, inhabited not only Greece proper, but all the islands of the eastern Mediterranean save Cyprus, part of which they held. They also occupied portions of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, much of Southern Italy, the western and southern shores of Asia Minor, many points on the borders of the Black Sea, Massilia (now Marseilles), and Cyrene in Africa. Wherever the Greeks dwelt, there was Hellas. They were not so exclusively maritime in their mode of life or so littoral in their place of residence as the Phœnicians, and yet being far more numerous, and occupying many more islands and a far larger stretch of sea coast, it might fairly be claimed for them that they were the leading maritime and littoral people of antiquity.

The inhabitants of all Hellas may have numbered

15,000,000, of whom one-third, perhaps, were in Greece proper and the neighboring islands, and the other two-thirds elsewhere. This total population of 15,000,000, however, included slaves and free aliens not of Greek blood, and in many of the Greek states of Asia, Italy, and Sicily, these classes were very large. That part of Greece north of the Corinthian Gulf, was considered the original home of the nationality.

By their dialects the Greeks were divided into three main classes,—the Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians, who, according to tradition, were the descendants of Dorus and Æolus, sons, and Ion, grandson, of Hellen, the legendary progenitor of the whole nationality. The Dorians included the Cretans, Rhodians, Cyrenæans, most of the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, and all the Peloponnesians, save the Achæans. The Æolians were the Corinthians, the Greeks north of the Corinthian Gulf, the Lesbians, and some Hellenic communities on the shore of the Ægean near the Hellespont. The Ionians were the Athenians, the inhabitants of the Ægean Archipelago, some of the Greek colonies along the shores of Asia Minor, and of most of those on the Hellespont and Black Sea. The Achæans, though not strictly Ionians, were classed with them.

Besides the variations of their dialects, the three Greek races, as they were called, were also distinguished by differences in mental qualities and political and social institutions. The Ionians generally were a maritime people, giving much of their attention to fishery, commerce, and the manufacturing arts. They were quick in apprehension, lively in manner, artistic in their tastes, the leaders in literature, in the arts, and in democratic government. By their traffic they had been brought into

intimate relations with the Asiatics, and perhaps learned from them to keep their respectable women in ignorance and seclusion. Athens was the leading Ionian state.

The Æolians were rude and dull, and yet they included such eminent statesmen as Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and Timoleon, and such brilliant poets as Pindar and Sappho. The people of Bœotia, the leading Æolian state, were noted throughout Greece for the slowness and dullness of their intellects.

Two of the Dorian states, Sparta and Crete, were distinguished above all other portions of Greece by the great attention and prominence which they gave to military drill, and to certain affiliated institutions, including a frequent mess dinner for every citizen of military age, and compulsory instruction by the state in choral and gymnastic exercises to all girls as well as boys.

Notwithstanding the differences of their dialects, all who were recognized as Greeks could understand one another. The Greeks of Marseilles, Cyrene, Syracuse, Tarentum, Sinope, Rhodes, Athens, and Sparta could converse together intelligibly, and all believed that they descended from a common ancestor. Their worship of the same gods by the same general rites, and their community of blood, speech, customs, and ecclesiastical rites, were to them matters of great value. They considered themselves far superior to other peoples, whom they classed together as barbarians, which term meant for them people not Greek in blood or tongue, not elevated in morals and education, nor true in religion. In the Vth century B. C. the Thessalians, Macedonians, and Epirots were not recognized as Greeks, though all were of Aryan blood, and very near akin to the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians.

Besides being a small country, Greece was divided

into a multitude of independent states, which, on the average, were ridiculously small as compared with modern nations, averaging less than thirty miles square to the state. Small as they were, they differed greatly in their political, military, industrial, and literary characteristics. Many were highly pugnacious, and nearly every year were involved in war with some neighbor. Their political and military struggles, their literary and artistic achievements, their strongly marked individuality, their intense public spirit, their quarrels about questions that still possess deep interest for mankind, their important contributions to constitutional law, and their successful defense of European civilization, while yet in its infancy, against the aggression of the adult Asiatic barbarism, render the ancient Greeks highly interesting for historical study—the most interesting of all those nationalities which have made their final exit from the stage of life. And it is doubtless for this reason that more learning and genius have been given to the history and culture of Greece than to those of any other country. Herodotus, Thucydides, Grote, Thirlwall, Curtius, Freeman, Felton, and Mahaffy are a wonderful series of authors, who have devoted much of their lives to the study of this one nationality.

SEC. 354. *Superior Polity*.—In the VIIth and VIIIth centuries B. C. the Greeks were superior in their political and military institutions to all other nations, and this superiority was the source of their subsequent pre-eminence in many other departments of culture. Their industry did not differ notably from that of their neighbors. As mariners and merchants they were inferior to the Phœnicians. As tillers of the soil and breeders of domestic animals, as miners and metallurgists, as workers in stone,

wood, and metal, as weavers and dyers, they did not excel the Lydians, Babylonians, or Egyptians. Neither did they surpass other nations in scientific knowledge or in religious conceptions. Their ecclesiastical system was not strongly marked by original dogmas nor by a strict sacerdotal organization. They had neither sacred book, nor a consolidated priesthood. But their forms of government and their military drill were original, meritorious, and highly influential. It was by the exclusive possession of constitutional freedom and of superior martial discipline that they gained wealth, confidence in themselves, and power over others; that they were enabled to establish and maintain numerous colonies on the near and remote shores of the Ægean, Mediterranean, and Black Seas; that they kept all their states and colonies in intimate social and commercial relations with one another; that they made their tongue the dominant language of literature, diplomacy, and trade for many centuries in western Asia, northwestern Africa, and southern Europe; and that they changed culture from a dominant character of national separation to one of international communication. In no other country shall we find a polity so original and so superior in its principles and in its influences to that of all other contemporaneous or antecedent nations.

The smallness of the average Greek state before the IVth century B. C. was the result of a combination of numerous circumstances, including the frequency of destructive warfare, the superiority of the means of defending walled towns to the means of taking them, the lack of military engines for battering down walls, the habit of limiting campaigns to a few months in the warmer seasons of the year, the want of standing armies and of a system

for paying soldiers, the small size of the valleys, the multitude and ruggedness of the mountain ridges, and the ignorance of any system of representation by which numerous cities could unite under one government with equal shares of political power.

SEC. 355. *Sacred Monarchy*.—In legendary Greece, as we know it through the Homeric poems, the country was divided into a multitude of small kingdoms, each ruled by a hereditary monarch who was the descendant, in some instances the son, of a god. He had a sacred character and ruled by divine right, but when too old or feeble to be the actual leader of his troops in war, he must abdicate or submit to be deposed, so that his more active son could take his place. He must do credit to his office by readiness and force of speech, and by courage and skill in war. He might be tyrannical and cruel, but he must not be cowardly or stupid. His power, though great, was not clearly defined, and so far as there was any limit, was restricted only by that of the nobles, each of whom was a military chieftain with absolute direct command over his own tenants and slaves.

The king dwelt in his capital, a fortified city, where he was judge in all civil and criminal lawsuits. He accepted presents from litigants to pay him for the trouble of deciding cases. He had his royal domains outside of the city, and there also he was the judge and ruler. There was no written law. His revenue consisted of presents from his subjects, and his shares of the produce of his lands, of the plunder taken in war, and of animals offered in sacrifice. He levied no taxes on the land, income, or traffic of his subjects.

Besides being the military and political chief and supreme judge of the kingdom, the monarch was also its

chief priest. On all occasions when the state was to be represented by its superior sacerdotal dignitary, he officiated. He conducted the sacrifice, he offered the prayer, and he declared the meaning of the auguries. He had ecclesiastical subordinates, who recited the formulas of expiation, who sang the traditional hymns, who served as custodians of the temples, and who assisted in the sacrifices, always under his direction.

The noble had his home in the city and his estate of land in the country. His tenants were mostly slaves, and, like the king, his chief occupation was war. It was his duty to lead his free tenants in the field, and their absolute allegiance was due to him. Within the bounds of his estate he had supreme power as civil and criminal judge, lawgiver, and ruler. Before any question of importance in the government was decided, he had a right to hear the subject discussed in a council of nobles, and to be heard before a policy was adopted by the monarch.

The majority of the people were slaves, a large minority were freemen, and of these, all the adult males were required in time of war to serve in the army. When military expeditions were undertaken, or when peace or war was declared, the soldiers were brought together in a popular assembly, which was addressed by the monarch and perhaps by some of the nobles. The applause given to the speakers indicated the drift of public opinion, which exerted a strong influence on the decision. The commoners had no right to speak and no chance to participate in a formal vote.

After such an assemblage, the action of the king was supposed to be in accordance with the wish of his nobles and subject freemen, who, by the expression of their opinion, had relieved him from exclusive responsibility

for any disaster that might be incurred in a policy approved by all before it was finally adopted. Thus, at the earliest discoverable stage of Greek life, we find systematic public meetings, political oratory, and an influential public opinion.

The slaves were persons captured in war, and their descendants. Their condition was considered but little lower than that of poor freemen. Most of them were employed as domestic servants, and were treated with indulgence by their masters, to whom they were strongly attached, and whom they often accompanied in war. They were allowed to marry, and their unions were considered as sacred as those of poor freemen. They were rarely sold.

War was the chief occupation and delight of the nobles, and much of their wealth was in their arms and armor. The helmet, breastplate, and greave, the shield and sword and javelin, were necessary to the noble; the poor freeman had no defensive armor and might fight with bow and sling. The great nobles had war chariots. There was no cavalry. Neither were there any well disciplined bodies of troops, such as were numerous in historic Greece. The battles seem to have been disorderly skirmishes, in which every chief fought at the head of his subjects, his superior armor and weapons giving him great advantage over those with inferior equipment. When two such warriors met, each tried to scare the other by threats and by boasts of his great exploits. The fury of their rage was accompanied by an equal excess in their exultation after victory, and in the expression of their mortified vanity after defeat. When disappointed or humiliated, they wept like children.

SEC. 356. *Greek Aristocracy*.—Before we reach the

historical period of Greece—and that period can be traced back indistinctly to the IXth century B. C.—the hereditary “Zeus-begotten, Zeus-sustained” kings of divine ancestry possessing dominant sacerdotal and political powers, had all disappeared to make way for aristocracies. Why the monarchies of divine right came to an end we do not know; probably it was because, in the course of centuries, every dynasty died out, or its inheritance fell into the hands of a man obviously unfit for his place, or its nobles felt the urgent want of a political system in which they could participate with equal power.

The government which succeeded the sacred monarchy in Greece was in every case an aristocracy. In no city did a democracy rise immediately on the overthrow of the monarchy, and in few cases did a usurper follow the hereditary king of divine lineage. The nobles who had been the companions of the sacred sovereign, seized his power and shared it among themselves.

Sparta and several other aristocratic states enacted a law of primogeniture to prevent the partition of land belonging to nobles, and another of entail to prevent its alienation to outsiders, but checks of this kind could not prevent families from dying out, and therefore could not maintain the original number of estates. Most of the Greek aristocracies, however, did not adopt these checks, and in the course of several centuries many of the noble families had ceased to be rich, and of those which retained their ancestral domains undiminished, some were surpassed in wealth by commoners, who had engaged successfully in commerce and manufactures. On the other hand, some nobles were greatly enriched by the growth of towns and by the opening of quarries or mines in their lands.

So long as the aristocratic government was maintained, so long the nobles, no matter how poor they might be absolutely or relatively, were proud of their nobility and of their share in the political power. They considered themselves a superior race. They had a domestic worship, and commoners had none, or none that the nobles recognized as worthy of respect. They shared the communion of the gods of their country, and other men did not. Their blood was sacred. They could not contract a legitimate marriage out of their order. Their wedding was a divine institution. The commoner might be rich and prosperous in many ways, but he was vulgar and profane. It would be sacrilegious to admit him to a priesthood, to a marriage with a noble, to a high office, or to a feast of the city officials at a communion of the local divinity. If the commoner had capacity for accumulating money in trade, or if he had obtained wealth by inheritance, he did not thereby gain a right to a voice in political affairs. Traffic and manual labor were demoralizing occupations, devotion to which was considered inconsistent with the public service. As a class, the nobles never consented willingly to admit commoners to a share in the government.

In every Greek aristocracy, the nobility formed a considerable proportion of the people, at least a twentieth, perhaps in some cities a fifth of the whole population. In no prominent city was the nobility a squad of twenty, fifty, or one hundred men. It was never an oligarchy, such as we find imposed in later times by the conquerors on some subjugated states.¹

SEC. 357. *Constitutionalism*.—The nobility exercised its dominant political power through a council, in which every nobleman, after reaching a certain age,—twenty-

one, twenty-five, or thirty years in different cities,—had a right to hear and vote, but not invariably to speak. The meeting was held in the market place, the officers sitting on a platform under shelter, while the multitude stood under the open sky. When a vote was taken, the majority was ascertained either by loudness of acclaim, a show of hands, or a division. Executive officers had authority to state the questions, which must then be decided without amendment.

But rude as were their methods of procedure, the councils of the Greek aristocracies had an educating influence. Here political oratory had a field for its exercise, here public opinion was built up, and here men learned to require statements of the reasons for political measures. Both sides were entitled to an orderly hearing before a decision was rendered. The political and military officers were required to account to the council for the manner in which they had performed their duties. A sense of responsibility to the community was established. Judicial power was intrusted to courts with open sessions, an orderly method of procedure, a hearing for both litigants and written laws. Thus were built up a conception of popular rights and a constitutional morality without their parallels among barbarous nations.

The public spirit of the Greek aristocracy was well expressed by the Lesbian Alcæus, whose poem, "The State," was paraphrased by Sir William Jones, a citizen of the greatest modern aristocracy. The following lines from it, familiar as they may be, will never lose their interest:

"What constitutes a state?

Not high raised battlement or labored mound,

Thick wall or moated gate ;

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned,

Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No—men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude,—
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain,—
These constitute a state.
And sovereign law, that state's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."

The establishment of the Greek aristocracies indicates "an important advance,—the first adoption of a deliberate and preconceived system in the management of public affairs," the first recognition of a community of citizens with equal rights, "qualified and thinking themselves qualified to take turns in command and obedience."¹ The Phœnician governments are described so vaguely that though earlier in time than the Greek aristocracies, we must look to the latter for our conceptions of the manner in which the arbitrary power of one man gave way to government by a deliberating council.

The first written laws of Greece were enacted in aristocratic states. About 650 B. C. the Locrians in Sicily applied to Delphi for advice in regard to their government, and they were instructed to get a shepherd to give them laws. Zaleucus, a shepherd in their territory, asserted that he had a divine revelation ordering him to be

the lawgiver of his countrymen. They accepted his statement and adopted his laws. He provided that estates of the nobles in land must be subject to a perpetual entail, so that their wealth should not be diminished. The control of the administration was intrusted to a council or assembly of a thousand members. This constitution,—the provisions of which, except those here mentioned, are unknown to us,—was maintained in Locri for two hundred years, and was adopted also in Croton and Sybaris. A written system of laws, similar to that of Zaleucus, was prepared about 640 B. C. by Charondas for Catania in Sicily, and after acceptance there, was also adopted in half a dozen cities of Italy and Sicily, each having a ruling council of about a thousand men. Whether these thousand were the richest men we do not know. In Colophon, Asia Minor, the political power was given to a thousand men selected on account of superior wealth, and to their successors by inheritance.

SEC. 358. *Small States*.—It was in the time of their early aristocracies that the Greeks accepted the idea that the state should not be larger than the city and the dependent territory which could be reached from it in one day. The word city (*polis*) became synonymous with state and nation, and from it were derived such terms as polity, police, and polish, as in Latin from the city (*civitas*) are derived citizen, civilization, and civility.

The average Greek citizen was extremely jealous of his political privileges. He was unwilling to divide them with others, or to do anything that would much diminish his share of power. He did not wish any great increase in the number of citizens. He liked conquest, but never demanded annexation. He had great ambition to augment the military power of his country, but not by

admitting the residents of other cities to an equal share in its government. The Greek had an ecclesiastical motive for disliking annexation. His native state had a patron divinity whom he could not desert without offense. The bounds of citizenship were not often extended, but when they were, the men newly admitted were usually subject freemen or freedmen, natives of the country, not born under the allegiance of a foreign god. The lack of a system of representation, the political jealousy, and the ecclesiastical exclusiveness combined to render the aristocratic and democratic Greek states incapable of expanding and building up an extensive dominion on a durable basis.

Rule by deputy was not unknown to the ancient Greeks, for they practiced it in the amphictyonic council of Delphi, but this body was rather ecclesiastical than political. They did not consider the idea valuable for ordinary government. No Greek statesman advocated or discussed its merits. The only mention of it in Greek books is incidental. Doubtless, if it had been proposed, the people, especially those of the poor class, would have rejected and resented any proposition to take from them the direct control over questions which they had been accustomed to decide, questions which involved their fortune, freedom, and life. Many questions that might involve the prosperity or independence of a nation, cannot be understood except by those who have made special studies of national economy, and of national and international law, and therefore could never be properly intrusted for decision to an assembly of whom a large proportion were uneducated, and without time or taste for study, and besides without the knowledge and judgment required to protect themselves against the mis-

representations of fact, the sophistries and the appeals to prejudice, customary among demagogical orators. But such considerations as these never induced a Greek popular assembly to transfer its powers to representatives.

Even after familiarity with Persia and Macedon had furnished an abundance of evidence that the isolated Greek cities could never be secure of their independence, the highly learned and able political philosopher Aristotle was so much controlled by the hereditary ideas of his country that he said a state must necessarily be small in its area. According to him, when 100,000 men had an equal share in a government, the country ceased to be a state, and became a nationality fit only for the rule of a despot.¹

The participation of the Greek aristocrat in the government and army of his city under the political and religious ideas of his country, made him intensely patriotic. He and the state were brought into the most intimate association and mutual dependence. If war was declared, an alliance formed, a peace made, an expedition sent out, a battle fought, a victory won, a defeat suffered, a tax levied, or a constitutional amendment adopted, he had a share in the responsibility. He was one of a few hundreds or thousands who formed the ruling assembly and the army. If he was a man of more than ordinary ability, he must almost inevitably be clothed at some time with important office. Without the courage, fidelity, and discipline of himself and his friends, the city could not exist, and without its protection life would have no value for him. Except under rare circumstances, he could not elsewhere acquire citizenship, nor have a sacred marriage, nor have a domestic worship or a share in the religious rites of a clan or a city. If exiled, he

would be cut off from the most sacred relations of life. His city was indispensable to him in many ways, but in his conception it was a political, not a geographical, entity. Its essence was the nobility to which he belonged. The domination of his order was more precious to him than the independence or prosperity of the state.

SEC. 359. *Military Service*.—The frequency of war, one of the most prominent and influential factors in Greek life, was the result of the great number of small states, their jealousy of one another, the multitude of political revolutions, with the alternating ascendancy of rival factions, the impossibility of preventing borderers from crossing state lines for plunder, and the prevalent opinion that occasional hostilities were needed to keep up the discipline and martial spirit of the troops. A long peace was unknown in the past, and was not expected in the future.

Wars were not only frequent, but they were very earnest. Every man who had a share in the government must also be a soldier, and be ready to risk his life. The wars were more destructive than those of modern times, not only because they were more frequent and a larger proportion of combatants died on the field, but also because the proportion of combatants to the total population was larger.

Military service was far more trying to the courage of the soldier in ancient than in modern armies. The time of his exposure in battle was briefer, but the danger was much greater. If in the front rank where the attack was made, he was within reach of the spear and sword of the foe, whose furious looks and movements he saw, and to whom or from whom he must give or take a fatal thrust.

Defeat often brought exile, slavery, or death to all the

citizens. When Messenia was conquered by the Spartans, all her captured freemen were slaughtered or enslaved. When the army of Sybaris was crushed by that of Crotona, the surviving Sybarites were sold into bondage and their city destroyed. Mycenæ, Tanagra, Thespiæ and Plataea were razed by their victorious enemies. When Athens was taken at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Thebans wanted to level it to the ground. The Athenians had previously banished, enslaved, or slain all the people of Scio, Melos, Ægina, and a considerable part of Eubœa. Poverty, exile, and bondage as well as death, were constantly staring at the Greek soldier.

While campaigning, the noble soldier was usually accompanied by a trusted slave, who, besides giving personal attendance to his master, served as a light armed soldier, and in emergencies took a place in the heavy infantry. As a class, the slaves in the armies were faithful to their masters, and not unfrequently they fought well. It never was the policy of any Greek state to encourage a slave rebellion in another state, even when the bitterest hostility prevailed.

We must imagine the nobles as originally the conquerors of the country, the lands of which they divided among themselves. The vanquished inhabitants were reduced to slavery. There were a few landless freemen, dependents and companions of the commanding officers, but nearly the whole population consisted of nobles and slaves. Gradually the proportion of commoners increased by the arrival of countrymen of the conquerors, either soldiers or laborers, by the immigration of alien traders, and by the emancipation of slaves.

The nobles considered themselves the nation, and for a

time they composed its army. They held the political power, and they must defend it. Their title to a share in the government was based on their service in its establishment and its maintenance. A man not ready to fight was not fit to rule. Equal in political rights, they were also equal in military duty. They elected their commander, who designated his subordinates; and thus public opinion controlled the army. They were a minority of the population, and they must always be on guard against the insurrection of slaves or subject free-men, as well as against foreign invasion. They must devote themselves to arms. Each had his suit of defensive armor which was so costly that in the early ages none save nobles could afford the expense. Their armor, their arms, their leisure, their habit of exercising in the use of their weapons, their frequent participation in campaigns, and their association with one another in the political assembly, contributed to that eminent tactical efficiency which had never been equaled before and was never surpassed afterwards.

SEC. 360. *Thorough Drill*.—The Greek nobles were the first to perceive the value of thorough military drill; and the first to make an extensive application of its principles. They made their infantry, armed with the spear, the chief department of their army, and required them to fight in close order, relying for victory mainly on their charge. The chariot was discarded as fit only for barbarians. Cavalry, bowmen, and slingers were used as auxiliaries and subordinates. The bow and the sling being unfit for close contact or for exact drill, were weapons for slaves and light armed troops. The archers, slingers, and cavalry of the Greeks were inferior to those of many Asiatic nations, but their heavy infantry had a vast su-

periority. A body of five thousand Greeks could confidently assail five times as many Persians, Egyptians, Babylonians, or Syrians, and cut a way through them in any direction.

The drill and efficiency of the Greek aristocrats were based on their governmental system. They must prove their nobility and right to dominion by valor in meeting their enemies and by fidelity in sustaining their friends. Their social pride and political interests were powerful stimulants in the face of danger. Cowardice meant disgrace, if not slavery or death. There was no such motive to impel the Persian or Babylonian to fight stubbornly. He was one of a vast multitude who had been trained, in a negligent way, to fight with long range weapons and to depend for success mainly on numbers. His political condition as an obscure subject of a despotic empire, furnished him with no motives of pride in the state, no sense of much personal responsibility. In the Vth and VIth centuries B. C. Persia, by the magnitude of its army, was the most formidable of military powers; and yet the Greek, comparing himself with the Persian soldier, could not fail to perceive his own superiority and to gain much of that self-confidence which is of vast importance to military efficiency.

The main lessons taught and practiced in Greek discipline were, that the soldier should be thoroughly familiar with his drill and with the idea that death is preferable to cowardice; that the advancing enemy must always be met with unbroken ranks, face to face; that every man must fight so as not to expose the person of his companion on either side of him; that all gaps must be closed promptly; that every man must know his precise place in every contingency; that the shield should never be

thrown away; that, no matter what the apparent danger, there must be no disorderly flight, nor easy slaughter for the victor; and that if death seemed certain, it should be awaited with composure, and with the determination to make the enemy pay for it dearly. These were the main principles of drill for all heavy armed infantry in the aristocratic, as well as in the later democratic, Greek states.

The best troops in Greece were those of the aristocratic states, especially those of Sparta, which were far superior to all others. In that city more time was given to drill than elsewhere, and more effort was made to maintain the spirit of the camp in ordinary life. Neither as fighters nor as marchers were the Spartans ever equaled. The self-sacrifice of Leonidas, and the march from Sparta to Marathon just in time to be too late—a hundred and fifty miles in three days—stand in history without their parallels. Next to the Spartans as soldiers were the Thebans, who owed their excellence to aristocratic teaching. The Athenians won victories more brilliant than any in the records of Sparta or Thebes; but they owed their triumphs less to superior drill than to excellence of strategy and to the intelligence, enterprise, and intense patriotism of their soldiery.

Thorough drill, close order, and reliance on the spear and the charge, introduced by the Greek aristocracy and carried by them to a development never surpassed, were practiced by Themistocles, Pericles, Epaminondas, Alexander, and by modern Europeans until long after the introduction of gunpowder into general use. The troops which understood them best were almost invariably victorious.

The characteristic weapon of the hoplite was a spear with a shaft of ash about nine feet long and a head of

steel a foot long. Not unfrequently he carried two spears, one to throw and the other to keep in his hand for the charge. He also had a short sword or long dagger not to be used until, in consequence of closeness of contact or for some other reason, the spear was no longer available. The shield, two feet wide and four long, was to protect the face, neck, body, and thigh, the leg below the knee being covered by the greave. The breastplate, to furnish additional protection to the chest, was of metal or of leather with strips of metal. A helmet of steel or bronze covered the head, and in some cases part of the face. The hoplites furnished their own arms, armor, and provisions, and served without pay. Those who were wealthy had slaves to carry their armor when marching at a distance from an enemy.

In modern times the bayonet succeeded the spear and was handled on similar principles, with similar results. At the critical time of the battle, the bayonet charge was the favorite movement with the best generals from 1600 till 1850; but the drill with firearms was never so thorough as that with spears. Opposing troops rarely crossed bayonets. Nearly always the soldiers on one side ran before the cold steel reached them. Never in modern warfare has there been a stubborn hand-to-hand conflict, much less an actual pushing of a battalion out of place by mere momentum, as often occurred in Greek and Roman warfare. Repeating rifles of long range have reduced the bayonet, close order, and the general principles of Greek drill to relative insignificance for the warfare of the future.

The fate of the Greek battle was usually decided by the conduct of the three or four ranks in front; and the observation of this fact led to the adoption of the rule

that under ordinary circumstances the files should be eight deep, so that a battalion of eight hundred men had a front of one hundred. The four foremost ranks would probably determine the result but they needed several others behind them to give them confidence, fill gaps, and attend to emergencies. It was important to have the line as long as possible for the purposes of attacking, and preventing attack, in flank. Short range weapons and defensive armor were adapted only for meeting an enemy in front; and with them there was far less facility of turning about to face a charge from the side than in modern warfare. Some of the most notable victories of the Greeks were won at one end or both ends of the line. The superior general allowed or encouraged the enemy to push their middle division forward, and then, assailing them in flank, threw them into helpless confusion.

SEC. 361. *Lycurgus*.—The leading aristocratic state of Greece was Laconia, called also Lacedæmon and Sparta, the last the name of its capital city. It was remarkable for the great influence which it exerted on other states; for having the most military of all constitutions; and for the long period through which it maintained its government without violent change, while surrounded by nations that went through many revolutions.

Laconia without Messenia, which was its subject province through three centuries, had an area of about twenty-five hundred square miles, equivalent to fifty miles each way, in the southeastern corner of the Grecian peninsula. It included many rugged mountains and several fertile valleys, but neither good harbor nor considerable seaport town. It was fenced off by mountains on the north and the west, and on the south and east

was bounded by the sea. By its poverty, as well as by its surroundings, it was protected against invasion, and under that protection, developed and preserved its singular institutions.

Against the extreme insecurity of property, freedom and life in early Greece, Lycurgus undertook to protect Sparta. He gave to its dominant class a military system that enabled them to defy any enemy then within their reach. He sacrificed everything else to martial efficiency. His citizens were cut off from every ambition save such as was necessarily connected with the life of a soldier. They could not become merchants, manufacturers, scholars, authors, artists, or genteel idlers. They were not permitted to travel in foreign countries, nor to admit many foreigners into their country. They had little opportunity to acquire foreign tastes or to learn foreign fashions. They could not dwell in elegant houses nor eat luxurious viands. Their life at home and in peace was similar to that while at war, amidst formidable enemies. The spirit of the camp accompanied them and governed them everywhere from the sixth to the sixtieth year.

Lycurgus had no ambition beyond that of protecting Sparta against overthrow by foreign or domestic enemies. He did not aspire to make them rich or learned or refined. He did not hope to lay the foundation of a large empire, nor to establish a state that should exercise much influence on the political institutions of neighboring countries, nor to frame a government that would develop free institutions. Having traveled without finding permanence or security anywhere, he felt that he ought to be content if he could obtain these blessings for his country.¹

In his project of establishing a military state always ready and competent to defend itself against any enemy known to him, Lycurgus was greatly aided by the geographical position and character of his country. It offered little plunder to invaders, and besides was in a remote corner of a mountainous peninsula garrisoned by a large military force which must be passed before Sparta could be reached.

After setting aside several considerable tracts for the revenue of the state, and others for the kings, Lycurgus divided the remainder of the land of Laconia into 39,000 farms, of which he gave nine thousand to as many noble families, and 30,000 to commoner families. The estates of the nobles were subjected to entail and primogeniture, so that they could not be divided nor taken from the chief male heir in the direct line of descent; and it was only the male proprietor of one of these tracts who was a noble, with a full share in the government. His younger brothers and their sons lived in his house, shared his military training, and perhaps fought by his side in war, and after his death, in case he left no son or grandson in the male line, had a chance to inherit his property and noble privilege. The nobles could not increase, and in consequence of their frequent wars they steadily decreased in number.

Lycurgus devised a government wonderfully original in its plan and successful in its purpose. He provided that the Spartans should not undertake more than they could accomplish. He made the scope of his constitution narrow, so that its methods should be effective. And when tested by time they proved successful. In the midst of the most severe trials, including the intense agitation of active political progress in the adjacent

states, of almost constant warfare with energetic and powerful enemies and of a largely preponderant number of discontented Helots, Sparta remained for five centuries without serious modification in its laws, without violent change in its rulers, without the occupation of its capital city by an alien enemy, and without a general insurrection of its bondsmen or subject freemen. Other law-givers did far more to develop the freedom, the intelligence, the commerce, the wealth, and the extended dominion of their people, but no other did so much for the permanence of political institutions and of inherited possessions.

SEC. 362. *Spartan Army*.—The Spartan constitution organized and maintained the best of all armies, by keeping every male citizen—that is, every noble; commoners were not citizens—in strict and severe training from his sixth to his sixtieth year; by making him familiar with privation, hardship and danger; by preventing him from adopting any habits, from acquiring any interests, and from being subjected to any domestic influences that would interfere with the highest military efficiency; and finally by surrounding him with a public opinion that would render life worthless to him if he were not a good soldier.

So soon as a boy was born, the state, by its officials, decided whether he could reasonably be expected to become a valuable citizen. If puny or deformed, he was exposed to die. At the age of six, he was taken from his mother and put into what may be called a camp. His food, his clothing, and his conduct were under the supervision of the state. He was drilled daily in gymnastics, in rhythmical movements, and in certain rude chants, which were considered valuable stimulants to the

martial spirit. He was taught to run, to jump, to throw the javelin, to wrestle, to box, and to steal. His clothing was the same in summer and in winter, and he often suffered with the extremes of cold and of heat. He was fed on coarse food, so scantily and with such little variety that he must often go hungry or find his meal very unpalatable unless he could add something to it by thieving, which was commendable, if managed without discovery, but was visited with disgrace and physical punishment when detected. At a festival he was subjected, at least once in his life, to a public beating with tough switches so severe that death was sometimes the result, and if he made any outcry or even flinched, he was disgraced.

He was not permitted to follow nor even to learn any industrial occupation. He must not till the soil, much less devote himself to the more dishonorable mechanical labor and traffic. He must not possess any coin unless of iron, but he might have gold and silver in the form of bars. The only tools to be used in shaping the woodwork of his dwelling were the axe and the saw. It was his duty to keep himself free from foreign influences; he must not marry an alien woman, he must not even sing an alien air.

The life of his home should approximate that of the camp. He must devote a large part of his time every day between his fifteenth and his fortieth year to military and gymnastic exercises. He must participate in two daily drills of his squad or company; he must know exactly what to do if his squad commander, or his comrade on either side, or the one before or behind him, or any or all of his squad or company, were slain or disabled. He was taught that he must never run from the enemy, nor,

unless expressly authorized by his commander, must he break ranks to plunder a defeated foe. He was trained to preserve his coolness in every emergency, and to consider death as welcome in preference to a violation of the established discipline. After his commander had selected a place for battle, he must never leave it except as a victor. This last was a general rule, but was doubtless subject to some conditions which have not been transmitted to us with satisfactory clearness.

Such strict subordination of the citizen to the state, and such thoroughness of drill, were never enforced in any other country, nor were any other soldiers ever equal to the Spartans. No others had a better combination of the physical and mental qualities required for military service; no others gave such strict and long-continued attention to discipline; and no others were compelled by the irresistible pressure of public opinion to conform themselves so strictly to military regulations. The soldier of Athens or Rome who threw away his shield and ran at his highest speed from the battle field might afterwards live at home in a certain kind of comfort. Though despised by the community at large, he would have the pity, sympathy, and protection of his family and their intimate friends. They would make allowance for the fact that some men are so constituted that they cannot composedly face the near approach of violent death by a sword already dripping with the blood of friends. But in Sparta there was no such indulgence. The father, the brother, and even the mother cursed the man whose cowardice was a discredit and a danger to the state. For him there was no welcome, no respect, no peace, no satisfaction. He was an outcast. Life was made intolerable for him. And not for him alone, but

also for the man who, after fighting bravely so long as resistance could avail, afterwards, in violation of the regulations or of the commands of his superior, saved his life, with the intention of risking it again whenever he could reasonably hope to do effective service to his country. Sparta did not allow the soldier to use his judgment in such matters. He must submit himself to the established rule.

For the purpose of keeping the fighting temper up to the highest pitch, Lycurgus not only required the Spartans of military age to attend two drills daily, but also to take their dinners in public messes of men of their own class, where they could neither have dainty dishes nor dangerous supplies of wine. The mess numbered fifteen men, and no person could be admitted without consent of all its old members. To this each contributed about twenty gallons of barley meal, six gallons of wine, four pounds each of pork, cheese, and dried figs, and forty cents in coin monthly. Messmates were allowed to bring in game which they had killed, and probably several other kinds of food might be contributed. The table of the mess was, however, very simple, and an Athenian who tried it, said he did not wonder that the Spartans were always ready to die. The chief dish was called black broth, made of barley meal, flavored with pork or pig's blood.

There is no better indication of the military spirit of the Spartan people than the manner in which the mothers treated their soldier sons. When a young man complained to his mother that his sword was too short, she said to him, "Add a step to it." Another, when giving his shield to her son about starting upon his first campaign, said, "Return with it or upon it." The soldier slain

honorably was brought home on his shield. After a Spartan regiment of six hundred men had been slain by Iphicrates, the fathers, brothers, and sons of the dead "strutted about publicly [in Sparta] with cheerful and triumphant countenances, like victorious athletes."¹

The self-sacrifice of Leonidas and his band is, and promises to remain forever, unequalled in any other nation, the legitimate result, the most glorious outgrowth, of the Spartan constitution. When the allied Greek army found that the pass of Thermopylæ could no longer be successfully defended against the Persians, they retreated, but Leonidas, the Spartan king in command, decided that he would remain and die, and he selected three hundred of his nobles to share his fate, and with them remained several thousand Helots, and eleven hundred Thebans and Thespians. The Spartans were not one-tenth of the little army which devoted itself to death, but they were its heart and soul, and they are often spoken of as if only they deserved mention. Not one of the Spartans present in the battle fled, sued for mercy, or survived, and, so far as is known, their Thespian and Helot companions all shared their fate. The Thebans sought and obtained mercy.

It so happened that Aristodemus, one of the three hundred Spartans selected by Leonidas, did not participate in the battle. Conflicting accounts are given of the reason for his absence. One says he was sick, and another that he had been sent away on an errand and could not return until after the Greeks had been surrounded by the Persians. It was known that he was one of the band appointed to die and that he continued to live, and those facts were sufficient to disgrace him at Sparta. His life was made so miserable that he demanded a posi-

tion at Plataea, where an honorable death would be certain, and he obtained it. The self-sacrifice of Aristodemus supplements and completes that of Leonidas.

In five centuries, the greater part of which time was spent in war, no Spartan army was captured, driven into hasty flight, or disgracefully defeated, and very seldom was one successfully resisted, unless by a considerably larger force, under superior generalship. In 425 B. C., the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, and more than three centuries after the establishment of the political system of Lycurgus, and after the military features of that system had been made familiar to the other Greeks, in numerous wars, a detachment of four hundred and twenty Lacedæmonian soldiers took possession of the islet of Sphacteria to prevent the Athenians from using it as a landing-place for their fleet. This islet, near the western shore of Laconia, was separated from the Peloponnesus by a narrow channel, probably not more than two hundred yards wide, but wide enough to give the Athenians an opportunity to use their maritime skill effectively in cutting off regular communication with the mainland, and thus besieging the Lacedæmonians, who had a very scanty supply of food, no fortification, no tools or mortar for building walls, no timber, and only one spring of fresh water.

The Athenian ships kept going up and down constantly day and night, on the watch for boats and swimmers, but could not prevent a few of the latter from reaching the islet in dark nights with little packages of provisions. The Athenians landed 10,000 men, brave, enterprising, and skillful, under an excellent commander, and yet, with more than twenty to one, they failed day after day, to capture or destroy the little hostile force,

until their Messenian allies got possession of a cliff overlooking the camp of the Lacedæmonians, who then surrendered.

The prisoners numbered two hundred and ninety-two—more than one in four of the original detachment having been slain. Among the captives were one hundred and twenty Spartans, and these, it may be said, were the only ones that counted. When the news of their surrender reached the cities of Greece, the astonishment, as Grote says, was “prodigious and universal.” It was the first time that so many Spartans had ever been taken alive in one body; indeed, it is the only time in hundreds of years of war that so many together ever did surrender. It was said, “The Lacedæmonians die but never surrender;” and this appeared to the Greeks not a mere boast, but an inviolable principle. The exultation in Athens and the depression in Sparta were equal to the astonishment in Corinth and Thebes. So humiliated, so discouraged, and so anxious were the Spartans to recover their one hundred and twenty captive citizens, that they who had before spurned the Athenian solicitations, themselves now begged for peace.

Near Corinth, in 390 B. C., a *mora*, or regiment of Spartan hoplites, was surrounded in an open plain by a much larger force of Athenian peltasts, who fought at long range with bows, slings, and javelins; and fled whenever the Spartans tried to come to close quarters. The hoplites suffered much loss and could inflict none in return; and would all have been cut off if a detachment of Spartan cavalry had not come to their assistance and aided their retreat. Out of the six hundred, four hundred were slain. Not one was taken prisoner; not one sued for mercy.

SEC. 363. *Spartan Government*.—The government was managed by the assembly, the senate, the ministry, and the kings. The assembly consisted of all the male nobles thirty years of age who had not forfeited their political privileges. It met in the market-place of Sparta, once a month regularly, and at other times if convened by order of the ministers. A king presided and submitted questions for decision, or, when occasion required, requested the nobles to elect senators or ministers. If a vote was to be taken on a resolution, no amendment or substitute was permitted. The assembly must adopt or reject in the form in which the question was proposed. Neither could the members generally make speeches nor motions; they were there to say aye or no and nothing more. The ministers, kings, sons of kings, and those whom a minister or king might request to argue the matter, and none others, could address the meeting. When the vote was taken, if the outcry was not plainly decisive, the voters were requested to divide, so that the numbers on each side could be seen and, if necessary, counted. In electing senators, all the candidates came forward successively, and the loudest outcry, as determined by a committee, who could not see the candidates, conferred the office. The assembly was the supreme authority in the state; it alone could declare war, make peace, enter into treaties of alliance, liberate any considerable number of Helots, elect ministers and senators, or decide disputed claims to the crown. It was not encouraged to hold long sessions, nor supplied with seats to make a long session comfortable, nor did it provide long orations to entertain the attendants. The rule was that the speeches must be few and very short. As the law and public opinion required that the noble should punc-

tually perform all political duties, we may presume that there was usually a full attendance at the assembly.

The senate had thirty members of whom two were the hereditary kings, and twenty-eight were nobles, at least sixty years of age, elected for life by the assembly. It was the duty of the senate to serve as an advisory council for the ministry, to try political and capital crimes, and to prepare business for the assembly. The senior king was the presiding officer.

The ministers, or ephors, five in number, were elected annually. They supervised all branches of the administration, managed the foreign and domestic affairs, controlled the size, the destination, and the command of the armies, and not unfrequently two of them accompanied a commanding king as his advisers. They could suspend any official, even a king, and bring him to trial before the senate. They convened the assembly, submitted questions to it, and had the privilege of addressing it. They were judges in courts of civil jurisdiction. The main responsibility of the government rested upon them; they gave vigor and efficiency to the administration. The brevity of their term, their desire to be re-elected, their liability to criminal prosecution at the end of the year for any misconduct, their obligation to consult the senate at every important move, the necessity of confronting the assembly of nobles every month and of guarding themselves against the jealousy of the kings, were securities that they would not endeavor to overthrow the constitution. And they never did. More than once they were its chief guardians against the treasonable designs of the kings. Under their rule the Spartans preserved a remarkable harmony. There was no division of the ruling class into two nearly equal fac-

tions more hostile to each other than to alien enemies, like the aristocratic and democratic factions of Corinth and many other Greek cities. This internal harmony of the Spartans is to be credited largely to the influence of the ministry.

The Spartan administration of justice was highly partial. The nobles had superior judicial as well as political privileges. They were seldom punished for any assault on a commoner, Helot, or alien, unless it endangered the public peace; and complaints of persons of the subordinate classes were in many cases not even considered. So long as a Spartan commander of a garrison in a subject city did not provoke a dangerous rebellion, the ephors did not call him to account for his crimes committed at the expense of the aliens under his control.

A Spartan noble could not be condemned to death without a trial, though it might be very brief, but persons of other classes were often executed without a formal accusation, by order of an ephor. Dorieus, a Rhodian, happening to be in Laconia when his city withdrew from the Spartan confederacy to unite with that of Athens, was executed because of his nationality, though there was no reason to believe that he had the least part in the action of Rhodes. On a former occasion this same Dorieus forfeited his life to Athens, and was taken before the Athenians to receive his sentence of death, but he was a distinguished athlete who had shed lustre on the Greek name by his victories at the Olympic and other international games, and the assembly granted him life and liberty.

Two kings, or priest-generals, each the head of a royal family, were the only hereditary officials in Sparta. With very little political power, they often exerted great

influence over the administration by means of their life-tenure, their hereditary character, their authority to interpret the auguries for national enterprises, and the almost absolute power which they held when in command beyond the limits of Laconia.

The duplicate royalty of Sparta, like the later duplicate consulship of Rome, was the remnant of a monarchy which had been deprived by the nobles, of its political power (though permitted to continue in the exercise of its sacerdotal and military authority), and hampered by the division of its functions between two hereditary officials, each the rival and counterpoise of the other.

In the military history of Greece, many of the Spartan kings were prominent figures, not because they were great generals but because they were at the head of great armies. Most of them were dull, commonplace men. As a commander not one of them was equal to their countrymen Brasidas; nor among them was there one that approached Themistocles, Pericles, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, or Timoleon in fertility of genius or admirable qualities of character. Though not one of them combined greatness in generalship with greatness in oratory and statesmanship, yet half a dozen of them made themselves infamous by treasonable designs against the constitution of their country, and by malignant hatred of the free institutions of other Greek states. Many acts of petty meanness towards other cities were committed by the Spartan kings, who were demoralized by the imaginary importance of their hereditary dignity.

SEC. 364. *Helots*.—Grote tells us that "it was a part of the institutions of Lycurgus (according to a statement which Plutarch professes to have borrowed from Aris-

tole) that the ephors should every year declare war against the Helots in order that the murder of them might be rendered innocent; and that active young Spartans should be armed with daggers and sent about Laconia, in order that they might, either in solitude or at night, assassinate such of the Helots as were considered formidable. This last measure passes by the name of Crypteia, yet we find some difficulty in determining to what extent it was ever realized." And again he says: "Sparta, even at the maximum of her power, was more than once endangered by the reality, and always beset with the apprehension, of Helotic revolt. To prevent or suppress it, the ephors submitted to insert express stipulations for aid in their treaties with Athens,—to invite Athenian troops into the heart of Laconia,—and to practice combinations of cunning and atrocity which even yet stand without a parallel in the long list of precautions for fortifying unjust dominion. It was in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, after the Helots had been called upon for signal military efforts in various ways, and when the Athenians and Messenians were in possession of Pylus, that the ephors felt especially apprehensive of an outbreak. Anxious to single out the most forward and daring Helots, as the men from whom they had most to dread, they issued a proclamation that every member of that class who had rendered distinguished services should make his claims known at Sparta, promising liberty to the most deserving. A large number of Helots came forward to claim the boon; not less than two thousand of them were approved, formally manumitted, and led in solemn procession round the temples, with garlands on their heads, as an inauguration to their coming life of freedom. But

the treacherous garland only marked them out for the sacrifice; every man of them forthwith disappeared,—the manner of their death was an untold mystery.”¹

Notwithstanding such occasional severe treatment of the Helots, they were generally submissive and faithful servants, and were not only trusted at home, but were trained as light armed soldiers to accompany their masters in foreign campaigns. At Plataea they were a large majority of the Laconian army, and at Thermopylae more than two thousand of them died with their masters, the most remarkable instance of servile devotion on record. The Thebans begged for mercy; the Laconian Helots did not. In no other army were the serfs so numerous as in that of Sparta, and in their many campaigns in Attica, Bœotia, Argos, Corinth, and Asia Minor, never once did the Helots go over to the enemy. The inference is that the custom of their country made bondage light for the great majority of them.

SEC. 365. *Spartan Policy*.—In the VIIth century B. C. the Spartans adopted and enforced the policy of prohibiting the maintenance of despotic government in any Dorian state of the Peloponnesus.¹ Their motive was not love of liberty but hatred of the political power that supported the despot. They considered the nobles as their natural allies, and the enemies of the nobles as enemies of Sparta. To expel a despot and restore an aristocracy to power was a method of extending their influence and securing allies.

But in those places where they could not maintain an aristocracy strong enough to be of service to them, they were always ready to establish a despot or an oligarchy. After the close of the Peloponnesian war, when they were at the height of their power, they had an excellent oppor-

tunity to show their feelings in reference to the government of allied and subject cities; and they established a little oligarchy, composed of ten men, in every Greek city of the Ægean islands and of Asia Minor. These decemvirs selected for subservience to Sparta were everywhere tyrannical and unpopular, and they contributed much to make the subject cities long for the restoration of the milder Athenian dominion. The Spartans were unjust towards their stronger as well as their weaker allies. After the close of the Peloponnesian war, Lysander had about \$500,000 in coin contributed by Cyrus to aid in crushing Athens. This money and the booty taken in the war, belonged to all the states which had conducted the war in alliance; but Sparta kept all for herself.

It might have been supposed that men bred in a discipline so severe, accustomed to diet and clothing so simple, and taught with so much care to devote all their energy and ambition to the art of war, would, when they triumphed in foreign lands, abstain from the rapacity and arrogance common among conquerors never subjected to such training. But as a matter of fact, the Spartan kings and other commanders were the most arrogant, rapacious and corrupt of the Greek conquerors. As a class they brought detestation on themselves and on their country. They were lustful and venal. Pausanias, who held the main command at Plataea as regent, and Lysander, who inflicted the final and crushing defeat on Athens in the Peloponnesian war, both adopted Persian manners, and undertook to betray their country to Persia. These are the basest treasons in Grecian history; crimes unapproached by any high official of Athens, Bœotia, or Corinth. King Pleistyonax was convicted of receiving foreign bribes and driven into exile. Cleandri-

das was executed, and Thimbron and Pasippidas were banished for treason, all generals. Cleonymus, heir to the throne, was excluded from it, and then offered to aid Epirus in conquering his country. Astyochus, Anaxibius, Aristarchus and Gylippus, Spartan generals, were corrupt, and in addition Aristarchus was basely treacherous. Phœbidas, a Spartan general, was fined by the ephors for his seizure of the fortress of Thebes, a friendly city, but they kept possession of the stronghold. In this list the offenses of king Pausanias, executed for treason, and of King Cleonymus, who assassinated the ephors in 226 B. C., are not counted, because the former was condemned unjustly, and the latter did what he believed would be a benefit to his country.

In the multitude and baseness of these crimes by high officials, this list is unparalleled in any other Greek state, and the evidences against the accused are strong in every case. The guilt of regent Pausanias and of Lysander is proved beyond a doubt. The Spartan courts which were not inconsiderate and irresponsible mobs, condemned them all. In Athens, the greatest political crimes were committed by the mob-like juries, in Sparta by kings, generals, and ephors.

The maintenance of the constitution without notable change and the preservation of domestic peace for five centuries appear the more remarkable after we have observed the decrease in the number of the governing class. The long and fierce wars in which Sparta was involved, her numerous sanguinary battles, the gradual exhaustion of wealth, the extinction of many families and the impoverishment of others, reduced the noble rulers from nine thousand in the time of Lycurgus to one thousand in the time of Aristotle and to one-third of that number

in the following century. Meantime, the number of commoners and slaves remained about the same in Laconia proper, from which its province of Messenia was liberated in the time of Epaminondas, after having been subject to Sparta for three centuries.

Of the domestic history of Sparta we know very little. From the time when the political institutions of Lycurgus were adopted, about the middle of the IXth till the IIIrd century, B. C., the constitution was preserved without notable change. During the last two centuries of its existence, it was greatly hampered by the influence of the Macedonian empire, but it continued to control the internal affairs of the country. The greatest disasters led to no revolution. One of the nearest approaches to a change in the constitution was the adoption by the assembly of a resolution that the nobles who had retreated from the field of Leuctra, should not be dishonored or disfranchised. That such a resolution should be necessary to save the credit of an army which had fought with desperate courage and owed its defeat entirely to the superior generalship of Epaminondas, is one of the best evidences of the unequalled martial spirit of the Spartans.

The Spartans succeeded in training themselves into an army of unequalled discipline, but that was the whole extent of their success. They originated no political idea of value to other nations; they rendered the continuous improvement of their descendants impossible; they fettered education and art; they contributed no great poem, oration, history, statue, or temple to the wealth of the world. They produced no great statesman of the first rank like Themistocles, Pericles, or Epaminondas; no man of sublime moral character like Aristides, Socrates, Epaminondas, or Timoleon. They knew how to die, but

not how to live. Their training made magnificent brutes, but odious men. Felton says that "their constitution was an outrage on human nature."

It has been said in praise of Sparta that she did not ostracize her leading statesmen. But she did not educate such men at home. "She produced, at most, four eminent men,—Brasidas, Gylippus, Lysander, and Agesilaus. Of these, not one rose to distinction within her jurisdiction. It was only when they escaped from the region within which the influence of aristocracy withered everything good and noble, it was only when they ceased to be Lacedæmonians, that they became great men. Brasidas, among the cities of Thrace, was strictly a democratic leader, the favorite minister and general of the people. The same may be said of Gylippus at Syracuse. Lysander in the Hellespont, and Agesilaus in Asia, were liberated for a time from the hateful restraints imposed by the constitution of Lycurgus. Both acquired fame abroad, and both returned to be watched and depressed at home. . . . The Spartans purchased for their government a prolongation of its existence by the sacrifice of happiness at home and dignity abroad. They cringed to the powerful; they trampled on the weak; they massacred their Helots; they betrayed their allies; they contrived to be a day too late for the battle of Marathon; they attempted to avoid the battle of Salamis; they suffered the Athenians, to whom they owed their lives and liberties, to be a second time driven from their country by the Persians, that they might finish their own fortifications on the Isthmus; they attempted to take advantage of the distress to which exertions in their cause had reduced their preservers, in order to

make them their slaves; they strove to prevent those who had abandoned their walls to defend them, from rebuilding them to defend themselves; they commenced the Peloponnesian war in violation of their engagements with Athens; they abandoned it in violation of their engagements with their allies; they gave up to the sword whole cities which had placed themselves under their protection; they bartered for advantages confined to themselves, the interest, the freedom, and the lives of those who had served them most faithfully; they took, with equal complacency and equal infamy, the stripes of Elis and the bribes of Persia; they never showed either resentment or gratitude; they abstained from no injury and they revenged none." 2

SEC. 366. *Greek Despots*.—The VIIIth century B. C. witnessed a great decline in the social influence and military preponderance of the nobility in Greece, a necessary result of the development of trade and the rise of the middle class. Many of the nobles had become poor, and many of their free subjects rich. Among the hoplites there were more commoners than aristocrats. Most of the men who maintained the state on the battlefield resented their exclusion from a share in its government. With the increase in their number, wealth, and military value, the commoners rose in their estimate of themselves. They were irritated by the class tyranny and insulting social exclusiveness to which their fathers had submitted as if of divine authority. They demanded the rights of sharing in the government, intermarrying with the nobles, and communing with the city gods. The aristocrats treated their demands with scorn, and the commoners stored up their wrath until chance offered relief from the detested oppression. The opportunity was often made by some discontented and ambitious noble,

who declared himself the friend of the commoners, and with their aid overthrew the aristocracy and established a despotism on its ruins. He favored the multitude to whom he owed his place; he taxed, if he did not plunder and decimate, the nobility who were his enemies, usually scheming for his overthrow. In no Greek city did the nobles, as a class, become the declared adherents of a despot, though there were states in which they ceased to offer any active opposition. It was reported that when a young Greek despot sent to an older one for advice in the art of government, the latter led the messenger into the garden where there were poppies in bloom, and with a switch cut off all the tallest heads. That was his reply.

Even when the commoners detested a despot, they preferred his rule to that of the nobility. He claimed to be their friend. He did not insult them. The victims of his spoliation and outrage were almost invariably the nobles. He began his career by flattering the rabble. In express terms or by implication he promised to protect the poor against the rich. This, says Aristotle, was "the course of Pisistratus in Athens, of Theagenes in Megara, and of Dionysius in Syracuse."¹ There were cities in which the despots slew many nobles, and divided their property among the commoners, who would then of course make the most bitter resistance to the restoration of the aristocracy.

The usurper never united the sacerdotal with the political headship. A man previously at the head of the city worship never seized the despotic power; and the priesthood could not be seized violently. Public opinion would not tolerate usurpation in that direction. The hereditary priests of the city continued to perform their sacerdotal duties under the despotism as before its estab-

lishment, but usually, as they were nobles, without any special devotion to the despot. Having no priestly office, his person was not sacred, and his son had no recognized right of succession. Nor did any dynasty of despots hold its place for as long as two centuries in any Greek state.

Many cities submitted to despots either before or after, or both before and after, bitter struggles between the nobility and the commonalty for the control of the government. The earliest despot to gain a prominent position in Greece was Cypselus, who, in 655 B. C., became master of Corinth, which was the first Greek community to acquire an extensive commerce, and the first to build up a wealthy middle class, impatient of the rule of old nobility. His power was transmitted to his son Perian-der, a man of such repute for wisdom that he was counted as one of the seven wise men of his nationality. Under his rule, Corinth acquired a political power greater than it ever held before or after his time. Its dominion was then acknowledged by Corcyra, Ægina, Epidaurus, Ambracia, Lucas, and Anactorium. Soon after the son of Periander succeeded to the throne, the nobles re-established the aristocracy, and in the subsequent confusion the subject states established their independence. They never returned to their old subjection. The dynasty of Orthagoras reigned over Sicyon for a hundred years, and the city never was more prosperous or powerful. Its most famous ruler was Cleisthenes, the grandfather of the distinguished Athenian statesman of the same name. Pittacus of Mitylene was one of the most amiable of despots. He was distinguished for "a probity superior to the lures of ambition," and for "a conscious moderation, during the period of his dictatorship, which

left him without fear as a private citizen afterwards.”² Polycrates, of Samos, was a very famous and powerful man in his time (he died in 522 B. C.), so powerful that the Persian emperor could find no better way to master him than by treacherously luring him away from his city. Under his rule Samos reached its highest prosperity. In the last quarter of the VIIth century B. C. Theagenes was despot of Megara, which then was more powerful than ever before or afterwards. Some of the Sicilian cities had despots distinguished for their literary and artistic tastes, as well as for great wealth and military power. When the preponderance of Macedon became a continuous menace to the isolated Greek cities; when the want of some kind of federal union was felt more keenly than ever before; and when the Achæan league offered an acceptable nucleus, several despots whose names will be mentioned hereafter, resigned their power to advance the interests of their respective cities and of Greece.

Considered as a class, the despots of the Hellenic nationality were remarkable for ability of administration and generosity to partisan enemies. They stimulated the arts, beautified and enriched their cities, extended their dominion, and treated submissive subjects with liberality. They did much to cure the nobles of exclusiveness and insolence; and to teach them to fraternize with the commoners, without whose aid there was little hope of overthrowing the despotism. This subjugation of the nobility was an important step in the political education of the Greeks. It prepared the way for democracy, as the aristocracy had prepared the way for a liberal despotism.

CHAPTER XXII.

ATHENS.

SECTION 367. *Theseus and Draco*.—In the regular course of its development, the polity of the Greeks began with hereditary monarchy, advanced to aristocracy, and ended with democracy. All their states passed through the first two of these stages, some never reached the last. The usurping despotism, which, in many cities, separated aristocracy from democracy, had a beneficial influence in breaking down the line of separation between nobles and commoners; and it should perhaps be counted as the third of the main steps in Greek political progress.

In tracing this growth, we find its best exemplification in Athens, which, after passing through the three earlier stages, originated democracy, carried it to the highest development known to antiquity, illustrated it with the most splendid achievements in many departments of life, and preserved the best record of the manner in which its reforms were adopted. In these respects, Athens is pre-eminent among Hellenic cities, so far above all others that she stands out in conspicuous solitude. For several centuries, her political history was the history of polity.

Of the 500,000 inhabitants of Attica, in its most prosperous period, about 200,000 resided in Athens; and the remainder were nearly equally divided between the seaport towns (Peiræus and Munychia) and the rural dis-

tricts. The seaports were five miles distant from the capital, and their inhabitants, mostly sailors and laborers, included a considerable proportion of thriftless and homeless freemen, who, by their distance from the capital, as well as by their occupations, were prevented from habitually attending the meetings of the assembly, and from having much political influence.

According to local tradition, there was a time when Attica consisted of twelve independent states, each under its own petty chief or king. When Theseus was the sovereign of Athens, he brought all these chiefs under his dominion, and transferred them from their little capitals or citadels to Athens, where he made them nobles; if they preferred to remain in their old homes or to return to them for permanent residence, he allowed them to preserve their citizenship in Athens, and to enjoy all its rights as if they dwelt within the city walls. This was a liberality unknown to any other Greek city, the universal rule elsewhere being that the man who dwelt beyond the walls of the city had no share in its government. Theseus gave to the people of Attica an equality of political right that contributed much to the subsequent power of the state. He also welcomed to Athens numerous political exiles from other parts of Greece, and admitted them to citizenship, with a liberality unexampled elsewhere. "With them," says Grote, "the city acquired an abundance of noble forces and a variety of forms of religion, which were hereditary in the different houses. From this period dates the many-sidedness of Hellenic culture, the attention to foreign customs and inventions, the desire of acquiring knowledge and experience, and of domesticating at home every progress of Hellenic civilization."

Freeman considers this consolidation of Attica by Theseus as "the beginning of the political history of mankind." He says: "Whether this great event was owing to force or to persuasion, to some happy accident or to long-sighted political wisdom,—whether we see in it the gradual result of predisposing causes, or attribute it to the single genius of some nameless statesman of an unrecorded age,—in any case it stands forth as one of the foremost events in the history of the world."¹

At that time the government of Athens was similar to that depicted in Homer. There was a king without definite limit to his power; under him a class of wealthy and influential nobles whom the king sought to conciliate; beneath them were the commoners, peasants, and artisans; and the lowest class were slaves. The nobles were divided into three hundred and sixty clans, each of which had its common clan name, common descent in the male line, common worship, common sepulchral rites, and mutual obligations of defense and vengeance. The commoners and slaves had no worship and no domestic gods.

In the late period of the monarchy, one of the kings proved incompetent to lead his army, and the nobles in their council (which met on the Hill of Mars, or Areopagus, and was therefore called by that name) elected a polemarch, or general, who held his office for life and became a rival of the monarch in power.

The last king was Codrus, who, about the middle of the XIth century B. C., sacrificed himself in a heroic manner to save his country. Tradition says that because of his exalted merit, no other person was considered worthy to succeed him, and therefore his office was abolished; but another story says his sons quarreled among themselves about the succession. Whatever the cause of the

change in the form of government, an aristocracy was established. The political head of the government, called an archon, elected for life from the descendants of Codrus, exercised great power under the supervision of the Areopagus. In 752 B. c., after the archonship had been held for life through nearly three centuries, its tenure was reduced to ten years; in 714 B. c. all nobles were declared eligible to it; and in 683 B. c. its duties were divided among ten archons who were elected annually. The first archon was the political chief; the second was the priest of the state; the third was the polemarch, or military commander; and the other seven were their ministry. After the close of their annual terms, the archons became members of the council of Areopagus for life; and this body had general supervision of the administration, army, and finances; and was also the high court of the state. Its organization and jurisdiction were copied in the Roman Senate. Like the latter, it was devised to include nearly all those men who had held the highest executive offices of state by popular election, and who by their experience were most worthy of being intrusted with the charge of the government. We may presume that questions of peace and war and the elections of archons were left to the assembly of nobles.

About 621 B. c., under circumstances of which no account has been preserved, Draco reformed the constitution. He overthrew the old nobility, and established a new one based on money. He conferred exclusive citizenship on those freemen, natives of Attica, who had a full suit of armor. He restricted the political power to those who served in the cavalry or heavy armed infantry, and who provided their own military equipment. He provided that the state should be ruled by those who

sustained it on the battle-field. No one could hold office until he was thirty years old; nor could anyone be archon unless he had property to the amount of \$180; nor general unless he had \$1,800. The citizens were divided into three classes; first, those who had an annual income equivalent to seven hundred bushels of barley; second, those of four hundred bushels; and third, those of two hundred and fifty bushels. The freemen whose income was less than two hundred and thirty bushels were considered unable to provide themselves with heavy armor, and were subjects, not citizens.

The nobles met occasionally in an assembly, which presumably elected archons, polemarchs, and treasurers, and decided questions of peace and war. Those who failed to attend were fined in amounts which varied for the three classes. Aristotle tells us that Draco established a senate of four hundred members, but says nothing of its functions. By his silence on that point, he justifies a suspicion that his report of the existence of such a body under Draco, is incorrect. There does not seem to have been any room for a senate until the Arcopagus was deprived of its legislative and administrative authority.

SEC. 368. *Solon*.—The constitution of Draco did not establish harmony among the people. It satisfied neither the rich nor the poor. It did not disturb the old law of enslavement for debt, which offended public opinion. It irritated the nobles, who owned most of the land and exacted as rent five-sixths of the crop from the poor tenants. The result was a civil war, which suggested the need of a political reform. At this time the most prominent citizen of Athens was Solon, then about sixty years of age, a man of middle social station, but of eminent reputation for eloquence, knowledge, and integrity. He

had been a successful merchant and in that capacity had seen many foreign lands, and observed the institutions of many nations. He was also a distinguished poet, and could write so effectively that, after his countrymen had decided to give up their claim to Salamis, from which they had been driven by Megara, his verses impelled them to make another effort in defense of their rights. Then, dropping the business of poet for that of military commander, he led the Athenians in war and regained Salamis. Such talent and such services, combined with his wealth, and his repute for knowledge and integrity, pointed him out to his fellow-citizens as the one man competent to save his country.

To many persons it seemed that the best remedy for the prevalent political evils would be the establishment of a despotism; and Solon had the popularity, the genius, the courage, the integrity, and tact that would probably have made it successful and beneficent. Many of his friends urged him to assume despotic power, and when he refused, lamented what they called his folly and madness. His refusal, doubtless, added greatly to his influence with the nobles, and induced them to accept him as their law-giver, though otherwise they would probably have made strenuous objections. This was in 590 B. C.

Solon had a project, great far beyond his perception of its value, the idea of a democratic government, in which every freeman should have equal political rights, and should have an equal opportunity and stimulus to educate himself to the fullest development of his natural capacity. He could not carry out this idea in his system of constitutional reform, among a people bred under the influence of ignorance and class oppression, but he might give it a start on the field of human life. And

this is what he did. He established a democracy in Athens, the first in time, the most brilliant in history. The political power which he found in the exclusive possession of the nobles, he communicated to the free-men. He abolished nobility as a political institution, though he allowed it to remain as a social institution. He created the popular assembly, or mass meeting of the citizens, and transferred to it the legislative power, the supervision of the administration, the control of the finances, and the exclusive authority to declare war and to make peace.

He maintained the classification of citizens made by Draco on the basis of income; and admitted only men of the first class to the positions of polemarch, treasurer, and archon. Men of the second class could hold office, save the three highest, and must serve in the army and in the cavalry, providing their own horses if so required. Men of the third class could hold subordinate offices and must serve as hoplites or heavy armed infantry, and provide their own arms and armor. Men of the fourth class were disqualified for office, and must serve in war as light armed troops.

SEC. 369. *Athenian Assembly*.—Solon's most important measure was the establishment of the popular assembly, to which he gave exclusive control of peace, war, legislation, finance, and general administration. In this body, which was the most prominent feature of the government, until the final overthrow of the Athenian democracy, every citizen had an equal vote. To it every official owed obedience; and to it he was directly or indirectly responsible for the proper performance of his duties. He either instituted the senate or converted it into a committee and agent of the assembly. He es-

tablished the first jury, which contributed much to the influence of the poorer class of citizens in the government.

By creating the popular assembly, senate, and juries, and transferring to them much of the authority previously held by the Areopagus, Solon greatly reduced the importance of that body, to which he left jurisdiction to try certain crimes, including that of sacrilege, and perhaps some civil suits, and also to prepare or correct the census and the lists of candidates admissible to certain political offices.

The exclusion of the Areopagus from direct participation in legislative and administrative business, as the associate and counselor of the assembly, was a serious political blunder. As a collection of the men who held their positions for life and had served in most of the high executive and judicial offices, it possessed a large combination of experience and capacity. Indeed, if the ex-polemarchs and ex-treasurers had been added to the ex-archons, the Areopagus might have become equal in its knowledge, political wisdom, and steadfast policy, to the Roman senate, which was established three-quarters of a century after the reform of Solon.

The Athenian senate, in its functions, was entirely unlike the Roman senate, or any modern senate. It was not a legislative body. Its consent or participation was not necessary to the validity of any law. It was not a separate "house." It was a mere committee, or satellite, of the popular assembly, in which all the senators had votes, and which all were expected to attend.

Besides establishing the general assembly, Solon organized tribal assemblies, which, among other duties, selected candidates for the archonship and senatorship;

and from these candidates the officials were drawn by lot.¹ After the drawing, the names were submitted to the Areopagus, which could cancel any selection and order another name to be drawn in its place. The lot was considered a divine decision, and the official chosen by it did not regard himself as exclusively indebted for his place to any political party.

The prominence of lot in the selection of officials is a noteworthy feature of Solon's constitution. It gave so much satisfaction that it was retained as long as Athens remained democratic, and it was copied by various other democracies of ancient Greece, and also by medieval Venice. It was not an unlimited trust to chance. It never placed men grossly ignorant or stupid or notoriously corrupt in high office. It was limited to relatively few nominees. Out of more than 10,000 Athenian citizens, forty were nominated for the archonship, and from these forty, nine were taken by lot.

SEC. 370. *Citizenship Dignified*.—Besides giving to every citizen not tainted with crime a right to an equal vote in the popular assembly which exercised the highest functions of sovereignty, Solon greatly increased the number of citizens by enfranchising many aliens who were merchants and manufacturers in Attica, profiting by its increasing industry. This liberality added to the harmony of the population and to the power of the state. It was in accord with a similar measure adopted four or five centuries earlier by Theseus.

While conferring on every freeman a right, he also made it his duty to participate in the government. In case of any insurrection he required the citizen openly to take one side or the other, and if necessary to fight for it. He who remained neutral, who waited until the

uncertainty and danger had passed before he declared himself, was not fit to be a citizen of Athens. He was disfranchised.

He abolished enslavement for debt, a law that had prevailed extensively in Greece for the benefit of the nobles who had been the owners of the land as well as the masters of the government. When these nobles leased or sold their lands, they reserved the right of enslaving the purchaser or tenant who failed to pay his debt, and not only him, but also his wife, his child, and the unmarried women of his family, such as sisters in his household. This kind of personal security was pecuniarily profitable to the noble but degrading to the commoner. Solon considered it irreconcilable with the spirit of democracy and abolished it. He liberated a large number of slaves who, for debt, had been reduced to bondage. He also abrogated the law which permitted a father to sell his child into slavery. He lightened the burden of debt resting on many of the poor by a measure not clearly described. He established systems of coins, weights, and measures to supersede the conflicting foreign standards previously accepted. After his time, and perhaps because of his teachings, Athens was distinguished by a pure coinage and by regard for vested interests and fidelity to explicit contracts.

Government and religion as conceived by the Greeks were inseparable. The state was under the protection of a local divinity, who was the guardian of every legitimate official and of every noble. Under the hereditary monarchy, the nobles had also their ancestral or household divinities, which were the celestial subordinates of the god of the state. The commoners and slaves had no gods, and no share in the state worship, and when a free-

man was enslaved or exiled, he was deprived of his gods as well as of his citizenship. The godless condition of the commoners, the same in the aristocracy as under the monarchy, led the nobles to resist, with the greatest bitterness, the early attempts of the commoners to obtain any share of political power. Solon remedied this evil or part of it by instituting religious rites for all those citizens who had none previously. By admitting them into the communion of the gods, he gave a higher dignity and a kind of sanctity to the newly enfranchised freemen.

He aspired to make Athens a maritime power, and for that purpose divided Attica into forty-eight naval districts, each of which had to build and man a trireme, and keep it and its crew in condition for immediate service. This was the beginning of the fleet of Athens, and though for nearly three quarters of a century it did nothing considered worthy of record in the books that have come down to us, like Solon's democratic reform, it proved to be the foundation of a great system.

He stimulated the manufactures of Attica. He forbade the exportation of any agricultural produce save olive oil, which was superabundant, and in such high repute throughout Greece that it yielded a large profit. Athens had already become noted for commerce and manufactures. She imported grain and salt fish, some quadrupeds for food, and wool and flax for clothing. By taxation and shipping laws he favored the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactures, and he did much to make Athens the leading commercial city and naval power of Greece.

He sought to take the stigma of dishonor from poverty and toil. He offered the citizenship of Athens to

those foreigners who should come to remain as permanent residents and to follow some branch of manufacturing industry. He encouraged native citizens to work by a law that, in his helpless old age, the father could not demand support from a son to whom he had not taught some profession.

"It is interesting to notice the anxiety, both of Solon and of Draco, to enforce among their fellow-citizens industrious and self-maintaining habits; and we shall find the same sentiment proclaimed by Pericles at the time when Athenian power was at its maximum. Nor ought we to pass over this early manifestation in Attica, of an opinion equitable and tolerant towards sedentary industry, which in most other parts of Greece was regarded as comparatively dishonorable. The general tone of Grecian sentiment recognized no occupations as perfectly worthy of a free citizen except arms, agriculture, and athletic and musical exercises."¹

SEC. 371. *First Jury*.—Solon established a jury, the first institution of the kind known to history. He gave to public opinion, as represented by the mass of freemen, a share in the administration of justice. His jury numbered from one hundred and fifty to five hundred men, thirty years old, and was drawn by lot from the freemen of a senatorial district, after the list had been subjected to censorial supervision for the exclusion of disreputable persons, who had not been deprived of citizenship. The jurisdiction of the jury as organized by Solon is not clearly stated by any author, and was perhaps limited to political crimes, the class of cases in which it was most important that public opinion should be consulted, and in which the archons, who, in the time of Cleisthenes and for a generation after him, were almost invariably of

noble blood, could not render decisions against partisan enemies without subjecting themselves, and the administration which they represented, to suspicion. A judge who exercises exclusive and final jurisdiction over suits involving the fortunes and lives of his fellow-citizens, rarely escapes without numerous accusations of inconsiderate action, partiality, social prejudice, partisan animosity, or corruption. Such complaints may become the sources of serious disturbances when they are made in regard to political offenses, and divide the people into two hostile masses of nearly equal force. The best remedy for this danger, the best method of relieving the officers of the government from such responsibility, is to throw the burden on the people themselves. That is what Solon did.

One jury of five hundred was drawn annually from each senatorial district, and shortly before the trial was to begin, a lot decided which jury should sit in any special case. The litigants and their agents had no opportunity to have secret meetings with persons known to be members of the jury that was to try the case. The hearing opened in the morning, and the verdict was usually rendered before the close of the day. Although the full jury was five hundred, yet it was not necessary that all should attend, and in many suits there were not more than two hundred jurymen. Whatever the number, a majority of one sufficed to render a valid verdict. This could not be set aside or reversed by any authority, and was the judgment of the court of last resort. The jury sat under the presidency of an archon, who had no authority to try without a jury, even at the request of the litigants; to determine the admissibility of evidence; to punish litigants, witnesses, jurymen, or spec-

tators for contempt; to adjourn the hearing; or to give instructions in the law to the jury.

Left to the guidance of their impressions, the juries were greatly influenced by their passions, prejudices, partisan friendships, and animosities. Their large number made them excitable and disorderly. Their selection by lot secured a considerable proportion of ignorance, inexperience in public business, and folly. No person was allowed to plead save the litigant, but he might recite a speech written for him by some professional rhetorician; he could bring his weeping wife and children before the jurymen, and say anything that would gain their sympathy for him or awaken in their breasts hatred of his opponent.

As there was neither a complex system of technical procedure, nor a legal profession, nor an elaborate statement of law in any department, the general management of a trial was entirely different from that usual in modern courts. Written records, the sifting of evidence under strict rules, and discussion of the applicability of ancient statutes or codes to the special circumstances of the case under consideration, occupied a very small place before the Athenian dikasts, as the jurymen were termed. With them nearly everything depended upon plausible statement, sympathetic appeal and testimony that to a man trained in the law would seem unworthy of being heard. The courts became schools of rhetoric and eloquence; and soon no man was considered well educated unless he could talk well in public, and thus be prepared in case of emergency to plead his own case, whether civil or criminal, in the courts.

Speaking of the Athenian juries, Grote says: "But whatever may have been their defects as judicial instru-

ments, as a stimulus both to thought and speech, their efficacy was unparalleled in the circumstances of Athenian society. Doubtless they would not have produced the same effect if established at Thebes or Argos; the susceptibilities of the Athenian mind, as well as the previous practice and expansive tendencies of democratical citizenship, were also essential conditions,—and that genuine taste of sitting in judgment and hearing both sides fairly, which, however Aristophanes may caricature and deride it, was alike honorable and useful to the people. The first establishment of the dikasteries is nearly coincident with the great improvement of Attic tragedy in passing from Æschylus to Sophocles. The same development of the national genius, now preparing splendid manifestations both in tragic and comic poetry, was called with redoubled force into the path of oratory, by the new judicial system. A certain power of speech now became necessary, not merely for those who intended to take a prominent part in politics, but also for private citizens to vindicate their rights, or repel accusations in a court of justice. It was an accomplishment of the greatest practical utility, even apart from ambitious purposes; hardly less so than the use of arms or the practice of the gymnasium. Accordingly, the teachers of grammar and rhetoric, and the composers of written speeches to be delivered by others, now began to multiply and to acquire an unprecedented importance, as well at Athens as under the contemporary democracy of Syracuse, in which also some form of popular judicature was established.”¹

Besides the influence of the jury in stimulating the art of oratory, and the education of the young men of wealthy families, it had another and a very important beneficent

effect, in making the people familiar with public affairs and public men. Many of the more important lawsuits were connected, in one way or another, with the conduct of the government, and could not be decided without hearing witnesses and speakers who had much to say about politics and the political history of Athens and of Greece. The courts became schools for adults. While preparing to decide the rights of others, the jurymen were taking instruction in their duties as citizens. The more acute among them—and these were numerous enough to give character to the whole community—became noted for their argumentative disposition, their skill in disputation, their generous reception to distinguished dialecticians, and their liberal patronage of the founders of the leading systems of Greek philosophy.

“As to the effects of jury trial, in diffusing respect to the laws and constitution, in giving to every citizen a personal interest in enforcing the former and maintaining the latter, in imparting a sentiment of dignity to small and poor men, through the discharge of a function exalted as well as useful, in calling forth the patriotic sympathies, and exercising the mental capacities of every individual, all these effects were produced in a still higher degree by the dikasteries at Athens; from their greater frequency, numbers, and spontaneity of mental action, without any professional judge, upon whom they could throw the responsibility of deciding for them.”²

“The public and frequent dikasteries . . . opened to the Athenian mind precisely that career of improvement which was best suited to its natural aptitude; they were essential to the development of that demand out of which grew not only Grecian oratory, but also, as secondary products, the speculative moral and political

philosophy, and the didactic analysis of rhetoric and grammar, which long survived after Grecian creative genius had passed away.”³

SEC. 372. *First Democracy*.—The three main original measures of Solon were, first, the establishment of the popular assembly, in which all freemen had an equal vote, as the supreme political power; second, the creation of the jury; and third, the abolition of slavery for debt. These measures had, so far as we know, never been previously tried by any people. His encouragement of immigration was also a novelty in government. The admission of aliens to citizenship had doubtless been tried in many cities, and was one of the reforms of Theseus in the days of the Athenian monarchy.

A democracy is a government in which the supreme authority is the majority of freemen, and in which every high political office is conferred directly or indirectly by popular vote. If this definition be correct, then the constitution of Solon was truly democratic, notwithstanding the fact that it recognized the legality of slavery, required a property qualification for office, and allowed the rich men, or nobles, to have a preponderant influence in the administration.

The political system established by Solon may be called a direct or immediate democracy. With some modifications it became the model of all other ancient democracies. It was direct because the people exercised all the legislative authority directly. They did not select any body of men to make laws for them. They had no legislative representation, no house of deputies or senators whose consent was necessary to the enactment of any law. Direct democracy is practicable only in small states, and it exerted a great influence in maintain-

ing the political divisions and the military weakness of Greece.

Having completed his scheme of political reform, Solon submitted it to the people in 594 B. C. They accepted it and elected their officers under it, with him as first archon, and published it by inscribing it on pillars; but it did not work smoothly. The officials and the people were not educated to it, and many of the nobles made as much trouble as possible. Solon was called on so frequently to explain and to interfere, that at last his patience was exhausted, and he left Athens; not, however, until he had called together his fellow-citizens and exacted from them a formal promise that they would not change any of the main features of his constitution until after a lapse of ten years. He traveled in Egypt, Cyprus, and Asia Minor; and, after having been absent for an unknown length of time, returned to Athens, where he remained till his death, which is supposed to have occurred about 558 B. C.

These laws remained in force for thirty-two years, and, after being partially suspended for half a century, while Pisistratus and his sons held despotic power, were again restored to full force, and under the leadership of Cleisthenes, Aristides, and Ephialtes, were amended to give greater political privilege to the poorer classes of citizens. Solon not only laid the foundation, but erected a large part of the superstructure, of this most popular form of government, and from him all other framers of democratic constitutions have learned most of their lessons and derived most of their encouragement.

SEC. 373. *Pisistratus*.—Although the constitution of Solon was strong enough to maintain its existence, it was so weak that it failed to prevent frequent and serious dis-

turbances. Its main defect was that it accepted the old tribes, which were aggregations of clans, and these latter were under the control of the nobles, who were the enemies of democratic institutions. The nobles, however, could not unite their forces, but divided into two parties, one the faction of the west and the other that of the south. Arrayed against them both, was the party of the poor, comprising the mountaineers of the northeast and the laborers of Athens. One day in 560 B. C., while the popular assembly was in session, Pisistratus, the leader of the party of the poor, seated in his chariot, drove into the market-place, called out that assassins had tried to kill him because he was a friend of the people, exhibited some wounds, which he said they had inflicted on him, and appealed to the multitude for protection. The assemblage voted that he should have a body guard of fifty men armed with clubs. After a few weeks swords were substituted for clubs; then the number of men was increased; then Pisistratus seized the citadel, and finally he assumed despotic power, though he observed the forms of the constitution. His adherents controlled the assembly; his servants occupied the offices; his orders were obeyed in all the acts of the government.

But his tenure of power was short. The two hostile parties of nobles united their forces, and, seeing that he was not strong enough to resist them, he went into exile. Soon the two parties of nobles quarreled about the manner in which the government should be administered, and neither was strong enough to preserve public order. Then the leader of the one noble faction, that of the south, made a league with Pisistratus, and the latter drove into Athens in his chariot, with a large and handsome woman, dressed as the goddess Athena, at his

side, followed by a troop of his adherents, and preceded by heralds, who called out, "Athenians, give a cordial reception to Pisistratus, whom Athena honors above all men, and whom she brings back to her acropolis." The nobles of the west were not prepared for this emergency, and perhaps many of them, in their ignorance and credulity, really believed that the woman in the chariot was the goddess of the city. They made no resistance, and Pisistratus regained his power. His alliance with the nobles of the south soon came to an end, and again he went into exile. After an absence of ten years, he returned with an armed force, routed the troops sent against him, regained possession of the city, and then held it till his death. He now kept a Thracian body guard, as if he could not put full reliance in Athenians, even those of the party who had been his adherents for many years. He had a long reign, thirty-three years, including those spent in exile. It was a prosperous period for Athens. Pisistratus was a mild and generous despot. He preserved the forms of the constitution, fostered trade, patronized art and literature, pursued a policy of peace, and spared the money of his subjects, as well as the blood of his political opponents. He employed a number of scholars to prepare a correct edition of Homer, and this commission did their work so well that the high value of their services was recognized throughout Greece. Their edition was never superseded. Pisistratus founded the quadrennial Panathenaic festival, which recurred in the third year of every olympiad, and became the greatest national festivity of Athens. After his death, in 527 B. C., his sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded and ruled jointly until the latter was assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Then Hippias began to rule with

cruel severity, and thus made himself hateful to the multitude, and encouraged his enemies to resort to active measures for his overthrow. The Alcmeonid family, who had been at the head of the nobles of the south when Pisistratus made his first appearance in politics, were the leaders of the opposition, and they included men of wealth, talent, and energy. The chiefs of this family had taken a contract for \$575,000 to rebuild the temple of Delphi after it had been destroyed by fire in 548 B. C., and they made the building vastly better than the terms of the agreement required. They built the front of the best white marble, instead of using the coarse sandstone designated in the specifications, and in other points they acted with equal generosity. As the temple of Delphi had a Panhellenic character, and was indeed the chief seat of the Panhellenic sacerdotal authority, and as the cost of the new building had been collected by subscriptions in all the Hellenic cities, the liberality of the Alcmeonids was not only known, but was gratefully acknowledged everywhere, and nowhere more emphatically than among the priests in Delphi.

When the tyranny of Hippias had become disgracefully severe, when the public sentiment at Athens was so hostile to him that his overthrow was a matter of certainty, though its date could not be foreseen, and when the Alcmeonid nobles, whose ancestors had been banished for sacrilege, had become the leaders of the movement to expel the tyrant, then the priests of Delphi imposed on Sparta, the leading military state of Greece, the duty of liberating Athens. Whenever a Spartan applied to the Delphic oracle for advice, the first reply was, "Athens must be liberated." Such commands often repeated impelled the Spartans to send an army against Hippias, and

after a defeat he went into exile in 510 B. C., and Athens was free.

SEC. 374. *Cleisthenes*.—Under the rule of Pisistratus and his sons, the administration was conducted in accordance with many of the requirements of Solon's constitution. The tribal assemblies elected as candidates for archons the persons suggested by the despot. These archons rarely summoned the assemblies save for the annual elections, and then submitted little business to the people for their consideration. Thus the proceedings at these gatherings came to be perfunctory, as the influence of the despot, supported by the desire of the citizens generally to preserve public order, was sufficient to secure an overwhelming majority for his candidates. If violence and cruelty had been necessary to defeat his enemies, he would probably have used them, but he, as well as his opponents, preferred peace. Thus the forms of a democratic constitution were observed, while its spirit was violated.

After the expulsion of Hippias, the Solonian constitution was again administered in accordance with its spirit. Two political parties contended for the control of the government; one led by Isagoras and the other by Cleisthenes—both nobles. Having been defeated, the latter proposed a series of constitutional amendments, which commended themselves to the judgment of his fellow-citizens, and were adopted. According to Herodotus, "he took the people into partnership with him." The reforms of Cleisthenes were progressive in a democratic direction, they increased the powers of the popular assembly, and decreased those of the nobles and rich men. They assumed that the Athenian freemen, as a class, could be intrusted with more power than Solon

thought a century before he could safely confer on them. And subsequent events proved that Cleisthenes was right, as Solon probably was in his time. The interval between the two reformers had added much to the political education of the Athenians.

The chief measure of Cleisthenes was the abolition of the clan as a political division. He found the state a collection of clans; he made it a collection of citizens. Before the adoption of his reformatory measures, the clan was a powerful political, as well as social and religious, organization. It claimed the highest allegiance of the Athenian; it authorized his adoption into a family; it protected his life; it enabled him to participate in the most sacred public worship; it led him into the battle-field; it avenged his death; and it gave him a burial that secured his rest in the life to come. The obligation of mutual defense, which rested on the fellow-clansmen, was the chief protection of human life. It gave to the clan a great hold on the affection of the people, and it was the source of traditional sentiment which remained potent long after the state had assumed much of the duty of guarding all its citizens.

Every clan had a common cemetery at the tomb of its ancestor; there every clansman must worship, and there he must be buried. Thus it may be said that each clan had its separate religion. The common worship of the clan was paid to the founder of the clan exclusively, and did not in any manner interfere with the family worship paid by the citizen to his deceased father and grandfather at his domestic altar.

The head of a Greek clan was always a man, the woman had no substantial place in the organization. The wife was adopted into it; the daughter belonged to

it temporarily; she was expected to leave it for transfer to the clan of her husband. The blood of the clan passed exclusively through the husband; the mother was to the child what the field is to the grain, simply the place where it grows. The son who slew his father broke the allegiance of his clan, and committed sacrilege as well as crime; he violated a religious as well as a political obligation. Not so the son who slew his mother, his act was criminal but not sacrilegious. As the blood of the mother did not pass to her children, so there was no legal obstacle to the marriage of the half-brother and half-sister born of the same mother.

As the clan was a political body, it was also originally a distinct military body. It formed a squad or a company, and its commanding officer was its hereditary chief, who, however, had to give way as discipline improved, to officers selected on the ground, not of seniority in the clan, but of military efficiency.

The idea, that the man's highest political allegiance was due to the head of his clan, had not disappeared in historic Greece, though in many states it had been much weakened by the feeling of intense devotion to the city. The system of retaliation had been abandoned, but clansmen—though in certain cases friends who were not clansmen could act—were required to become complaining witnesses, and if they remained silent, the officers of the law had no authority to take notice of crimes in so far as they injured individuals.

The constitution of Solon confirmed or recognized the older laws and customs which required the Athenians generally to vote and fight, as well as to worship and marry under the direction of the clans. But in the elections, the numerous naturalized citizens and their de-

scendants who did not belong to those organizations, had little influence. And even the poorer citizens, as a class, were under the control of the wealthy nobles who were the heads of the clans, and kept a close supervision of the conduct of their subordinates, exerted a constant pressure upon them, and thus dictated the policy of the state. Although the form of the government was democratic, the nobles had so large a share of political power that the people lacked confidence in themselves, and showed little of that eminent public spirit which soon afterwards became their glorious characteristic.

Cleisthenes destroyed the political influence of the clan. He abolished the four tribes or collection of clans into which the Athenians had previously been divided. For governmental purposes he arranged the people into new classes, based not on blood, but on territory. He established thirty townships or demes in Attica; and after arranging them in three classes, of city, interior and seacoast, he took one from each class to form a district, which became an important political organization. The district elected fifty senators, a general (who was also one of the ministry), a treasurer, an auditor, and a tax collector. It furnished a regiment to the army and elected its colonel. It had so much to do that, very soon after its establishment, the old tribe and clan as political influences were forgotten. Comprising a township in the city, another in the interior, and a third on the seacoast, with considerable intervening distances in many cases between these subdivisions, the new senatorial district was not controlled by any interest of occupation or neighborhood. Its representatives felt that their main duty was to labor for the advancement of the whole state, not of one of its parts. Among the results of these changes

was a great decline in the political influence of the nobles.

Almost as important as the political extinction of the clan was the constitutional amendment proposed and carried by Cleisthenes, that the popular assembly must hold a regular meeting at least once in nine days. Under the system established by Solon, the only regular meeting was that held for the annual election; the others were held under special call. Besides the forty regular convocations in a year, there might be as many special assemblies as the ministry should see fit to summon. The frequency and regularity of these gatherings led to the custom of bringing nearly every political question of any note before the people for their consideration and action; with the result that the multitude gradually became familiar with all branches of governmental affairs.

With the increasing importance of the assembly, the senate, its committee, became more prominent. The senators were increased in number from four to five hundred, and, instead of being taken from the four tribes, as they had been, Cleisthenes provided that they should be chosen by his new districts. Of these each selected fifty senators, who were called a prytane, and were divided into five sub-prytanes of ten senators. Each sub-prytane had charge of the acropolis for one week, during which period all its members dined there every day in what was considered a sacred meal, with such persons as were the guests of the city, including triumphant generals and victors at the Panhellenic or Athenian games. The keys of the acropolis were intrusted for each day to a senator selected by lot from his sub-prytane. The prytane met every day. No business could be brought before the senate except by its own order or that of one of its pry-

tanés. In the selection of senators from the tribes, lot was used, how we do not know, but we may presume that the choice was limited to not more than two or three hundred men, each of whom had the repute of being worthy of senatorial office. The Athenians were a proud people, they wanted no criminals or clowns to represent their city at the communion of their guardian goddess.

The result of the frequent meetings of the senate was that that body obtained charge of all the public business to be submitted to the assembly, preparing everything in such a manner that the multitude should be enabled to act intelligently at short notice.

The ministry, consisting of ten generals, was elected annually, one by each of the ten tribes, and had the management of military, naval, and foreign affairs, under the direction of the assembly. The ten elected a general-in-chief, or president, who was practically the head of the government, though the law gave him no distinctive title, no pay, and no exclusive authority. The treasury, taxes, and financial income of all kinds were managed by a board of ten treasurers, elected annually, one by each tribe. This board elected one of its members to be chief treasurer. The public buildings, fortifications, and temples belonging to the state were under the control of a superintendent. The same person might be chief general, treasurer, and superintendent for year after year, and it was by being clothed with all these offices for a succession of terms that Pericles was enabled to control every department of the Athenian Government during the last years of his life, acting always in accordance with the letter and spirit of the national constitution, and sustained at every meeting of the popular assembly by the majority of the voters.

In after times, and perhaps under Cleisthenes, commands were distributed by the assembly to the generals soon after their election. One was assigned to the chief direction of the Athenian armies sent into foreign lands; another to the defense of Attica against invaders; a third to the charge of the harbor of Munychia; a fourth to Peiræus; and so on. Each district elected a colonel to command its detachment of infantry, and of two cavalry colonels, each was at the head of the horsemen of five districts.

Besides the ten treasurers, there were ten auditors, who had general supervision of the revenues, public offices, temple-grounds, mines, and other state property; ten tax collectors, who made reports to the auditors; ten custodians of sacred places; ten police commissioners; ten market masters; ten commissioners of weights and measures; ten state attorneys; thirty court commissioners to draw juries and assign cases to courts; and five road masters. All these held office for one year; and there were ten festival superintendents, whose term was four years, and whose chief duty was to manage the Panathenaic celebration, the great national festival of the Athenians.

The office of archon was preserved, but was greatly reduced in importance, by being deprived of all authority in military, naval, and foreign affairs, and of its exclusive judicial authority for the trial of small crimes. It was the duty of the archons to preside at jury trials, and they continued to hold jurisdiction in misdemeanors and in certain civil cases, to preside in the popular assembly, and to exercise a general supervision over various details of administration.

Ostracism was a semi-judicial procedure devised by

Cleisthenes for the purpose of getting rid in a constitutional manner of men like Pisistratus before they acquired strength enough to establish their power. When it was adopted, the greatest danger for Athens was supposed to be the possibility of a restoration of the despotic government. A majority of the intelligent citizens might be fully satisfied that some ambitious man in their midst was scheming to overthrow their free government, and yet, as he had committed no crime, they could do nothing legally to check the execution of his plans. They could obtain no proof of his criminal intention until after he had struck his blow, and had either succeeded or failed in an attempt to establish a despotism. Cleisthenes provided them with a method of protecting themselves. He enabled them to banish the man suspected of plotting against the state. He required no evidence, nor even an accusation. In the preliminary proceeding, he would not allow the mention of any crime or person. In every prytany, or period of five weeks, the senate was required to consider whether the safety of the state required a vote of ostracism, and if so, to fix a day. That was all that the officers had to do, until the votes were to be counted and the result declared. The people did the rest. The senate had no authority to arouse public passion by asserting the existence of any special plot, or of directly or indirectly accusing any person of being at the head of such a plot. It could not limit the ostracism to any person selected as a proper victim. Whenever, at such an election, six thousand ballots written on oyster shells or potsherds bore the name of any one person, he must go into exile for ten years, without loss of citizenship or property, and at the end of his term he could return with all his rights.

This was a device as wise as it was original, but it failed of its purpose for the reason that the amendments of Cleisthenes gave such a feeling of unity to the people, and such a strength to the government, that from being the greatest of dangers, despotism became one of the least. Ostracism was maintained in force for three quarters of a century, and in that time ten persons were banished under its provisions. Of these the first was Hipparchus, a member of the family of Pisistratus, suspected of plotting to aid the restoration of Hippias; the second was Aristides; the third, Themistocles; the fourth, Cimon; the fifth, Thucydides, son of Melesias (not the historian); the sixth and seventh were the two grandfathers of Alcibiades; the eighth, ninth, and tenth, men of no prominence or political influence, but unpopular for social reasons. The last victim of ostracism was a music teacher, and soon after the vote against him, the Athenians generally became so much ashamed of the manner in which this measure, designed to protect the state, had been abused to gratify petty spite, that they loudly expressed the opinion that ostracism had outlived its usefulness. They did not repeal it, but they allowed it to fall into disuse.

Only three men of much political power were ostracised, and these—Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon—were statesmen, eminent for ability, patriotism, and public service. While in exile, Aristides and Cimon labored so efficiently for Athens that each was recalled by a vote of the popular assembly; and Themistocles would doubtless have acted in the same manner if he had had an opportunity.

The conception and effective introduction of these measures entitle Cleisthenes to one of the highest places

in the list of political reformers. He abolished the clan as a political body, and the tribe as an aggregation of clans; he ordered frequent and regular meetings of the assembly, thus enabling that body to exercise its authority effectively; he reorganized the senate, and provided for a daily meeting of one of its sections, thus imposing on it a large amount of committee work in preparation for the assembly; he introduced ostracism as a check to plotters for despotism; he established the board of ten generals, with commands in the army and navy, and with supervision over foreign affairs; and he reduced the authority of the archons by transferring much of it to the generals, and the assembly. His amendments were numerous, original, and highly serviceable to the cause of constitutional freedom. They infused a new life into the government, and gave a new stimulus to the people. They developed the institutions which Solon had founded; they made Athens the most democratic of the Greek democracies. Solon had said that he considered his constitution incomplete; he had adopted, not the political system which suited him best, but the one which he believed to be best adapted to the Athenian people as they were in his time. His work was continued by Cleisthenes, and will be continued in the same spirit so long as free government shall have a place on the earth.

SEC. 375. *Isagoras*.—Of the share of Cleisthenes in devising the constitutional amendments attributed to him; of the order in which, or precise dates when, they were adopted; of the circumstances under which they were proposed; and of the distinguished individuals who gave their support to the reformer, we have no information. Neither do we know whether they were all enacted before the first interference of Sparta.

By bitter opposition to Cleisthenes and all his amendments, Isagoras had made himself extremely unpopular; and seeing no hope of his own return to power under the new condition of political affairs, and perhaps believing that democracy was the road to national ruin, he applied for help to the Spartans. They gave their aid to Isagoras; they detested democracy; they detested Cleisthenes, because he was the head of the Alcmeonid clan which had induced the Delphic oracle to expel Hippias from Athens; they detested him because, though a noble, he had devoted his talents to a policy of innovation and democracy; and they detested Athens because she was rapidly rising in wealth, credit, and power towards the first place among the cities of Greece.

With such motives for action, Sparta sent an army under King Cleomenes, who entered Attica unexpectedly, and was allowed to take possession of the Athenian acropolis without resistance. The government seems to have had no idea that he came with a hostile intent. Having established himself in the position which enabled him to assume the tone of a master, he banished seven hundred leading democrats—Cleisthenes had previously gone into exile—declared the constitution abolished, established an aristocracy, and designated three hundred friends of Isagoras as the rulers of the state. The Athenians who knew that Isagoras and others of their fellow-citizens had come with the Spartans, and who had submitted quietly, supposing that no serious harm was meant, had scarcely heard the last words of the decree of Cleomenes, as proclaimed by the crier, before they rushed to arms, threatened all the adherents of Isagoras and of the Spartans with death, showed that all save an insignificant and powerless minority were determined to

maintain their democratic constitution, besieged the acropolis, and compelled Cleomenes, who had laid in no stock of provisions, to solicit leave to retire from Attica. With him departed Isagoras, who then disappeared forever from history.

Cleisthenes and the exiled democrats immediately returned and prepared for war with Sparta. One of the precautions of Cleisthenes was to send messengers to Darius soliciting protection and promising submission to the Persian emperor. This embassy was sent without authority or knowledge of the popular assembly, which, resenting the unauthorized assumption of power as well as the proposed subservience to the barbarian oppressor of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, disavowed the prayer and promise of the embassy to the Persian monarch. Thus Persia was offended when war with Sparta was expected; and at the same time the Athenians accepted the prayer of Plataea for protection against Thebes. Athens, which had been only a third-rate military power, found herself defying the three most formidable states within her reach.

Within a few weeks Sparta, with her Peloponnesian allies, and also Thebes and Eubœa, took the field. The last two intended to act in conjunction, but the Athenians defeated each of them separately. The Peloponnesian army fell into discord and broke up. The Spartans, being too few to accomplish anything by themselves, returned to their own country, where they called a council of their allies for the purpose of collecting a large army, with which Athens could be crushed. In this council, Cleomenes, seeing that aristocracy could not maintain itself in Athens, proposed that Hippias, the expelled despot, should be restored to power, as the person most

competent to curb the Athenian democracy, and as a person to whom the Spartans owed a restoration, after they had been tricked by a bribed oracle to expel him from his throne. This proposition to states, all of which had either aristocratic or democratic governments, that they should establish a despotism in a free Greek city, was received with general dissatisfaction.

The Corinthian ambassador Sosicles thus gave vent to his indignation: "Surely heaven and earth are about to change places,—the fish are coming to dwell on dry land, and mankind going to inhabit the sea,—when you Spartans propose to subvert the popular governments, and to set up in the cities that bloody and wicked thing called a despot. First try what it is, for yourselves, at Sparta, and then force it upon others if you can; you have not tasted its calamities as we have, and you take very good care to keep it away from yourselves. We adjure you by the common gods of Hellas, plant not despots in her cities; if you persist in a scheme so wicked, know that the Corinthians will not second you."¹

This speech was decisive. The shouts of approval with which it was received by the allies indicated clearly to Sparta that she could expect no aid, and might encounter serious opposition, from those who long had been, and still wished to be, her friends. In mortification and discredit she abandoned, for a time at least, all designs against Athens, while the latter adhered to her reforms, consolidated them, and rose rapidly in wealth and power.

SEC. 376. *Persian War*.—Great as has been the influence of war in all ages, on the condition of mankind, hitherto we have found no connected story showing

clearly how an international conflict has had an important effect on the advance of culture. Indeed, we may say that hitherto we have found no history. We have discovered evidences of industry, art, society, polity, and religion, lists of kings, boasts of their victories, praises of their piety, and lamentations for their wickedness, but no comprehensive statement of the leading events in the order of their occurrence, with the causes that led up to them. We know that the Quichuans conquered and disciplined many savage nations in South America; that the Aryans introduced a higher culture into Hindostan; and that war contributed to give China, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and Persia their power and prominence in ancient times. If, however, we look for clear information about the manner in which war exerted any notable influence on the progress of mankind before the Vth century B. C., we shall seek in vain. The historical details have been lost. Nothing has been preserved to us save myths, fictions, and facts without significance.

But in Greece we have connected accounts of wars, precise statements of their causes and progress, with indications of the manner in which political wisdom and martial discipline gave success; how cowardice, stupidity, and slackness in political and military relations, led to national ruin; how the energetic nations obtained control of the most desirable countries; and how the dross of humanity was burned out in the fires of battle.

The first war of much culture-historical importance described in history was that undertaken by Persia to conquer Greece. In the VIIth century B. C. the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor became subject to Lydia, and after the overthrow of Cræsus, to Persia. They paid an annual tribute, and occasionally supplied men and ships to

the army and navy, but were allowed to enjoy a considerable degree of freedom in their city governments, under their own laws and customs. The emperor designated one of their fellow-citizens as a despotic ruler, and required him to preserve peace and order. If he failed, another Greek was appointed to the place.

These Hellenic subjects of Persia were the best soldiers in the empire. In courage, military discipline, activity, energy, and military genius, it was admitted that they were superior; relatively few as they were, they probably could have preserved, and, at any time, could have regained, their independence, if they had combined their forces under a harmonious federal government of their own nationality. But they could not combine. Each city stood by itself; and if it occasionally gave a little aid to some of its neighbors, did not succeed in establishing a systematic and general concert of action. The Persians controlled a great force, which the isolated Greek cities were unable to resist.

In 499 B. C. the Ionic cities in the Persian empire, under the lead of Miletus, revolted and appealed for aid to the leading military power of Greece. But Sparta was unwilling to aid the suppliants, and she told them to go to Athens. There a favorable hearing and assistance were granted, but the expedition sent was entirely inadequate to the occasion. The Athenian troops made a raid far inland in Asia Minor, and burned Sardis, its provincial capital, but were compelled to retreat, and then were cut to pieces. The result of their expedition was that the imperial power acted with more energy and anger than before; that the rebels were crushed; that they were treated with a severity unexampled in their previous history; and that the emperor Darius deter-

mined to punish the Athenians for their interference. Years elapsed before he could restore order in his own dominions, and, meanwhile, for fear that his wrath should be forgotten, he ordered a servant to remind him three times at every meal, by repeating, "My Lord, remember the Athenians."

The first expedition of Darius against Athens was dispersed on the coast of Thessaly by a storm; and the next one, in 490 B. C., comprising 110,000 infantry and cavalry, landed at Marathon, where, in the middle of the previous century, the people had been devoted adherents of Pisistratus, and where his son Hippias, who accompanied the Persians as guide and adviser, with the expectation that he would be re-instated as despot of his native state, hoped to find the same support that had been granted to his father. But he did not understand the effect of the constitutional amendments of Cleisthenes. The people about Marathon had changed their feelings towards despotism and the family of Pisistratus. They had become devoutly attached to their democratic government. Without aid from the residents, Marathon offered little attraction to the Persians, and they had presumably embarked their cavalry,¹ and were embarking their infantry, to sail along the coast to a point nearer to Athens, when Miltiades, commanding an Athenian army of 11,000 men, including one thousand from Plataea, having been posted for ten days on a neighboring mountain, suddenly charged the invaders and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Both sides were astounded. The Persians expected to meet desperate courage in their enemies, for they had met it among some of the Asiatic Greeks, but they had no experience and no conception of such high discipline and military ferocity as that of the men under

Miltiades. That they who were considered invincible in Asia, even when contending with greatly superior numbers,—that they, the Persians, with 110,000 infantry and cavalry, and with 120,000 sailors, should be defeated in open daylight, at a place which they had selected for an encounter, by only 11,000 Greeks,—that was indeed a wonder and a great discouragement. The Athenians were surprised by their victory, by the military inefficiency of the enemy, whom they had feared greatly, and by the smallness of their own loss,—less than two hundred men.

The Persians returned without delay to Asia, and, after hearing the news from Marathon, Darius could remember the Athenians without the help of a slave to repeat their name at every meal. He adhered to his purpose of conquering Greece, and made preparations on a grand scale for the difficult task, but before they were completed, he died, bequeathing them to his son Xerxes.

Ten years after Marathon, Xerxes marched into Greece with an army at least fivefold greater than that sent by Darius, accompanied by a fleet proportionately large. Thessaly, Thebes, and several small states near Bœotia, submitted to the invader; the Argives remained neutral; the nobles of the aristocratic states generally wished to see the destruction of Athens; and the Delphic oracle, perhaps because of hostility to the democratic spirit, predicted ruin to that city.

The Spartans, who were threatened with the same subjugation as the Athenians, called upon their allies to join them in meeting the enemy north of Bœotia. Under command of their king, Leonidas, they took their stand in the pass of Thermopylæ, with an army, including Arcadians, Corinthians, Thespians, Phocians, Locrians, Phlians,

and others, about 60,000 men. Among the "others" were four hundred Thebans, who were regarded rather as hostages than allies. There were no Athenians, because they had all become sailors or were soldiers in their fleet; and Ægina, Megara, Sicyon, Epidaurus, and Eubœa, not represented in the land force at Thermopylæ, contributed to the navy.

It was supposed that the army of Xerxes could not march into Greece by any road save that through the pass of Thermopylæ, which was not more than thirty yards wide, with a wall thrown across it, so that a few hundred men might there resist the advance of thousands. There Leonidas probably would have checked, worn out, and demoralized the enemy, if a Greek traitor had not led a force of the Persians over the mountains to the rear of Thermopylæ, so that the pass was no longer tenable. Then Leonidas dismissed nearly all his army, but remained with three hundred Spartans, seven hundred Thespians, two thousand Helots, and four hundred Thebans. There they fought, and, after inflicting great loss on the invaders, all, save the Thebans, who sued for mercy and obtained it, there died.

The other Spartans and their allies returned to their homes or to the Isthmus of Corinth, where preparations were made to check the Persian march. The Athenians, unable to offer any efficient resistance by land to the invasion, without aid from their allies, who refused the help, were compelled to send away their families and domestic animals to various places of refuge, to abandon their city, which had no walls suitable for defense, and to go aboard their ships. Xerxes entered the city, burned and desecrated its temples, captured the acropolis, and seized such treasures as had been left there. His great army was

with him, and his fleet, including twelve hundred triremes and more than twice as many transports, in the adjacent waters; and there very near them were the three hundred and eighty triremes of the Greeks (two hundred of them Athenian), the only Greek force in sight. This fleet was under the command of the Spartan, Eurybiades, who did not feel at home on the water nor want to fight at a distance from the land force of his countrymen. He had the bravery of a soldier without the capacity of a general. At one time he was controlled by the reasonings of Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, who wished to fight without delay, and at another by those of the Corinthian admiral, who wanted to move the fleet to the Isthmus. After finding that Eurybiades was about to give an order for the departure of the fleet, Themistocles went to the trireme of Eurybiades, and told him that to move away from Salamis was to leave Athens to final destruction. If the Athenians could not be protected in Attica against the Persians, they would go aboard their fleet, and emigrate to some island in the west, where Persia could not reach them. This led to a new council, a long debate, and a postponement of final action. Then Themistocles sent a message to Xerxes that the Greek fleet was preparing to escape from the bay of Salamis by its southern entrance; whereupon a strong detachment of Persian ships was sent to close that channel. The next morning, September 20, 480 B. C., when the Greeks of the fleet saw that they must fight, they accepted the situation and determined to become the assailants. The Athenians took the lead, as if they were confident of victory, and the others followed with equal courage though less hope. The Greeks proved that their superiority on the sea was as great as on the

land. The Persians lost one-fifth of their ships, and the remainder, though three times more numerous than those of the Greeks, sought safety in flight. Salamis became as glorious as Marathon, in Greek history.

Xerxes was disheartened and frightened by the defeat, which had occurred under his own eyes, for when he knew that it was to begin, he took his station on a promontory so near to the bay of Salamis that he could see the battle distinctly. Without delay, he ordered his army to retreat to Bœotia, where he left 300,000 men under Mardonius, while he hurried away to Asia. The news of his defeat preceded him. No adequate stores were provided for the large army that accompanied him; no great fleet was ready to wait upon him, as when he marched out in the spring. Hunger, disease, and cold destroyed great numbers of his troops; and those who reached Asia were demoralized.

SEC. 377. *Platæa*.—Mardonius spent the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring prepared for a march to the southward. His army was much larger than that of the allied Greeks, and was especially superior in its cavalry, which usually decided battles in Asia, but had had no opportunity yet to make itself felt in Greece. Besides his Asiatic cavalry, he had large detachments of good horsemen among his Thessalian and Theban allies. He had an abundant supply of gold to foster the discord, which usually prevailed among the Greek cities. And then he counted much upon negotiation. He did not wish to drive the Greeks to desperation, nor to impoverish their country. He was willing to allow them a large degree of local freedom, under the dominion, perhaps rather the protection, of Persia. He tried to convince them that he would deal gently with them, and that he wished

to be their friend. He appealed to the Thessalians and Bœotians, with whom, while he remained among them, he and his troops maintained the most kindly relations, at least with the ruling classes. He also called attention to the fact that when the Persians occupied Attica in the previous year, they had spared most of the vines, fruit trees, and dwellings.

Such were the ideas and arguments with which, in the spring of 479, Mardonius sought the alliance of Attica, using as his messenger a Thessalian prince, who stood high in favor with the people of Athens. The prince said that if the offer should be refused, Mardonius would again occupy their city, since the Spartans had plainly shown that they did not intend to protect any state north of the isthmus. The Athenians could not defend themselves by land without the help of the Peloponnesians, and it would be better to enjoy life as a tributary city under the Persian empire than to be in constant worry and frequent dangerous warfare as a weak, independent city.

When this embassy became known to the Spartans and their Peloponnesian allies, it filled them with consternation. It seemed so reasonable that they expected its acceptance, and if accepted, and the Persians established in Attica, aided by the Athenian fleet, by Athenian generalship, and by the habitual discord of the petty Greek states, there would be no hope for the maintenance of their national independence. The Spartans sent an embassy beseeching Athens to remain true to the cause of Hellenism and freedom. The reply was prompt and emphatic. It said:—

“Not all the gold that the whole earth contains—not the fairest and most fertile of all lands—would bribe us

to take part with the Medes and help them to enslave our countrymen. Even could we anyhow have brought ourselves to such a thing, there are many very powerful motives which would now make it impossible. The first and chief of these is the burning and destruction of our temples and the images of our gods, which forces us to make no terms with their destroyer, but rather to pursue him with our resentment to the uttermost. Again, there is our common brotherhood with the Greeks, our common language, the altars and sacrifices of which we all partake, the common character which we bear. Did the Athenians betray these, of a truth, it would not be well. Know then, if ye have not known it before, that while one Athenian remains alive, we will never join alliance with Xerxes. We thank you, however, for your forethought on our behalf and for your wish to give our families sustenance, now that ruin has fallen on us. The kindness is complete on your part, but for ourselves we will endure as we may and not be burdensome to you. Such, then, is our resolve. Be it your care with all speed to lead out your troops, for if we surmise aright, the Barbarian will not wait long ere he invade our territory, but will set out so soon as he learns our answer to be that we will do none of these things that he requires of us. Now, then, is the time for us before he enters Attica to go forth ourselves to Bœotia and give him battle.”¹

This language, adopted by the Athenian popular assembly, upon the proposition of Aristides, will, as Curtius truly says, “remain ever memorable, as long as the memories of history survive on earth.”

The request that the Spartans should advance promptly with the Athenians into Bœotia and there attack the Persians was disregarded, and again Attica was

devastated. When Mardonius was convinced that he could gain nothing by sparing Athens, he destroyed what was left of the city, and when he heard that the Spartans were on the march, he returned to Bœotia, where he would be among friends, and also have a better field for his cavalry, upon which he placed his main reliance for victory. The Spartans and their allies, numbering 110,000 in all,² and including eight thousand Athenians, found Mardonius, with his 300,000 Persians, occupying an entrenched camp at Plataea, and there they offered battle. He accepted their challenge and attacked them. They met him as it might be expected that Spartans and Athenians would meet Persians; they gave additional luster to the national fame gained at Marathon and Salamis. When the Persians found that they were defeated, most of them took refuge in their entrenched camp, into which the Athenians broke, and, with Spartan aid, made it a slaughter-pen for the dismayed Asiatics.

About the same time, and according to report accredited in the next generation, on the very day of the victory of Plataea the sailors of the Greek fleet on the coast of Asia Minor landed at Mycale, near Miletus, attacked the fortified camp of the Persian fleet there drawn up on the beach, took it, slew most of the Persian sailors, and destroyed all their ships. In his last years Xerxes, like Darius, needed no set speech of slave at every meal to remind him of Athens. Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale would have been sufficient stimulants for the memory of Xerxes, but the Athenians gave him others. They liberated all the Greek cities in Asia Minor; they expelled all the Persian despots from Thrace; they compelled the Persians to promise that no army of theirs would come within several days' march of the Ægean, and that no

one of their warships should make its appearance in that sea, which was converted practically into "an Athenian lake."

SEC. 378. *Aristides*.—After the battle of Mycale the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Ægean islands proposed the establishment of a league that should protect them against the Persians. This suggestion was received with favor by the Athenians, who had become the leading naval power; and the result was the organization of a confederacy, which had a common navy, and a common treasury under the control of Athenian officials. A list was drawn up of all the cities in the league—they numbered more than two hundred—with the contribution that each should make for the common defense, some to furnish ships, some money, and others both ships and money. The total sum of the annual payments to be made in coin was \$460,000. Aristides, the commander of the Athenian fleet, took a leading part in the organization of the confederacy; and the amounts to be contributed by the several cities, as suggested by him, were accepted as equitable. It was agreed that the Athenians should have command of the allied fleet and control of the treasury of the league, the money to be kept in the temple of Delos.

When this combination was made, the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor and in the Ægean archipelago had fresh recollections of the Persian oppression and fears of its renewal; and they were grateful to Athens for her protection. The alliance was based on the idea that all its members were to be benefited nearly in proportion to their population and wealth; that all should contribute according to their means in money or in ships and men; and that, besides having a fleet ready for use, the league

should have a stock of precious metal available without delay, for any contingency. Then, as now, money was indispensable for the most efficient warfare. The assessments went into the hands of the Athenian officials, but were not intended to be a source of profit to Athens. She had to contribute a large number of ships to the common fleet and a large amount of money to the common fund, more than any other city. She was not exposed to so much danger as Miletus, Halicarnassus, Samos, and other Greek cities in and near Asia Minor, but she must protect them to keep danger from herself. She had colonies, merchants, and merchant ships of her own at many points on the coasts of the *Ægean* and Black seas; and besides her prosperity required that she should be able to keep all hostile fleets from the Hellespont, through which she obtained much of her grain supply. The restoration of Persian dominion in the *Ægean* would mean great injury to Athens. That city was the main supporter and also the chief beneficiary of the confederacy.

Having taken the lead in organizing the Athenian league, and contributed greatly to the power and wealth of his city, Aristides was rewarded with the political leadership for ten years. He persevered in the policy proposed and established by Themistocles, that the state should devote most of its revenue to the maintenance of the navy. As chief manager of the confederacy, he treated the allies with such consideration that he never lost the name of "the just" abroad any more than at home; and yet he always strove, with much zeal and tact, to advance the interests of Athens. When any associated city suggested a willingness to pay a coin subsidy to the confederacy, rather than to supply men

and ships, as originally agreed, he encouraged and facilitated the change. Athens took the money, and furnished the equivalent naval force from her shipyards and her population, with large increase to her power and small addition to her taxation.

After a large proportion of those cities which at first had furnished ships to the confederate navy, had changed their contributions to money, which served to pay Athenian sailors, and large sums were sometimes accumulated in the treasury, it became evident that the little island of Delos, without any considerable population or garrison, was an unsafe place for such a deposit. The main office and the funds of the confederacy were thereupon moved to Athens, which became the head of a maritime empire.

It was impossible to adhere in Athens to the traditional requirement of military and naval service without pay. That system was excellent for Sparta, and for those cities where the heavy armed men were nearly all nobles; and also in those cities which engaged only in brief campaigns. It had done well in Athens before the defeat of Xerxes. But when the city had become the head of an empire which it must protect, and when it must keep many thousands of men in active service through at least eight months of every year, these men must be paid. A permanent navy was created, and though it included many slaves and aliens among the rowers, its soldiers, about one-fourth of the whole number, were citizens, and these gave character to the service. They were a standing army, but they never subordinated their citizenship to their soldiership; they never became more attached to their commander than to their government; they never encouraged an ambitious

traitor to their country; they never undertook to overthrow an administration; they never started a rebellion; they never even broke out into a serious mutiny. No Cæsar, no Cromwell, no Napoleon appeared in Athenian history. The pliant soldiery ready to serve such ambitious leaders was not bred in Athens.

We may presume, for we have no positive information, that at the organization of the Athenian confederacy, jurisdiction to try interstate lawsuits within the league was conferred on the courts of Athens. When two hundred cities, most of them in Asia Minor or on islands near its shore, had combined their forces for mutual defense against Persian aggression; and when it was evident that they could not defend themselves effectively unless they could preserve peace among themselves, then they would find it necessary to establish an international or confederate court. Unless they had such a tribunal, the frequent disputes between the cities and the citizens of different states would lead to interstate wars, in which one or the other would almost inevitably apply to Persia for aid, and thus threaten the existence of the league. A confederate court was necessary for the preservation of interstate peace; and such a court, with the power to enforce its decrees, was found in the Athenian jury. But trials requiring the attendance of five hundred jurymen to settle disputes between residents of distant cities, demanded more time and attention than the Athenians were willing to give gratuitously. They already had more litigation among their own residents than they could attend to with satisfaction to themselves. The jury system had certain advantages, but it consumed much of the time and patience of the people. They had been accustomed to rendering this

service to their fellow-citizens without pay; but a pecuniary compensation was necessary to secure the attendance of the jurymen in interstate cases.

Aristotle tells us that Athens had 20,000 men on her pay-roll, more than on her list of citizens, and though he does not fix the time clearly, he leads us to believe that this was within twelve years after the battle of Salamis. Among the men then in the public service were nearly two thousand in political office, including the senators; six thousand jurymen; four thousand sailors; four thousand men on garrison duty out of Attica; and six thousand soldiers in Attica.¹

The invasion of Europe by Xerxes had many indirect results, among which were the stimulation of the pride of the Greeks in their nationality; the substitution of democracy for aristocracy in many of their cities; the rise of Athens to the first place among their states; the decline of Sparta from its previous preponderant position; the high development of Athenian literature and ornamental art; and the preservation of the first constitutional governments until they could be approved by experience, described in books and made available for the instruction of mankind in distant lands and times.

In the course of campaign after campaign, in which numerous Greek cities co-operated and in which the existence of all was at stake, the allies had abundant opportunities to observe and admire the heroic spirit that inspired the Athenians, the promptness of their action in every great emergency, their unfaltering courage in the midst of appalling danger, their confidence when all others expected ruin, their harmony in using all their forces to the best advantage, and their tact in managing the forces of other states.

Athens had recently been liberated from a despotic dynasty which had ruled for half a century. She had then adopted a series of novel experiments in constitutional law, and these were generally regarded, in other cities, as highly injurious to public order. It might be suspected that the spirit of discord which had reigned for more than a century was still cherished in secret, ready to burst forth and fill the state with confusion at the first provocation. The quiet submission of the citizens to the innovations of Cleisthenes was perhaps merely temporary. The expulsion of Isagoras and the refusal of the people at Marathon to give aid or encouragement to Hippias, could be attributed to hatred of the alien allies of those returning exiles.

But all such suppositions of weakness in the constitution, and of destructive discord between large classes of citizens in Athens, were contradicted by the events of the war. Military efficiency so high, diplomatic skill so great, concord so complete in the midst of universal privation, as well as after the most brilliant triumphs, could not be understood without the aid of the suppositions that the Athenian constitution was a distinguished success; that it had established harmony where discord reigned previously; that it had broken down the lines of animosity that had before set the commoners against the nobles, and the mountaineers against the dwellers in the valleys; that it had consolidated all classes into the most compact community of Greece; that their democratic institutions had taken a firm hold on their affections and greatly stimulated the development of their capacities.

SEC. 379. *Pericles*.—For about six years after the death of Aristides, the most influential man in Athens

was Ephialtes, who is described to us, by Aristotle, as an incorruptible man, a true friend of constitutional freedom, and a democrat. He accused a majority of the councilors of the Areopagus of misconduct in office, and obtained judgments of dismissal against them. Then he proposed to transfer jurisdiction over certain classes of lawsuits from the Areopagus to the popular courts, and over others to the senate; and these propositions were accepted by the general assembly. Thus the influence of the Areopagus was much reduced, seventeen years after the victory at Salamis, to which that body had greatly contributed, by supplying money to a large number of poor men on condition that they would serve in the fleet. We are told that this liberality added so much to the strength of the navy, and to the power of Athens, that the influence of the council rose considerably, though no change to increase its authority was made in the constitution.¹

For some cause not explained in our books, perhaps because of his success in impeaching councilors or reducing the authority of the Areopagus, Ephialtes was assassinated. It is worthy of remark here that he is the only prominent Athenian who died in that way. Political assassination was not a prominent feature in the life of Attica.

The death of Ephialtes in 462 B. C. was followed by a period of ten years, in which no one statesman had a preponderant influence in the administration, though Pericles and Cimon were both prominent. It was at this time that the office of archon was made accessible to citizens of the third class; that is to those who had an income of two hundred and thirty bushels of grain.

Those of the fourth and poorest class were still disqualified, and so remained until after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. The subsequent amendments to the constitution of Athens were enacted in disaster and decline; they added nothing to the power and glory of the city.

About 453 B. C. Pericles became the head of the government, with a great, if not a preponderant, influence over all branches of the administration; and he retained this position for twenty-four years, a period of unrivaled splendor in literature and art, and of wonderful prosperity in manufactures and commerce. In his combination of great qualities of statesmanship and oratory, of art administration and of honest citizenship, he was and still remains unequalled. He was the typical Athenian, and a substantial part of the brilliant pre-eminence of his native city. Year after year he was elected one of the generals who formed the ministry. They chose him as their president, and usually adopted his suggestions. No constitutional provision forbade the cumulation of executive offices, and he was elected one of the treasurers, and also one of the commissioners, of public works. His associate treasurers and commissioners accepted his leadership, as did his associate generals, and thus he controlled the public funds and the public improvements, as well as the army and the navy. By his superior eloquence he led the assembly, and thus was master of all departments of the government. But his mastership was exercised in accordance with the spirit as well as the letter of the constitution. He usurped no power; he assumed no dictatorial tone; he wounded no proper pride in his official associates; he trespassed on no substantial right of even the humblest citizen.

Although the leader of the more democratic of the two political parties, Pericles did not flatter the multitude, nor make himself familiar with them, nor practice the arts by which demagogues seek popularity. In his social and official relations, his manners were reserved. He rarely addressed the assembly, and never when questions of small importance were under consideration. He was compared with the sacred trireme which made its appearance only in the grand festivals. He had few intimate friends, and with these he was not very familiar. While he was in Athens, he spent his daytime in study or official labor, and his evenings in his own house, where he entertained many intellectual people. His mode of life was quiet and unostentatious. He did not encourage flattery, or pursuit of those who maligned him. Many enemies attempted to rouse popular animosity against him; but he made no effort to punish them for misrepresentations. He was above the suspicion of corruption, or of being influenced by the desire to enrich his followers at the expense of the state.

In all countries where demagogues have flourished, they have had the most favor among the poorest class of citizens, and, therefore, it has been their policy in countries which restricted suffrage, to diminish the restrictions and thus enlarge the number of voters. Only one change in the qualification of voters was made while Pericles was in power; and this fixed the number of citizens at 14,000, excluding nearly one-third of those who had previously claimed, and perhaps exercised, the privilege of voting. The circumstances of this census are not recorded; but we know that its tendency was aristocratic rather than democratic.

In his list of the men who made important changes in

the constitution of Athens, Aristotle does not admit Pericles, and does include Aristides, to both of whom, in passages not reconcilable with each other, he attributes the introduction of pay for jurymen. It may be that at first pay was given only for service in interstate trials, and afterwards in Athenian cases. Except the introduction or extension of jury pay, Aristotle ascribes to Pericles no change in the constitution save one that diminished, in a manner not explained, the authority of the Areopagus.

Another measure, to which demagogues systematically give their support, is that of extending the qualifications for office. The measure admitting the third class of citizens to the archonship was adopted while Pericles was prominent, but not yet predominant; and he is not mentioned as having taken any part in the introduction or advocacy of this measure. Nor do we read that he proposed to admit the men of the fourth or poorest class to the archonship. In his private and public conduct we vainly seek for anything that looks like demagogism.

Pericles spoke in the assembly with such majesty and impressiveness that he was compared with the Olympian Zeus in a storm, shaking earth and heaven with his thunder and lightning, and overwhelming all auditors and spectators with the grandeur of his manifestation. And the practical result agreed with the weight of his speech. With its help he obtained and maintained a control in a democratic state, unequaled, in political history, for its duration and completeness.

The controlling motive of Pericles, his constant care, was the good of the state. And he obtained it. Under his administration the most splendid temples of Athens

were built, the most beautiful statues were carved, the greatest of the Greek tragedies were written, the first stone theater was built, linear perspective was originated and perfected, the first immortal history was written, and by him the greatest of all orations was delivered. Under his superintendence the Parthenon was built and the statue of Athena was placed on the acropolis. For no other ruler can such a list of glorious achievements be collected. The world has never had another statesman who succeeded so marvelously in drawing out the artistic and literary capacities of his fellow-citizens.

The public life of Pericles "began about the time when Themistocles was ostracized, and when Aristides was passing off the stage, and he soon displayed a character which combined the pecuniary probity of the one with the resource and large views of the other; superadding to both a discretion and mastery of temper never disturbed,—an excellent musical and lettered education—
. . . an eloquence such as no one before had either heard or conceived,—and the best philosophy which the age afforded. His military duties as a youthful citizen were faithfully and strenuously performed, but he was timid in his first political approaches to the people,—a fact perfectly in unison with the caution of his temperament, but which some of his biographers [Plutarch] explained by saying that he was afraid of being ostracized, and that his countenance resembled that of the despot Pisistratus. We may be pretty sure, however, that this personal resemblance, like the wonderful dream ascribed to his mother when pregnant of him, was an after-thought of enemies, when his ascendancy was already established,—and that young beginners were in little danger of ostracism . . .

“The ascendancy of Pericles was founded on his admirable combination of civil qualities,—probity, firmness, diligence, judgment, eloquence, and power of guiding partisans. As a military commander, though no way deficient in personal courage, he rarely courted distinction, and was principally famous for his care of the lives of the citizens, discountenancing all rash or distant enterprises; his private habits were sober and recluse,—his chief conversation was with Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Zeno, the musician Damon, and other philosophers, while the tenderest domestic attachment bound him to the engaging and cultivated Aspasia.”¹

After the battle of Salamis, ten years may have elapsed before the houses of Athens had been rebuilt, and the orchards and vineyards of her adjacent territory restored to their former productiveness, but from 470 till 430 B. C. she was the most splendid of ancient cities. Her position in culture was relatively higher than that of any other city, ancient or modern. She had originated democratic government; she developed it to the highest degree known to antiquity; she made it the most brilliant success in all history, though for only a brief period. She suddenly became the most powerful state of Greece. She dictated terms to Persia. She called out unparalleled intellectual activity among her citizens. She carried statesmanship, generalship, oratory, and history—the arts that accompany a liberal and enlightened polity—to heights not reached before, and in some respects not surpassed since. She became the mother not only of history and oratory, but also of dialectics and philosophy, of tragedy and comedy. She became the home of sculpture, architecture, painting, dramatic art, refinement, and literature. She was the teacher of Greece,

the school of mankind, the arbiter of taste for all nations. She was the most brilliant example in all time of the patriotic devotion inspired and the literary energy fostered by free government. She produced the most glorious combination of contemporaneous great men ever known in one state, including Pericles, Æschylus, Sophocles, Phidias, Ictinus, Euripides, Socrates, and Thucydides. Her public works of architecture and sculpture were the most splendid ever seen in any city.

SEC. 380. *Political Education*.—It is impossible now to ascertain the dates when some of the amendments of the Athenian constitution were adopted. Of these the most important is that admitting all classes of citizens to the privilege of holding office. This has been attributed to Aristides, but Aristotle implies that it was not introduced until after the death of Pericles. Another provided that payment should be given to every man who attended a meeting of the assembly; and another that on the occasion of every theatrical performance given by the state each citizen should be entitled to a sum sufficient to pay for a seat, about six cents; but the recipient could spend the money as he pleased.

Still another of these amendments of unknown date was one providing that no enactment of the assembly should be considered as of general force unless it had been adopted after being made the subject of a report by the law committee or Nomothetes. Otherwise, no matter how broad its phraseology, it should be considered as a decree relating only to the special case that had led to its proposal. This amendment was a confession by the assembly that it could not trust its hasty impulses, and that it had been led into conflicting enactments. Against

the repetition of such mistakes, the best security was a law committee, which must carefully examine all the relations of any proposed measure to the older laws. Not only this, but the author of every bill was responsible for all the damages that might result from its adoption, if it should be inconsistent with other laws unrepealed, or if it should prove pernicious in practice. The unanimous approval of his bill by the law committee, and its adoption by the assembly, did not destroy or diminish his responsibility. If he wanted to play the part of a legislator, he must assume serious risks. He must thoroughly understand what he was about or abstain from undertaking to become a leader in the state.

Aristotle mentions eight men as the authors of great changes in the constitution of Athens, before the Peloponnesian war. These were, first, Ion, the traditional founder of the Athenian monarchy; second, Theseus, who, according to legend, consolidated the Attic monarchy; third, Draco, who reorganized the aristocracy on the basis of property; fourth, Solon, founder of democracy; fifth, Pisistratus, founder of a despotic dynasty; sixth, Cleisthenes, who made the democracy of Solon more democratic; seventh, Aristides; and eighth, Ephialtes, who amended the constitution so as to make it more democratic. The changes from monarchy to aristocracy, and from the dynasty of Pisistratus to democracy, are not attributed to the influence of single individuals.¹

The popular assembly met at sunrise, in the marketplace, where the multitude stood under the open sky, while the ministry and senators were seated under a portico. Ordinarily the number of attendants did not exceed four thousand, and frequently was less, but when a ques-

tion arose of highly exciting interest, such as war, peace, sending out a large fleet or army, making an alliance, founding a colony, ordering the construction of a great fortification, or adopting an important constitutional amendment, there might be 12,000 or more, including many who came from the seaports and rural villages.

The discussion of such subjects before the mass of the freemen, and the habitual submission to them of the main facts and arguments, bearing upon both sides of every important point of governmental policy, made the Athenian market-place a great school of instruction, and gave to the citizens "such a political education as no other system can give."²

The wonderful triumphs of the Athenians over the Persians, at Marathon, Salamis, and Mycale; their energy in restoring their country after it had been devastated by Mardonius; their rapid development of their city from poverty to wealth, and from relative insignificance to preponderant power—all these were attributed by Herodotus to the harmonizing and stimulating influences of the democratic constitution. His immortal paragraph on this subject says:—

"Thus did the Athenians grow in strength, and we may find proof, not merely in this instance, but everywhere else, how valuable a thing freedom is; since even the Athenians, while under a despot, were not superior in war to any of their surrounding neighbors, but so soon as they got rid of their despots, became by far the first of all. These things show that while kept down by one man, they were slack and timid, like men working for a master; but when they were liberated, every single man became eager in exertions for his own benefit."³

The astonishing personal and many-sided energy which marked the character of the Athenians must be attributed in a great degree to the influence of their political system. Brougham remarks that "the universal competition of talents, the emulation in virtue, the personal interest in the public welfare, the zeal for promoting it, often at the expense of individual sacrifices, and very generally at the risk of individual suffering, not only led to the possession of extraordinary accomplishments, and the performance of brilliant exploits, but placed the whole powers of the community at the disposal of the government, and when sound counsels were followed produced results out of all proportion to the natural resources of the country." "It is not only true that Athens has produced and educated a relatively larger number of men of the highest calibre and most complete culture than any other community of like dimensions which has ever existed; but it is also true that there has been no other community of which the members have, as a general rule, been so highly cultivated or have attained individually such completeness of life."⁴ "By constantly hearing questions of foreign policy and domestic administration freely argued by the greatest orators that the world ever saw, the Athenian citizens received a political education which nothing else in the history of mankind has ever been found to equal. The ordinary Athenian citizen then must really be compared, not with the English ten-pound householder, but with the English Member of Parliament in the rank and file of his party. In some respects, indeed, the political education of the Athenian was higher than any which a private member in our Parliament can derive from his parliamentary position."⁵

We cannot get a distinct idea of the importance of the

assembly in Athens without recalling to our minds the fact that public speech was far more prominent in ancient Greek than it is in modern Euraryan life. The Athenian had no newspaper, no printed books, no weekly sermon, and for the multitude no evening gatherings in lighted halls. The orator told the news, discussed it, and gave lessons of morality, patriotism, and religion. He was listened to with an interest, and he exerted an influence which no modern orator can approach.

"It was in the assembly that the Athenians were trained," says Grote, "to the duty both of speakers and hearers, and each man, while he felt that he exercised his share of influence on the decision, identified his own safety and happiness with the vote of the majority, and became familiarized with the notion of a sovereign authority which he neither could nor ought to resist. This was an idea new to the Athenian bosom; and with it came the feelings sanctifying free speech and equal law—words which no Athenian citizen ever afterwards heard unmoved; together with that sentiment of the entire commonwealth as one and indivisible which always overruled, though it did not supplant, the local and cantonal specialties. It is not too much to say that these patriotic and ennobling impulses were a new product in the Athenian mind."⁶

The Athenian constitution created in the multitude and through them forced upon the leading ambitious men a higher form than any before known, "of that rare and difficult sentiment which we may term a constitutional morality; a paramount reverence for the forms of the constitution, enforcing obedience to the authorities acting under and within these forms, yet combined with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to defi-

nite legal control, and unrestrained censure of those very authorities as to all their public acts,—combined too with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen, amidst the bitterness of party contest, that the forms of the constitution will be not less sacred in the eyes of his opponents than in his own. This coëxistence of freedom and self-imposed restraint,—of obedience to authority with unmeasured censure of the persons exercising it,—may be found in the aristocracy of England (since about 1688) as well as in the democracy of the American United States, and because we are familiar with it, we are apt to suppose it a natural sentiment; though there seem to be few sentiments more difficult to establish and diffuse among a community, judging by the experience of history. We may see how imperfectly it exists at this day in the Swiss cantons; and the many violences of the French revolution illustrate, among various other lessons, the fatal effects arising from its absence, even among a people high in the scale of intelligence. Yet the diffusion of such constitutional morality, not merely among the majority of any community, but throughout the whole, is the indispensable condition of a government at once free and peaceable; since even any powerful and obstinate minority may render the working of free institutions impracticable, without being strong enough to conquer ascendancy for themselves. Nothing less than unanimity, or so overwhelming a majority as to be tantamount to unanimity, on the cardinal point of respecting constitutional forms, even by those who do not wholly approve of them, can render the excitement of political passion bloodless, and yet expose all the authorities in the state to the full license of pacific criticism.”¹

The rarity of violent revolution, of destructive mobs, and of partisan assassinations in long periods filled with a rapid succession of intense political excitements, are proofs that the mass of the free men had good training in parliamentary discipline, and that their public men, as a class, had learned to make allowances for those accusations of base and corrupt motives which accompany every quarrel involving many people—accusations which have their origin in ignorance, inexperience and folly more frequently than in malignity.

SEC. 381. *Direct Democracy*.—The Athenians originated the system of direct democracy, and, without aid from any other people, carried it to the highest development of which it was capable. On the plan of the immediate and frequent participation of the adult male citizens in the exercise of the highest functions of government, and in a state of 50,000 inhabitants, of whom most were slaves, there could not be a better political system than that of Athens. There might be a more efficient government, but not of that pattern.

The Athenian constitution reached its highest development before 450 B. C. Some amendments were made to it subsequently, but they were not notable improvements. After the adoption of the reforms of Cleisthenes, the nobles and commoners lived together in substantial harmony. The aristocratic party had many commoners among its voters; the democratic party always had a large proportion of the nobles among its adherents. Both parties had leaders of eminent capacity and high character, men who could treat rivals with generosity, and give their aid to wise measures proposed by their enemies. Aristides, the most influential of the aristocrats, was the author and successful advocate of several

democratic measures; and Pericles, the most influential of the democrats, favored the aristocratic policy on several important occasions. After Aristides had been banished by ostracism, Themistocles demanded his recall; and Pericles did as much for Cimon. Partisan opposition was often bitter, but sometimes generous.

Direct democracy was established in many Greek cities, which copied from the original model, some of them adopting modifications which were either unimportant or injudicious. Not a few of these imitations owed their existence to the direct or indirect aid of Athens, and when that aid ceased, or when Spartan compulsion was applied, the governments reverted to the aristocratic type. No other ancient city succeeded so well with a direct democracy as Athens, nor was any other so well adapted to it. The possession of a large middle class of educated men in a capital city which had the wealth of a large commerce and of extensive manufactures, without a population of sailors and ignorant laborers, was a highly fortunate circumstance for the Athenians, and for their system of government. Except during a half century after the battle of Salamis, either Persia, Sparta, or Macedon was nearly always dominant in Greece previous to the Roman conquest; and as these powers did not favor the existence of democracy in any city under their influence, there were few democratic governments, except during the period when Athens was the leading Hellenic state.

As in the governments of Venice, and of England, so in Greece, aristocracy often called out the zealous devotion of its subject commoners; but under the leading democracies, public spirit had a brilliancy and an energy never witnessed under less liberal forms of government.

To the Greek mind "the theory of democracy was pre-eminently seductive; creating in the mass of the citizens an intense positive attachment, and disposing them to voluntary action and suffering on its behalf, such as no coercion on the part of other governments could extort. Herodotus, in his comparison of the three sorts of government, puts in the front rank of the advantages of democracy, 'its most splendid name and promise,'—its power of enlisting the hearts of the citizens in support of their constitution, and of providing for all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is what even democracy did not always do; but it was what no other government in Greece could do; a reason alone sufficient to stamp it as the best government, and presenting the greatest chance of beneficent results, for a Grecian community. Among the Athenian citizens, certainly, it produced a strength and unanimity of positive political sentiment, such as has rarely been seen in the history of mankind, which excites our surprise and admiration the more when we compare it with the apathy which had preceded,—and which is even implied as the natural state of the public mind in Solon's famous proclamation against neutrality in a sedition."¹

The relation of the average citizen to the state in a large modern republic is not like that of the Athenian to his city. He is one among millions. His share in the government is small, and he exercises it indirectly. He does not help to elect the highest officials every year; and he does not expect them to account to him personally at the end of their terms. No important question of foreign or domestic policy is submitted to him immediately. He does not vote on peace and war. He does not live in the city where the admin-

istration has its seat; he does not know its highest officials by sight. He does not expect to serve for year after year in war. He knows that if his country were conquered, he would neither be slaughtered nor enslaved, nor deprived of his property, nor even excluded from a voice in the government. He feels no special interest in a state religion, nor has he any national divinity who will be carried away by conquerors. No part of his worship is dependent, in any manner, on the maintenance of the independence of his native land. In many respects the bond between the citizen and the state is much weaker in the modern than it was in the ancient republic.

He who reads a detailed history of Athens, such as we find in Grote, is profoundly impressed with the frequent manifestations of remarkable wisdom, prudence, fortitude, and generosity in its popular assembly, which often rose to the highest level of statesmanship. But it also made serious mistakes, most of which must be attributed to the weakness of the senate, composed of men who had had little experience in public affairs, holding office for only one year, or perhaps it might be said for only one month, the subdivisions of the senate or prytanes having almost complete control of the senatorial business during their respective terms.

One of the most serious evils of direct democracy, as illustrated in the history of Athens, was the custom of deciding important questions without delay. The Assembly wanted to vote while their minds were full of the information submitted by the senators and of the arguments made by the orators. Any postponement was objectionable, because citizens absent at the first meeting and present at the second could not

demand a repetition of what was said before, nor without such repetition could they vote intelligently. The printed bills, reports, and speeches, which enable the modern legislator to keep facts, arguments, and amendments ready for examination at any moment, were not within reach of the Athenian, who, therefore, wished to dispatch every question on the day of its presentation. The custom of immediate decision necessarily led to many mistakes. It gave an undue influence to the ignorant men who think little, talk much, and follow their first impulses; and it aided the orators who pleased this class by appealing to their passions more than to their reason.

In modern civilized states one of the strongest guarantees of prudent government is the sense of responsibility in the representative legislator. He must consider, first, what is right, and second, what his constituents will think of his action. The press lays the facts before the people so that all can think for themselves, and it also lays before the people the votes and speeches of the different representatives, each of whom is then, so long as he lives, confronted with that precise and indestructible record. This imposes a responsibility unknown in the Athenian Assembly. There the citizen owed no account to anybody for his vote, and in his defense, he could plead that he acted in accordance with the advice of the most popular orators, and with the concurrence of the majority of his fellow-citizens.

SEC. 382. *Athenian Law Courts*.—The administration of justice in Athens did not lead to the adoption of an elaborate system of law. A large jury, drawn by lot from the list of citizens, clothed with exclusive and final jurisdiction over every important suit, whether civil or

criminal, with authority to decide finally every question of law and fact arising in the course of the trial, and not permitted to listen to professional advocates, did not encourage the labor of defining rights and remedies, nor did it provide men competent to make the definitions. Jurisprudence is a science, and it may be called an abstruse science. It is one that has reached a high original development in only two countries—Rome and England, in both of which it was aided by a large force of learned judges and lawyers, a steadfast national policy, an extensive dominion, and a rule that the law was to be interpreted by men who had made it their special study. Such conditions were wanting, not in Athens only, but in all parts of Greece. No Hellenic state has left anything of value in jurisprudence. Sparta had the needful stability of government, but neither lawyers, nor learned judges, nor written law. In the IIIrd and IIInd centuries B. C. Rhodes had an active commerce, and had better commercial laws than those of any other Greek city, but these laws have not been preserved to us; and as her territory was very small, and her prosperity brief, her legal system could not have been precious.

The main defect in the interstate jurisdiction of the Athenian juries, while the Athenian empire existed—a defect that perhaps prevented a long maintenance of the empire, and the development of a strong imperial constitution—was not understood by Aristotle, who was alive nearly a century after Athens had been ruined by the war that was partly provoked by her oppressive law courts. But that defect is plain to the modern lawyer, who sees that an absolute international jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases of great importance should never be intrusted to mob-like juries of ignorant and poor men

drawn from a single city, and interested in the encouragement of litigation. Such a judicial system would soon bring any modern federation or empire to destruction. But the Greeks had no judges trained by practice at the bar for judicial office; no powerful legal profession which, by its public opinion, influenced the judges; and no elaborate system of law which must be the production of learned judges, aided by learned lawyers. The high courts of modern Euraryan nations have many excellent features that were unknown to the ancient Greeks.

After it was understood that the average jury had a predominant feeling in favor of the plaintiff, base men, who were classed together as sycophants, made a practice of bringing suits against wealthy men—residents of the subject cities were preferred victims—for the purpose of plundering them in the Athenian courts; and in many cases the defendants, fearful of the expense and uncertain result of the trial, bought off the complainants. This method of judicial plunder was one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war, and of the ruin of Athens.

The evil was understood in the time of Pericles, but if any remedy was then proposed no mention of it has come down to our time. The interstate jurisdiction was necessary to the preservation of the empire, and this again was indispensable to the safety of the subordinate cities. The trial of these suits might have been given to a court without a jury, but no such tribunal commanded the public confidence. No judicial institution of high repute for learning and impartiality then existed in any part of Greece. There was no model anywhere of such a court as the empire needed, nor was there any ready made code of laws suitable to guide an international tribunal.

The defects of this Athenian jury system were illustrated by a remarkable series of unjust judgments,—the most remarkable series in the history of all time. When the litigant was an active politician, the luck of the lot might draw a considerable majority of jurymen from his political friends or enemies, and then partisan bias would control or greatly influence the decision. But political feeling seems to have been the source of less injustice than prejudices that had their origin in other sources. Some of the most notably unjust verdicts were rendered in accusations for impiety. Such were the charges against Socrates, who was executed; against Phidias, who died in prison; against Anaxagoras, who was banished; against Protagoras and Aristotle, who escaped by flight before trial; and against Aspasia, who had a narrow escape, though she was defended by the eloquence and influence of Pericles, then at the height of his power.

These outrages upon justice by juries were paralleled by others committed by the assembly. The most flagrant wrong in Athenian history was the execution of six of the generals who won the important naval battle of Arginusæ, in 405 B. C. This victory in the year preceding the close of the Peloponnesian war, when the forces of Athens were almost exhausted, raised the hopes of the Athenians so highly that their assembly rejected the Spartan overtures for peace, and, according to one account, would consent to no cessation of hostilities unless on condition that the Athenian empire should be re-established as at the beginning of the war. While thus acknowledging the immense importance of the victory, the assembly condemned to death six of the ten commanding generals, because they had been unable to save a

number of their fellow-citizens on vessels disabled in the fight. Immediately after the Spartans and their allies fled, the victorious generals held a hasty consultation to consider whether they should pursue the enemy or save their countrymen, and the decision was that they should divide their forces and do both. But a high wind came on, and they could do, or at least did, neither; and because they had not saved the men on the wrecks, they were condemned and executed. The assembly afterwards admitted the injustice of the execution, and ordered the prosecutors to be prosecuted, but public disorder prevented the case from coming to trial. In the next year the Athenian fleet, having been intrusted to incompetents, was completely destroyed and its men cut off, and the city was compelled to surrender. Among the generals executed for his share in the victory of Arginusæ was Pericles, the son of the great Pericles and Aspasia, a man of much promise, who had recently entered upon a public career.

For offenses that deserved some moderate punishment, Miltiades was condemned to pay two ruinous fines, which amounted in the aggregate to \$80,000—an immense sum in his time, and more than he could pay. Notwithstanding his long and devoted labors for his country,—labors which his fellow-citizens acknowledged in many ways,—Demosthenes was fined \$50,000 for some petty offense. Callias, who had made a most advantageous treaty, was fined an equal amount for something that did not deserve to be called an offense. Thrasybulus, son of the man who restored Athenian freedom after the Peloponnesian war, was fined \$10,000. Callistratus was dismissed from the office of general. The people of Athens have never been praised for protecting their dis-

tinguished fellow-citizens against malicious prosecutions, or for shielding them against unjust judgments when so prosecuted.

SEC. 383. *Drill and Sway*.—In Athens, as well as in Sparta, the citizen was necessarily a soldier. Nobody was exempt from service. Æschylus, Socrates, Demosthenes, Sophocles, and Thucydides, all had military training, and experience in several campaigns. The last two were generals. Pericles showed desperate courage at Tanagra. But there was an important difference between the military demands of Sparta and Athens on their citizens; the former required constant devotion to martial exercises; the latter was content with an occasional military drill. The Spartan citizen or noble regarded war as his chief occupation; the Athenian accepted it as an unwelcome interruption of his preferred study or industry. All the Spartans were nobles and hoplites; most of the Athenian freemen, being unable to provide themselves with full suits of armor, were either sailors or light armed infantry. The young men of Athens spent much time in arms. The state required them to give several years to military drill; and their ambition stimulated them to do more in that direction than the law demanded. The coward, the braggart, the loud talker, inefficient for service in the face of danger, no matter how rich, was despised. The brave, the prudent, the faithful, the fertile of resource in difficult and unforeseen emergencies, no matter how poor, were respected. In the gymnasium, the market place, the political club, and the elections, as well as in the military campaign, the good soldier was honored. The road to political promotion led through the battle-field. Demosthenes ran from the Macedonians at Chæroneia; for,

after defeat was inevitable, the Athenians, unlike the Spartans, considered it proper to run if necessary to save life. If, however, the Athenian had not bravely kept his place in the ranks, so long as there was a reasonable hope of success, he would have had little influence over his fellow-citizens. They never elected a notorious coward to high office. Before reaching his twentieth year, when the Athenian citizen was sent away from home upon his first serious military duty, which was to be performed even in time of peace, he took this oath:—

“I will never disgrace these hallowed weapons, or abandon my comrade beside whom I am placed, and I will fight for both sacred and common things personally and with my fellows. I will not leave my country less but greater and better by sea and land than I have received it. I will obey the rulers for the time being, and obey the established laws and whatsoever others the commonwealth may agree to establish, and if anyone abolish the ordinances or disobey them, I will not allow it, but will defend them personally and with the rest. I will obey the established religion. Be my witnesses, Aglauros, Enyalios, Ares, Zeus, Thollo, Auxo, Hegemone.”¹

We must not think of the ancient Greek as we do of the average modern soldier. He was not obtained by enlistment from the dissipated, the incompetent, or the lazy classes, as in England or America; nor, as often in Germany and France, was he without property, knowledge of his rulers, or strong personal interest in the result of the war. He was not an unknown and unimportant unit in an army of millions. He was one of a few all known to each other. He could not emigrate. He would spend all his life among those who stood by

his side in the ranks and knew how he behaved. He belonged to a privileged class. High offices and honors were within his reach, if he fought well; and on the other hand, certain and lifelong disgrace would punish any pusillanimous weakness. Such influences served to develop character; and the frequent dangerous emergencies to which the Athenians were exposed gave them opportunities to show their capacity and to gain reputations that would enable them to reach the highest offices of the state.

If the cities of Greece had united their forces about 440 B. C. in a durable and harmonious confederacy, they could have conquered the known world and thus have anticipated Macedon and Rome, which then were insignificant states. And a conquest under the intellectual leadership of Athens, with the aid of Sparta, Thebes, and Corinth, would have been far more advantageous to culture, and far more generous to its subjects, than were the later dominions of the Macedonians and the Romans. The Athenians had a high capacity for every department of political organization and administration; and with their arms and dominion they might have established such a literature, art, and philosophy as Macedon and Rome never approached. But the Greeks could not combine their states in any union or confederation; and the result was that they were conquered, plundered, deprived of political power, and reduced to insignificance in literature and art. All these evils overtook them because they would not give up their separate city governments.

Athens and Sparta were not only the most powerful cities during the best part of Grecian history, but they were also distinguished above the other states by the

consistency of their policy and the ability which they showed in its support. Thebes was great for about ten years; Corinth and Argos never were great; the Achæan and Ætolian leagues did not show their power till after the rise of Macedon.

Although decidedly inferior to the Spartans in drill, and in confidence in one another while fighting on land, the Athenian soldiers usually encountered other enemies as if sure of success, and not unfrequently they faced even the Spartans with unflinching tenacity, either conquering or dying with face to the foe. One of the notable cases of this kind occurred in 447 B. C. at Tanagra, in Bœotia, where the Lacedæmonians defeated the Athenians. On the eve of the battle, Cimon, who was then an exile, under a decree of ostracism, applied to the Athenian commander for leave to fight as a common soldier for his country. His request was denied, and "in departing he conjured his personal friends, Euthippus . . . and others, to behave in such a manner as might wipe away the stain resting upon his fidelity, and in part also upon theirs. His friends retained his panoply, and assigned it to the station in the ranks which he would himself have occupied; they then entered the engagement with desperate resolution, and one hundred of them fell side by side in the ranks."²

As compared with the rule of other ancient empires, that of Athens over her subjects was just and generous. Indeed, no other dominion over distant provinces before the XVIIIth century ever was so liberal. It was "founded in a spirit of justice, regulated by legal statutes, and organized with intelligence; it treated the individual life of each community with as much tenderness as the interests of the leading state permitted; it offered

a strong protection . . . under which trade and industry might flourish; and it possessed a national significance which no judge could fail to perceive.”³

After lasting nearly half a century, it broke up under a combination of many causes, among which were the lack of a system of representation, the aversion of the ancient Greeks to any extensive political union, the folly of the governments in the smaller cities, the abuses in the Athenian courts, the supposition that the Persians could never again conquer Greek cities, and, perhaps most potent of all, the irritation created by the great development of the shipping and manufactures of Athens, enabling her to underbid all rivals, including her subject and rival cities, in many articles of commerce.

“Athens was the most illustrious of Greek states . . . as a Pan-Hellenic leader against the barbarian. In the latter character at least she stands unrivaled. When Cræsus subdued the Ionic cities, Sparta was the ally of the first barbarian who bore rule over Greeks. When the same cities revolted against Darius, Athens fought by their side in the first Greek war of independence. During the great Persian war, Athens was the one Grecian city whose endurance never failed for a moment. While Northern Greece fought on the side of the invader, while Peloponnesus thought of Peloponnesian interests alone, Athens never flinched, never faltered. Her fields were harried; her city was destroyed; the most favorable terms of submission were offered to her; but neither fear nor hope moved her for a moment. She rose far above that local jealousy which was the common bane of Hellas. When her contingent was two-thirds of the whole fleet, she cheerfully gave up the command to a Lacedæmonian landsman. On the field

of Plataea, the victors of Marathon were ready to yield the place of honor to the presumptuous pretensions of Tegea. Athens, more than any other state, drove back the invader from Greece itself; Athens, without any help from the mainland, carried a triumphant war into his own territory. She freed the Ægean from the presence of barbarian fleets, and the Greeks of Asia from the presence of barbarian tribute-gatherers."⁴

Very different from this was the conduct of Sparta and Thebes. The latter city indeed, under her aristocracy, not only always accepted readily, but seemed to desire, the Persian domination. Sparta, it is true, often fought against Asiatic sovereigns, but at other times sought their alliance. When Cræsus ruled despotically over the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, he had aid and comfort from Sparta; and when, after the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes II. re-established the Persian dominion over the Hellenic cities in Asia, Sparta stood by his side, and became his agent in communicating and enforcing his orders in Greece. And at a still later date, when Philip of Macedon threatened to overthrow the independence of the Hellenic republics, Sparta, though bitterly opposed to him, would not co-operate with Athens and Thebes. To her they were more hateful than barbarism.

SEC. 384. *Peloponnesian War*.—After the danger of Persian oppression seemed to have passed away, after Athens had become a successful competitor in commerce and manufactures with many of her subject states, and after the plunder of wealthy citizens of these states, by sycophantic prosecution in the Athenian courts, had become common and notorious, the discontent became so great that the enemies of Athens saw that their time for revenge had come.

In 432 B. C. Sparta, Thebes, and Corinth formed an alliance for her overthrow, and they were aided by many other states of less importance. For twenty-eight years they fought with varying fortunes. The basis of Athens was not broad enough to support the superstructure of her empire. She was rich, and offered an immense amount of spoil to her conquerors. She was proud, and her pre-eminence, as well as her democracy, offended Sparta. By becoming the great center of commerce and manufacture, she provoked the envy and hatred of Corinth, Megara, and many other cities. She had liberated Plataea from the Bæotian dominion, and thus provoked the intense animosity of Thebes. While she was powerful, the other leading states of Greece could easily agree among themselves. All other considerations of foreign policy were subordinate to their hatred and envy of Athens.

While her empire was maintained, she found it necessary to devote most of her energies to her navy. This was the instrument of her power; and the branch of the war department in which she excelled. On the sea her sailors had a pre-eminence like that of Spartan hoplites on land. Their superior drill and efficiency were unquestioned. Equality of number meant certain and easy victory for them in conflict with any enemy. They sought to do as much as possible of their fighting at sea; and their enemies sought to decide the matter on land.

The Spartans and their allies invaded Attica repeatedly, cut down its fruit trees and vines, destroyed its villages and country houses,*drove away its cattle, and challenged the Athenians to come out of their walls. Year after year these invasions were repeated; and year

after year the Athenian fleets ravaged the shores of the allied states, and destroyed their trade. Fortune was fickle, and each side sought peace several times, and truces were made, but hostilities soon broke out again, and finally in 404 B. C. Athens was exhausted and vanquished. The main cause of her fall was the loss in war of most of the men of her old families. The government fell into the hands of officials, many of whom had neither experience, character, nor capacity.

The number of Athenian soldiers and sailors slain or enslaved by enemies between 465 and 400 B. C. was about 174,000, and of these perhaps 30,000 were citizens, an immense loss for a state which never had more than 20,000 adult male citizens at any one time. Two expeditions, comprising altogether two hundred and fifty triremes or war ships with 50,000 men, went to Egypt in the year 460 B. C. and the five succeeding years, and of these men none returned. Of the 60,000 soldiers, sailors, and camp followers sent to Syracuse in 422 B. C. and the six succeeding years, nearly all were slain or enslaved. At Ægospotami in 405 B. C., the Athenian fleet had one hundred and eighty triremes and 36,000 men, of whom few escaped. In the sea fights at Eretria, Notium, Arginusæ, and Mitylene, the loss of the Athenians amounted to about 18,000 men; and in the land battles at Tanagra, Cænophyta, Delium, Sphacteria, Amphipolis, Mantinea, and in minor skirmishes, the losses may be estimated at 10,000 men. These losses in the Peloponnesian war amounted in the aggregate to 174,000 men, of whom five-sixths may have been allies and aliens.

In a period of thirty years, beginning in 445 B. C., the Athenians established numerous colonies, in most cases

after expelling or enslaving the previous inhabitants of conquered districts. Ægina, Lemnos, Imbros, and portions of Eubœa were depopulated to make room for inhabitants whose fidelity to Athens could be trusted; and for this purpose many of the new settlers must be of Athenian blood; and each of these colonies took presumably at least two thousand men. In these cases we must depend on presumption for the number, precise information not being obtainable. To the Thracian Chersonesus we are told that one thousand settlers were sent, and as many to Potidæa. In Mitylene, twenty-seven hundred lots were distributed; but whether the grantees were required to be residents is not stated. Probably they were, since the place was to be held as a conquered province, the former landholders and their families being reduced to slavery. Amphipolis was colonized a second time in 437 B. C. with an unknown number of settlers. The first colony, established thirty years earlier, when the place was called Ennea Hodoi, had 10,000 settlers, mostly allies of Athens; and all were slain or enslaved by the Thracians. The large number of the first colony, and its inability to defend itself, suggest the probability that the second one was not insignificant in number. Thurii in Italy near the site of the ancient Sybaris was another Athenian colony that required a considerable military strength from the start, though most of the settlers were not of Athenian blood. Naxos, Andros, Scyros, and Melos were islands that received new sets of inhabitants from Athens. The total number of settlers contributed by that city to her colonies during those thirty years was probably 10,000, from the body of her own citizens, without counting those volunteers, who never had a share in the govern-

ment of the mother city though they were admitted to the franchise and to the ownership of land in the colony.

Besides the citizens taken from Athens by warfare and colonization in the sixty-five years before 400 B. C., we must make allowance for at least one thousand victims of the great plague, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, and for two thousand others secretly assassinated or openly condemned and executed by the oligarchs, who held power for short periods before the city surrendered to her enemies. The total number of citizens, according to the census taken at the beginning of the war, was only 14,000, but under the rules proposed by Pericles at that time six thousand men who had claimed citizenship were placed on the list of aliens.

In general terms, we may say that in the sixty years preceding the close of the Peloponnesian war, Athens lost in battle in each generation nearly as many adult male citizens as she ever had at any one time. The Athenians enslaved, were usually as completely lost as if they had been slain. Most of them were sold to Phœnician or other slave dealers, and were either taken to distant barbarous lands, or were kept as oarsmen of war ships, to which they were not unfrequently chained.

These great losses of Athenian soldiers within the limits of a century were unexampled in Hellenic history. No Greek city save Athens could have supplied men to replace the vacancies. She alone had a custom of naturalization,—not a law to confer citizenship on every resident alien who abjured his native allegiance, but a habit of frequently naturalizing a number of aliens by special act of the assembly. This policy, established by

Solon, and imitated repeatedly afterwards at times of which no record was kept, not only supplied faithful sailors and soldiers to the fleet and army, but it attracted to Athens men of enterprise and capital, who saw opportunities there for a happier life and a more profitable business than they could have found in their native cities.

No other Greek city undertook naval and military enterprises so vast and so numerous in proportion to her population. As adventurous invasions of distant lands, her expeditions to Egypt and to Syracuse had never previously been equaled among the Greeks. It was her custom to keep several fleets and numerous small naval detachments in constant service during the milder seasons of the year, even in times when there was no war or expectation of any special trouble. The large number of men in the public service was accompanied by a large loss.

In 412 B. C., when Athens was greatly enfeebled by the loss of a large fleet and army at Syracuse, by the predominance of the Spartans in the *Ægean* Sea, by the destruction of her commerce, and by the devastation of all the rural districts of Attica, word was sent by some of her generals to her assembly, that if she would adopt an aristocratic government, she could obtain liberal pecuniary aid from Persia, which was then the ally of Sparta, and enough to enable her to recover her lost ground. This statement was presented in a manner so plausible, and was backed up by such an array of testimony, that the people in their distress listened to it with a show of favor until they were tricked into the appointment of a council of four hundred, who pretended that they represented five thousand wealthy men. This

council, however, represented nothing but themselves, and, after ruling despotically for about eight months, was overthrown to make way for the re-established democracy.

When finally exhausted, and compelled to surrender her fleet, her arms, and her public treasure; deprived of her commerce and her colonies; placed at the mercy of her enemies by the overthrow of her walls; impoverished by the devastation of her territory; and then made subject in 404 B. C. to the rule of thirty despotic oligarchs, it seemed as if Athens would need at least a century to recover her prosperity. But her conquerors quarreled among themselves, and could not agree as to the manner of further interference with the vanquished city. The Athenians expelled the tyrants, restored their democratic constitution, rebuilt their walls, constructed a new navy, regained much of their lost trade, and within fifteen years after their surrender again defied Sparta, and gave her serious defeats on sea and land. To do all this she must have admitted numerous aliens to her citizenship; but of the times and conditions of the later extensions of her franchise we have no information. For more than two centuries after the Peloponnesian war she was a prosperous commercial city, and for seven centuries she remained the chief seat of literature and education in Greece; but her government never regained the greatness that it had in the half century after the battle of Salamis.

After the Peloponnesian war, though much valuable literary work was done, the decline of Greece in its industrial and intellectual condition was rapid and almost uninterrupted. Warfare was continuous, destructive, and demoralizing. The organization of mercenary bands to serve any master who would pay them became an es-

tablished custom. Persian satraps, Sicilian despots, and the commanders of Spartan expeditions in Asia, were preferred employers. The most energetic young men went abroad as soldiers or traders. Their places were taken by freedmen of barbarian blood and of base traditions. Every generation witnessed the destruction of some notable Greek city, and the extermination or final dispersion of its people.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THEBES, MACEDON, ETC.

SECTION 385. *Epaminondas*.—The triumph of Sparta was brief. She treated the cities that had belonged to the Athenian empire with so little regard for their feelings and their substantial rights, and she tolerated in the commanders of her garrisons and fleets so much cruelty, so much plunder, and so much disregard of social propriety, that within five years, her allies plainly indicated their regret for the part they had taken in helping her against Athens. She understood that if there were another war, they would rather fight against than for her. When the Athenians began to rebuild their walls and to reorganize their navy, she did not dare to interfere.

Nominally the victor in the Peloponnesian war, she really suffered greater damage relatively than she inflicted on her rival. Her losses of men in battle were small in comparison with the slaughter of the Athenians; but were felt with more severity; because her constitution lacked elasticity. It did not permit the admission of new men into the governing class. If a noble died without a male heir of noble blood, the basis of the state was permanently diminished; and thus the number of those capable of holding office had shriveled in 400 B. C. to one-half of what it was in 500 B. C.

For their success in the Peloponnesian war, they were largely indebted to Thebes, which had a large force

of excellent infantry and cavalry, and never had produced a general or statesman of much note. The influence of that city in Greece was, therefore, small as compared with its military power for defensive purposes. The Spartans thought they could treat Thebes without respect, and in a treacherous manner they seized her citadel and held it. This insulting tyranny of the Spartan garrison having become unendurable, the Thebans revolted, expelled the intruders, and defied Sparta, taking for leaders two of their fellow-citizens, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the most remarkable pair of statesmen in all history. Each possessed high political capacity, distinguished military genius, unfaltering courage, zealous patriotism, and the most unselfish devotion to the interests of the other. Epaminondas was the abler man of the two, at least Pelopidas insisted that he was, and that he must take the more responsible positions; to which, besides, he was entitled by his higher talent as an orator. It was also his fortune to outlive his associate, and to command in the two battles which rendered Thebes the greatest military power of his time. At Leuctra, in 371 B. C., and at Mantinea nine years later, the Thebans under Epaminondas defeated the Spartans in pitched battles, the greatest defeats the Spartans ever suffered. In the last battle Epaminondas was slain, and Pelopidas having previously fallen a victim to his adventurous courage, Thebes was left without a leader, and she immediately sank back into her former insignificance.

When Sparta became the ruling state of Greece, the Hellenic cities of the Ægean islands and Asia Minor soon found that they had not improved their condition by change of masters. Athens taxed them heavily, but otherwise treated them with respectful fairness; Sparta

plundered, insulted, and crushed them. Although the influence of Athens tended to give political power to the freemen generally, there was little interference with the form of government, unless in cases of special provocation. On the other hand, Sparta never spared the democracy, and insisted upon many changes in local administration. Athens and Sparta were both severe at times, but the severity of the latter was much harsher than that of the former. After the Spartans had been defeated by Epaminondas, the Athenian confederacy was reorganized with the glad participation of the subordinate cities generally; but the result did not prove satisfactory to them. The Athenian people had been demoralized by the Peloponnesian war. Their officials were inferior in character and capacity to the contemporaries of Aristides and Pericles; the troops were mostly mercenaries; and the generals were often left without means to pay their troops, so that they were compelled to exact heavy contributions from subject cities, or to undertake plundering expeditions in neutral or hostile territory. The subject cities, growing tired of this system of management, revolted; and war followed, which prepared Greece for submission to Macedon.¹

Soon after the close of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartans sent an army into Asia Minor mainly for the purpose of plunder, and thus greatly irritated the Persians, who then, considering Athens as the best check of their enemy, gave a considerable sum of money to the Athenians to assist them in rebuilding their walls; but as the Athenians did little in return, and as the Spartans were soon ready to leave the Greek cities in Asia Minor and in the *Ægean* archipelago without protection, Artaxerxes made a treaty with them in 387 B. C.—the

treaty of Antalcidas, as it is known in history—by which the Asiatic Greeks were delivered over to the barbarian dominion, and Sparta was made the chief ally and agent of Persia in Europe, with authority to dictate the boundaries of the different states, but not to interfere in their government. Sparta retained authority over her subject cities, but Thebes did not.

SEC. 386. *Timolcon*.—Nearly all the important contributions to culture made by the Hellens before the rise of Macedon had their origin in Greece proper. Though the colonies had more people and more wealth, they copied the institutions, arts, and literature of Athens and the Peloponnesus. The only notable improvement made in polity by any of the colonies was the adoption of written laws, the substance and phraseology of which have not been preserved. Many distinguished Hellenic thinkers and writers had their birth in Sicily, Italy, and Asia Minor, but either their work was fragmentary or did not amount to much until they had been aided and encouraged at Athens.

Of all the colonial cities, the greatest in population, wealth, commerce, social refinement, and military power, was Syracuse, which, in the VIth century B. C., followed the example of Athens in adopting a democratic form of government, but did not succeed in maintaining it for any long period. The freemen as a body being incompetent to perform properly their political duties, became the victims of despots, who, as a class, are the most remarkable in history for their capacity. The first of these, Gelon, who ascended the throne in 491 B. C. and reigned thirteen years, was distinguished for the liberality of his rule and the great power to which he raised his state. Having been solicited to send assistance to

Greece after Xerxes had crossed the Hellespont, he consented to furnish 66,000 men with arms and ships, on condition that he should have command of the forces either on the land or the sea. Sparta would not surrender her hoplites nor Athens her ships to his control, and he remained at home; where he soon had to encounter a Carthaginian army of 300,000 men. At Himera—on the very day of Salamis, according to report—he defeated them, and left half their number dead on the field. His brother Hiero succeeded him and ruled for ten years, with less kindness, but with rare capacity.

The next Syracusan despot of much note was Dionysius I., whose reign of forty-two years ended in 367 B. C. He had a large standing army of mercenaries, said to number 100,000 men, and was engaged in numerous wars, in which he was generally successful. He conquered much of Southern Italy, destroyed the Italian cities of Rhegium, Caulonia, and Hipponium, subdued Crotona, and checked the advance of the Carthaginians in Sicily. He was a liberal patron of literature and literary men, and induced Plato to pay him a visit, but took offense at the language of the philosopher, and sold him as a slave.

Dionysius I. was succeeded by his son Dionysius II., who had little character or capacity, and yet retained possession of the throne for many years. At first he accepted the direction of his uncle, the philosopher Dion, who induced Plato to visit Syracuse a second time, and the two, acting in concert, hoped to lead the monarch to establish something like constitutional government, but he refused to submit to their influence, exiled Dion, treated Plato with neglect, and for his advisers selected

men who conducted the administration on despotic principles.

The people, discontented with a sovereign who gave them all the evils of despotism without any of the brilliancy which had adorned their city under Gelon, Hiero and Dionysius I., sent word to Dion that they wanted him to aid them in throwing off the yoke of his nephew. He accepted the invitation and succeeded; but instead of establishing a democratic or aristocratic constitution, he assumed despotic power, intending to rule liberally. On many occasions he showed great magnanimity and strong detestation of cruel measures. But he was assassinated before he could carry out his plan, and then for nine years the government remained without a competent head. Dionysius II. regained possession of the citadel, so that the city was in danger of the re-establishment of his tyranny. The Carthaginians, finding no formidable enemy opposed to them in Sicily, made such rapid progress in their conquests that the Greeks feared they would soon be reduced to complete subjection, or driven from the island.

While Dionysius II. had possession of the fortress of Syracuse, and while the people of that city were trying to expel him, Hycetas, the Greek despot of Leontini, made an alliance with the Carthaginians for the conquest of Syracuse and the division of its spoils. They accordingly laid siege to the city, which, then, in 344 B. C., sent an embassy to Corinth, their mother city, soliciting military aid. The Corinthian assembly of nobles—the government was an aristocracy—determined to send some help; but so little, that the enterprise was generally not only hopeless but foolhardy. Most of the citizens of reputation refused to be associated with it in any manner.

They evidently feared the blame that would attach to probable failure.

The expedition fitted out was to consist of seven triremes, filled with mercenary hoplites who had a bad reputation—only twenty-four hundred men in all. The command was offered to a dozen different men, who refused. Finally it was offered to Timoleon, who accepted it, and soon proved himself pre-eminently fitted for the place. He belonged to a noble family, and had distinguished himself on the battle-field by a heroic rescue of his wounded brother, Timophanes, who was afterwards intrusted with the command of the citadel and its garrison of mercenaries. Taking advantage of his position and of his control over the garrison, Timophanes assumed despotic power and exercised it tyrannically. His brother, brother-in-law, and a friend went to the citadel to expostulate with him, and finding him determined to maintain his tyranny, they slew him. Timoleon did not raise his hand against Timophanes but by his presence and silent consent he encouraged the executioners. His mother, who was proud of her despot son, cursed Timoleon, and he became unhappy and solitary. He was ready to face any danger at the call of his country. Death had lost its terrors for him. Immediately after accepting command of the Sicilian expedition, he devoted himself to the preparations, and set sail as soon as possible. Coreyra and Lesbos supplied three additional galleys; and with their crews he had three thousand two hundred men in all, including twelve hundred hoplites. He found a large Carthaginian fleet besieging Syracuse with the aid of Hycetas. To reach the shores of Sicily in defiance of a large fleet watching to intercept him required courage and cunning.

Both of these were his, and he landed. But he could not reach Syracuse, and his army being small as compared with that of either Hycetas or the Carthaginians, he started for the interior town of Adranum. Hycetas, earning his purpose and being nearer, determined to anticipate him, but Timoleon, with an inferior force, surprised and defeated him, and then, having obtained a supply of arms and attracted recruits from the surrounding country, he ventured to approach Syracuse. There, to his surprise, a messenger visited him from Dionysius II., who still held the citadel against the city as well as against the besiegers, proposing to surrender it in return for a conveyance to Corinth and a promise of protection there. Timoleon accepted the offer, and obtained possession of the citadel with two thousand mercenaries, an immense stock of military supplies, and access to the city which he had come to protect. The citizens and the arms gave him at once a formidable army. The dethroned despot was taken to Corinth, and there he lived many years as a poor teacher, a wonder to the citizens and strangers.

Timoleon was preparing to assail the besiegers when suddenly the Carthaginians disappeared. They had observed that at intervals between the skirmishes the soldiers of Hycetas and Timoleon were on friendly terms, which might mean serious danger to themselves in case of a general encounter. Hycetas saw that without Carthaginian aid he could not take Syracuse, so he decamped. Having driven away the foreign enemies, Timoleon immediately demolished the citadel, to show that he had no intention to become a despot. Thus he gained the confidence of all Greeks at home and abroad. Many of the people of the city and its surrounding country

having been slain in the previous fifteen years, Timoleon issued an invitation to immigrants, of whom 60,000 came, and all were provided with homes. The Carthaginians continued to oppress some of the Greek districts in the interior of the island, so Timoleon went to their aid; with 12,000 men at Crimesus he attacked and defeated an army of 70,000, of whom he slew 10,000 and captured 15,000. This victory stopped the Punic aggression in Sicily for that generation. Within a few months, and with means that were at first almost absurdly small for the task before him, he had advanced from victory to victory, until he had achieved very great results.

Having secured peace and order to Syracuse and to the Sicilian Greeks generally, and having seen that democratic government was established in all their cities, Timoleon resigned his position of general and refused to accept any office. One cause of his retirement was his failing vision; he soon became entirely blind. But so long as he lived, he was treated with the veneration due to his eminent services and his admirable character.

“By refusing the official prominence tendered to him, and by keeping away from the details of public life, Timoleon escaped the jealousy sure to attend upon influence so prodigious as his. But in truth, for all great and important matters, this very modesty increased instead of diminishing his real ascendancy. Though the Syracusans transacted their ordinary business through others, yet, when any matter of serious difficulty occurred, the presence of Timoleon was specially invoked in the discussion. During the latter months of his life, when he had become blind, his arrival in the assembly was a solemn scene. Having been brought in his car drawn by

mules across the market-place to the door of the theatre wherein the assembly was held, attendants then led or drew the car into the theatre amidst the assembled people, who testified their affection by the warmest shouts and congratulations. As soon as he had returned their welcome, and silence was restored, the discussion to which he had been invited took place, Timoleon sitting in his car and listening. Having heard the matter thus debated, he delivered his own opinion, which was usually ratified at once by the show of hands of the assembly. He then took leave of the people and retired, the attendants again leading the car out of the theatre, and the same cheers of attachment accompanying his departure; while the assembly proceeded with its other and more ordinary business. Such is the impressive and picturesque description given (doubtless by Athanis or some other eyewitness) of the relations between the Syracusan people and the blind Timoleon, after his power had been abdicated, and when there remained to him nothing except his character and moral ascendancy. Timoleon now enjoyed, as he had amply earned, what Xenophon calls 'that good, not human, but divine—command over willing men—given manifestly to persons of genuine and highly trained temperance of character.' In him the condition indicated by Xenophon was found completely realized—temperance in the largest and most comprehensive sense of the word—not simply sobriety and continence, but an absence of that fatal thirst for coercive power at all price, which in Greece was the fruitful parent of the greater crimes and enormities.

“Timoleon lived to see his great work of Sicilian enfranchisement consummated. Not Syracuse alone, but

the other Grecian cities in the island also, enjoyed under their revived free institutions a state of security, comfort, and affluence to which they had long been strangers. There are few names among the Grecian annals with which we can connect so large an amount of predetermined and beneficent results. Unfortunately for the Syracusans Timoleon died in the year 337-336 B. C.—three or four years after the battle of the Crimesus (eight years after he landed in Sicily). Profound and unfeigned was the sorrow which his death excited throughout Sicily. Not merely the Syracusans, but crowds from all other parts of the island, attended to do honor at his funeral, which was splendidly celebrated at the public cost. Some of the chosen youths of the city carried the bier whereon his body was deposited; a countless procession of men and women followed, in their festival attire, crowned with wreaths, and mingling with their tears admiration and envy for their departed liberator. The procession was made to pass over the ground which presented the most honorable mementoes of Timoleon; where the demolished Dionysian stronghold had once reared its head, and where the court of justice was now placed, at the entrance of Ortygia [the citadel]. At length it reached the necropolis, between Ortygia and Achradina, where a massive funeral pile had been prepared. As soon as the bier had been placed on this pile and fire was about to be applied, the herald Demetrius, distinguished for the powers of his voice, proclaimed with loud announcement as follows:—

“The Syracusan people solemnize at the cost of two hundred minæ the funeral of this man, the Corinthian Timoleon, son of Timodemus. They have passed a vote to honor him for all future time with festival matches in

music, horse and chariot race, and gymnastics—because, after having put down the despots, subdued the foreign enemy, and recolonized the greatest among the ruined cities, he restored to the Sicilian Greeks their constitution and laws.’

“A sepulchral monument, seemingly with this inscription recorded on it, was erected to the memory of Timoleon in the agora of Syracuse. To this monument other buildings were presently annexed; porticos for the assembling of persons in business or conversation, and palæstræ for the exercises of youths. The aggregate of buildings all taken together was called the Timoleonion.”¹

Timoleon is one of the most admirable statesmen of all time, a worthy companion in the pantheon of history for his predecessors, Solon, Aristides, Pericles, and Epaminondas. These five are pre-eminent for greatness in character combined with greatness in capacity and achievement above all the other men of antiquity who attained distinction in political life. Themistocles was superior to some of these in capacity and achievement, but serious doubts, not sustained by satisfactory proof, have been thrown on his integrity. All were democrats; all were pupils of Athens, where the first three were born and where they lived. Of the other two, one belonged to Thebes and the other to Corinth.

SEC. 387. *Philip*.—When Epaminondas was at the head of the Theban government, a Macedonian boy prince named Philip was taken to Thebes as a hostage. There he was kept until he became a man, and was educated in a manner befitting his rank, with excellent opportunities to study the statesmanship and military discipline of a highly civilized state. While he was in Thebes, his elder brother, Perdiccas, succeeded to the

throne, and after a reign of five years was slain in war, leaving as heir an infant son. Philip claimed the regency, and after fighting against foreign and domestic enemies, established his authority, and then, superseding his nephew, Amyntas, assumed the title of king in 359 B. C.

His realm was the largest and most populous of the Greek states, having an area of nearly three thousand square miles, about double the size of the Peloponnesus, Attica, and Bœotia combined. When he began his reign, his subjects were considered barbarians by the other Greeks. The difference in dialect was sufficient to render the speech of the Macedonian unintelligible to the Athenian, but, nevertheless, the two tongues were nearly related; and in the next generation the Macedonians were recognized as of true Hellenic blood. The people were so rude and their government so weak that they had never exercised any influence outside of their own borders; but already in the Vth century they had begun to attract Athenian teachers, and had even induced Euripides to live among them. Their country was rich in agricultural, commercial, and mineral resources; and with the internal security given by the strong reign of Philip, the people rapidly advanced in wealth. The state had some silver mines which in previous reigns had yielded little, but to him gave 1,000,000 ounces annually; a very large revenue, when an ounce of precious metal was worth relatively at least ten times as much as now.

Having established peace at home and beaten the Epirots so that they understood that they must not make inroads into Macedonia, he began to extend his authority over Greece, interfering in their quarrels, in

such a manner that he used some as allies against others. His chief ambition was to conquer Persia; and he could not venture to leave Europe until he was certain that the Greeks would not attack his country during his absence. To obtain that certainty he must become the recognized head of all Greece. He demanded not tribute nor abject submission, but co-operation, or at least neutrality.

The idea of the Greek conquest of Persia had already taken definite shape about 400 B. C., after the Greek mercenaries who accompanied Cyrus the Younger to the Euphrates fought their way out of the country. They numbered 13,000 men when they started from the shores of the Ægean Sea; before their retreat began, they had been reduced to about 10,000, and when they reached the Black Sea, to six thousand. In company with 80,000 Asiatics they met the army of Artaxerxes, said to number 900,000 men, at Cunaxa and defeated it, or rather the Greeks defeated it, for the Asiatic associates contributed little to the result. But Cyrus was slain in the battle, and as his death made an end to their purpose as well as to their pay, they had nothing to do but return. The Persians pursued and attempted to destroy them, but completely failed. The retreat took a north-westward direction, and was a succession of fights for about a thousand miles, until the shore of the Black Sea was reached. Xenophon, who was one of the commanders during the retreat, wrote a most interesting account of it, and in his book said that "Persia belongs to the man who has the courage to attack it." He distinctly saw that the discipline and strategy of the Greeks were vastly superior to those of any Asiatics that he had met, and that the combined troops of two or three of the

largest Greek states could overcome all the armies of the Persian empire.

The balance of power was well understood and frequently made the basis of foreign policy by Greek statesmen. They habitually combined their forces to prevent any one strong state from gaining a great preponderance; and they protected the small cities, which at some future time might be valuable as allies. Before Leuctra the Athenians indirectly aided the Thebans, who were considered the weaker party; but after that battle, they sent an army to the succor of the Spartans. It was upon this principle of the balance of power that Demosthenes acted in urging his countrymen to attack Macedon before Philip should become irresistible; and, in accordance with their habitual policy, they doubtless would have accepted this advice when first given, if then they had believed the danger as serious as their great orator told them it was and as time proved it to be.

As a barbarian and a despot, Philip was hateful to the Greeks, and to none more so than to the Athenians, whose state now again occupied a leading position, and who finally understood that the rise of Macedon meant the fall of several Athenian colonies on the Macedonian coast. Soon after Philip's accession to the throne, Demosthenes saw that Philip had the capacity and the ambition to raise his country to a controlling influence in Hellenic affairs, and that unless Athens should act energetically, she must soon sink into a subordinate position. His fellow-citizens listened to him and encouraged him in his denunciations of Philip, but at the same time, when they had the superior power, they did nothing. They applauded Demosthenes and gave him office, but allowed the Macedonian king to pursue his plans and or-

ganize his military forces. While Demosthenes was thus active on one side, his policy was opposed by Phocion, a statesman of incorruptible integrity, of extensive experience in public affairs, and of much influence as a public speaker, though his speeches were usually very short. After Demosthenes had delivered one of his great orations, and had produced a strong effect on his auditors, a few words from Phocion were sufficient to change completely the dominant opinion. Phocion took the ground that Athens was not strong enough to resist Philip; and that she could gain more by encouraging than by opposing him. There was no reason to doubt the sincerity of Philip's declaration that he wanted to invade Persia; nor was there any good reason why the Greeks generally should not aid him in his enterprise. It was not to be supposed that his main purpose was to plunder Greece while Persia was within reach; they might as well assume that wolves would attack dogs in preference to sheep. Year after year Phocion defeated Demosthenes in the assembly, but finally the Athenians determined to resist Philip, and they induced the Thebans to join them in their war. Their combined army met the Macedonians on the field of Chæroneia, in 338 B. C., and was defeated. The alliance was crushed, and resistance to Philip was at an end.

He placed a Macedonian garrison in Thebes, and took away much of her subject territory; but he treated Athens with indulgence. He exacted no tribute from her; imposed no garrison on her; allowed her to retain her constitution, and the rulers of her choice, and did not punish or silence Demosthenes, who, for fourteen years, had been his bitter and unrelenting enemy. Philip requested Athens and the other states of Greece to be his

allies in an expedition for the conquest of Persia; and in a congress which he called, and in which all the states save Sparta were represented, it was decreed by unanimous vote that each should furnish a certain number of soldiers or sailors with ships, to be ready at some time in the future in accordance with a notice to be sent by the head of the alliance.

SEC. 388. *Alexander*.—Two years after this congress and before Philip could make his final arrangements for the Persian expedition, he was assassinated. His son Alexander, then twenty years of age, succeeded to the throne and soon began to carry out the plan of his father. Crossing the Hellespont with 30,000 infantry and five thousand cavalry in 334 B. C., the second year of his reign, he marched through Asia Minor, where he won two important battles. Thence he marched to Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, which countries he subdued. Having established his authority over those portions of the Persian empire bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, he went on to the valley of the Euphrates, where he gained the last of his great victories at Arbela, in 331 B. C., three years and a half after he crossed from Europe to Asia. After this time no Persian army met him in the field, and no Persian city refused to open its gates to him. The empire, however, was very extensive, and he spent six years in military expeditions to eastern Persia, Bactria, Afghanistan, the valley of the Indus, and Beloochistan. In 323 B. C. he returned to Babylon, which he made his capital, and there, two years later, he died at the age of thirty-three. He was the first of the great conquerors in time, and in many respects the most eminent of all. In area, his conquests far surpassed those of his most distinguished rivals, Cæsar and Napoleon; and his

influence on culture was much more extensive and more lasting than theirs.

For ten years he reigned over a vast empire in Asia, and in that time he gave it an impress which it retained for centuries. He established Greek cities protected by fortifications in Mesopotamia, Afghanistan, Bactria, and India; and he made Athenian Greek the language of his government. He treated the Asiatics as political equals of his other subjects. He enlisted them in his army; and appointed them to political office. He encouraged his officers and soldiers to marry Asiatic women. He intended to melt together the different nationalities in his dominion; and though his work was only begun when he died, it nevertheless exercised a great and long enduring influence. His empire soon fell to pieces; one general becoming king of Macedonia, another of Persia including Asia Minor, and a third of Egypt. It seems rather singular that this last kingdom, which was the farthest from Greece in its geographical and ethnographical position, should have become the chief representative of Greek culture. For two centuries the leading city in Greek literature and science was Alexandria.

In the course of the century preceding the reign of Alexander, some additions were made to the implements of warfare. Machines (catapults and ballistas) were invented to throw heavy javelins and stones weighing as much as three hundred pounds to a distance of half a mile.¹ Battering rams had been used from remote times, but under Alexander were made more efficient by suspending them from frames by chains, or by supporting them on wheels, so that they could be made heavier and thrust forward with greater momentum. Towers, some

of them one hundred and fifty feet high, were built to move on rollers, so that they could be brought into contact with the fortifications of besieged cities. Walls were undermined, and walls of earth were thrown up against them, so that the assailants could be on a level with the defenders. With these improvements, the defense of fortified cities became much more difficult.

Philip armed his heavy infantry with a spear twenty-one feet long, loaded at the butt, so that five feet at that end were as heavy as sixteen at the other. His line of battle for the hoplites was made in files sixteen deep. The five ranks in front carried their spears level; the other ranks carried theirs pointing up at an angle of about thirty degrees. Except in the length of the spear, the Macedonian hoplite had about the same arms and armor as the Spartan or Athenian.

In open plains and for meeting an enemy directly in front, especially if the enemy was cavalry, the Macedonian phalanx armed with the long spear was an excellent organization; but it lacked flexibility, and therefore was not copied by other nations. It could not readily change front nor preserve its order in defiles or timber, nor fight well on broken ground or in small squads. It never achieved a notable triumph over Greek or Roman troops armed with the short spear and led by an able general. Nor did it ever find favor with distinguished tacticians of other nations. It was not adopted by Philopœmen, Hannibal, or Cæsar, nor imitated by the Swiss or Spanish infantry of modern times. For sixteen centuries after the overthrow of Macedon by Rome, the spear or javelin was the chief weapon, but its length was usually not more than nine feet, and never in any powerful army more than fourteen.

Several changes in the art of war were made by the Macedonians, as a consequence of the maintenance of large standing armies, which they were the first to establish in Greece. The grand phalanx was a much larger organization than any known to the Spartans or Athenians. It comprised 28,672 men, of whom more than half were hoplites, nearly one-third light infantry, and one-sixth cavalry. A simple phalanx had about one-fourth as many men as a grand phalanx.²

Alexander introduced the custom of taking his artillery—catapults and ballista—or all their parts except the heavy framework, along with his army on pack horses or wagons, so that he could soon have them ready, not only to attack walled towns, but also to use in his pitched battles. They were sometimes brought out in the openings between masses of cavalry or infantry to open a battle, as cannons are now.

As consequences of the Macedonian conquests, the Attic dialect was made the court language of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt; Greek books were brought within the reach of educated men in all those countries; troops collected in each were stationed in the others, amidst a friendly population; natural prejudices gave way before increasing knowledge; and many things worthy of admiration were found among peoples previously hated or despised. Thus the nations about the eastern end of the Mediterranean were prepared for the unity and law which they afterwards found under the dominion of Rome.

In Macedon and Asia, Macedonian dynasties continued to flourish for about two centuries, but they made no valuable additions to polity, military science, or any important branch of culture. The dynasty of the Ptolemies

in Egypt distinguished itself by its intelligent patronage of science and literature and by the eminent ability of most of its monarchs, an ability which appeared to the most advantage in their services to the cause of knowledge. Their reigns furnish no material for this chapter on political and military history; and an account of them and of the valuable labor accomplished under their direction, will be reserved for the chapter on the literature of Greece.

SEC. 389. *The Achæan League*.—Although the highest legislative authority was not intrusted to a house of delegates in any Hellenic state, yet the Greeks were not without councils of a representative character. The Athenian senate comprised fifty senators chosen by each of the ten senatorial districts; but the body thus constituted had no legislative or administrative authority, it was merely a committee of the general assembly. Other democratic cities had presumably similar senates. The affairs of the Athenian league were managed by a house of deputies, but of the manner in which these deputies were elected we have no information. The same remarks may be made of the league under the headship of Sparta.

The most remarkable representative body of Greece was the Amphictyonic Council of Delphi, a body appointed to manage and protect the temple, and other property of Apollo, at Delphi. This council, consisting of delegates from twelve different branches of the Hellenic race, was founded ten or twelve centuries before the Christian era, and perhaps even earlier. Its constitution dated from a time so remote that, before the origin of Greek history, some of the states which participated in this council had fallen into insignificance, and others

had greatly increased in population and power. Thus the national representation in the council had come to be grossly disproportionate to the influence of the various states and branches of the Hellenic community.

Certain states had the privilege of appointing at least one delegate each, but it is possible that every citizen of any Greek state was entitled to participate in the meetings and votes of the council; the representatives of each branch of the Greek race deciding by a majority how the two votes of that branch should be cast. Usually the council attended to nothing save the business of the temple; and often when the religious sentiments and interests of the people demanded an expression of the Hellenic feeling, the Amphictyonic council, which could have spoken appropriately and effectively, was silent. On several occasions, however, it did give faithful and decided expression to Hellenic public opinion upon matters not directly within the scope of its local jurisdiction. Similar minor amphictyonies or federal ecclesiastical councils were maintained to protect other temples; and it is probable that all were organized on the same plan of representation.

Because they had no panhellenic political tribunal for the settlement of controversies between their cities, nor any system of combining their forces for prolonged action, the Greek states as a mass were woefully weak, while each separately was wonderfully strong in proportion to its population. When compelled to unite against the Persian invader, they gained great victories; to the smaller armies but more prudent policy and generalship of Macedon and Rome, they could offer no effective resistance.

Besides the ecclesiastical confederacies or amphictyo-

nies in Greece, several political leagues existed from pre-historic times down to the rise of Macedon, or even later. Among these the most notable were the Achæan, Ætolian, Arcadian and Bœotian leagues.

After the rise of Macedon, federation became much more prominent in Greece than ever before. The little states saw that they must unite their forces if they wished to maintain their free institutions. They must enter into leagues with republican neighbors or submit to the despotism of the northern monarchy. They preferred the former alternative, and in their movement for federation, Achæa became the leader. The old league in that nation was dissolved about 288 B. C. by the Macedonians, who established a despot in every walled town, and thus not only deprived Achæa of its previous federal unity, but placed its divided governments in the hands of men indebted to Macedon for their despotic power, and most of them dependent on it for support.

In 280 B. C., while that kingdom was in confusion because of the absence of King Pyrrhus, in Italy, and of the invasion of northern Greece by the Gauls, two of the Achæan towns expelled their despots, and agreed to form a league for mutual defense, probably readopting the old federal constitution. The leader in this movement was Marcos, an exile from the Achæan town of Ceryneia, which still remained subject to its despot. Marcos was so successful as the head of the new league that within a few months he gained two additional towns, and within six years all Achæa. Ceryneia was brought into the league by its despot Isæus, who, seeing the drift of public sentiment, declared himself in favor of the federation. Thus a new league arose, occupying all the territory of the old one. The first federal constitution of

Achæa had been framed in remote times, perhaps before the time of Solon. In the intervening three centuries the Greeks had made much progress in polity; and it seems highly probable that the instructive experience of Athens had its influence on the minds of Marcos and his companions. Circumstantial evidence implies that the new Achæa had a better constitution than the old one. The first league was quiet and obscure; the second one became active and prominent. The former frequently failed to give effective protection to its citizens; within three generations the latter had absorbed the whole Peloponnesus. Something of the greater success of the later league may be attributed to the decline of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes; but these states had been lamentably weak for half a century, while Achæa remained apparently as powerless as it had been while Sparta and Athens were at the summit of their power. The difference between the position which Achæa held in 320 B. C. and that which it held a century later, cannot be satisfactorily explained without the aid of the theory that its constitution had been modified in such a manner as to render its government more efficient. The new constitution was probably a written document, but here again we must trust to presumption. There is no copy of such a document, nor extract from it, nor explicit mention of its existence; but the political customs of the Greeks, and the nature of the league, justify the belief that it was founded on a written agreement.

The supreme power of the league was exercised by the federal assembly, which consisted of all male citizens thirty years of age or older, and met at Ægion, in Achæa, in two semi-annual sessions of three days

each. Though every citizen of full age was a member of this assembly, the vote was counted not by persons, but by cities, each of which had one vote, and the majority of the citizens present from a city decided how its vote should be cast. Thus, in an assembly comprising three thousand citizens, of whom two thousand were from Ægion, the federal capital, and one hundred from each of the other nine cities of Achæa, the decision of the assembly could be controlled by fifty-one attendants in each of six of the cities; for they sufficed to control the votes of a majority of the Achæan states. Most of the attendants in these federal assemblies were citizens of the federal capital. Relatively few came from other cities.

A ministry of ten members under the presidency of the federal general, had control of the administration. These officials and also a federal secretary and the judges of a federal court were elected annually by the assembly. Each city elected ten senators to the federal senate, which had the same relation to the federal assembly as the senate had to the assembly in Athens. There was no pay for ministers or senators; perhaps none for the general or the secretary.¹

Of the federal court we know little save that such a body existed, and that the league had the reputation of treating all its cities with equal justice. The custom of taking careful account of the conflicting claims of their different cities educated the federal officials to a temper of moderation and a habit of carefully studying all sides, which gave them a name for impartiality, and induced foreign states to appeal to them repeatedly to act as international arbitrators; and when they accepted, they performed their duties creditably. How far the federal judges participated in these arbitrations we do not know.²

There was no pay for the attendance or traveling expenses of the members of the assembly, and therefore those who came to its sessions in Ægion from other cities were mostly men of wealth and leisure. If they sympathized with the nobles, they were nevertheless strongly impelled to vote as members of the federal assembly in accordance with the dominant sentiment of their respective towns. If they defeated the wish of their fellow-citizens, they made themselves unpopular at home and exposed themselves to violence, to the use of which the Greeks, when irritated in their political quarrels, frequently resorted.

SEC. 390. *Aratos*.—In the early years of its existence, the new league was not disturbed by foreign enemies. Macedon had enough to occupy its attention elsewhere. Achæa was not powerful enough to require suppression, nor rich enough to reward spoliation.

It had maintained itself with internal harmony and increasing external credit, for twenty-three years, when it was astonished by an embassy from the Doric city of Sicyon, near the eastern border of Achæa, soliciting admission on equal terms. The applicant was much larger than any of the Achæan towns; with its dependent territory it had probably half as many people as the whole league; and in wealth and military power, it was superior to Achæa in proportion to population. It had been subject to Nicocles, a despot in alliance with Macedonia, when in 251 B. C., an exile named Aratos, only twenty years of age, sneaked into the city by night with some accomplices, seized the citadel, and when morning came, proclaimed and established a free government. Aratos, the head of the new administration, was a man of remarkable political capacity, and he had the advan-

tage of being recognized as an ally of Ptolemy of Egypt, who was an enemy of Macedon.

When Sicyon expelled its tyrant, five hundred exiles returned, and many of them, whose property had been confiscated because of their hostility to the despots, demanded the restoration of their estates. The rejection of their demand might lead to serious disorders, and so might compliance with it. The losers were an influential class, and so also were those who had bought the confiscated lands. Aratos examined the claims, and finding that he could pacify the despoiled with one hundred and seventy-five talents (\$175,000), obtained that sum from Ptolemy and settled the claims. Thus internal peace was secured, but the foreign relations were threatening. Macedon was near and hostile. Egypt was friendly but distant. Neither Athens nor Sparta was strong enough to give protection, nor would either give any aid unless placed in possession of the citadel. There was one refuge, the contiguous federation of Achæa, which might give efficient protection, and in no case would establish any odious domination. The Dorians generally considered it a disgrace to people of their blood to subordinate themselves to Achæans, Ionians or Æolians; but Aratos would not admit that membership in the Achæan league meant subordination in any discreditable sense. He applied for admission into the league, and obtained it.

This enlargement of the Achæan federation was the beginning of a new political era in Greece, that of international leagues, that of the absorption of the whole peninsula into one federal state, with officials from Spartan, Messenian, Arcadian, and Argolic cities sitting side by side in friendly co-operation as senators, ministers, and judges of a democratic republic.

In 293 the league acquired Corinth, Megara, Troizene, and Epidaurus; in 234 Megalopolis, and in 229 B. C. Argos, with which it possessed half the Peloponnesus. Megalopolis, the most important of these acquisitions, brought with it much of Arcadia, a large and well-disciplined army, and generals much superior to those furnished by any other part of the league. Of these the ablest were Lydiadas, who had been despot of Megalopolis, and surrendered his power for the purpose of transferring his city to the league, and Philopœmon, who became general of the league and extended its authority over the whole Peloponnesus.

The league had at first been quiet in its policy, but under Aratos it became aggressive in its schemes of annexation. It repeatedly undertook military enterprises in which it was disgracefully beaten. Aratos became distinguished for success in political plans and for failure in military movements. Unfortunately for the league, the able generals of Megalopolis never were allowed to have full command of the armies so long as Aratos lived, and by his military incapacity they were subjected to several humiliating defeats. The greatest of these disasters occurred in 224 B. C., when the confederated Achæans, under Aratos, confronted in battle the Spartans, under Cleomenes. The victories of Cleomenes were so complete that Aratos was compelled to choose between submission to the near Spartans and alliance with the more distant Macedonians. He preferred the latter alternative. He had to pay for the aid of his allies with the surrender of Corinth, a payment to which the Corinthians made the most strenuous objection, and which was doubtless highly disagreeable to Aratos and his fellow-citizens in the league generally, but it seemed better to

them that one city should be enslaved than a dozen; and if they had been compelled to accept a yoke for themselves, they would doubtless have accepted that of Macedon as the more generous, in preference to that of Sparta. No king of Macedon had enslaved Greeks and destroyed their cities with such relentless hate as had been shown by the aristocrats of the Eurotas. If Aratos had not obtained help from the north, Megalopolis would doubtless have been utterly destroyed.

With the help of Macedon, the Spartans were defeated at Sellasia, but they continued to show their hostility to the league at every opportunity until 207 B. C., when they were finally crushed at Mantinea by the army of the league under Philopœmen, who then had no Aratos to obstruct him. This was the most disastrous defeat that the Spartans ever suffered, and it made an end to all their insolent interference with the affairs of their neighbors.

Fifteen years later, Sparta, and soon afterwards Elis and Messenia, joined the league, which then included the whole Peloponnesus, and prevented any further discord there, and might have risen to great influence north of the Isthmus, if it had not been overshadowed, and after half a century absorbed, by the growing power of Rome.

The Achæan confederacy was not a strong government. It had serious defects in its military, financial, and legislative departments. Its general and its ministry were often afraid to take responsibility for fear they would be punished by the federal assembly if the result of their action should be disastrous. Their weakness came into plain view when, possessing half the Peloponnesus with a harmonious population, they could not defend themselves against Sparta with only one-sixth of

the Peloponnesus and a small governing class that had a very slight hold on the affection of its subjects.

In one respect the statesmen of Achæa were more fortunate than those of Athens; they were not compelled to account for their official conduct to an assembly or a court that under the excitement of the moment frequently became a furious mob. In the federal system there was no room for ostracism or for a jury sitting as a supreme court. Such prosecutions of eminent statesmen, generals, artists, and philosophers as disgraced Athens were unknown at Ægion. Marcos, Aratos, Lydiadas and Philopœmen were never officially accused of treasonable or corrupt practices, much less driven into exile, as were Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon and Thucydides, son of Melesias. No Achæan general was condemned to death by an Achæan court as were the six victorious generals of Arginusæ, by an Athenian court. Nor does any stain of gross dishonesty attach itself to the name of any statesman prominent in Achæan history; and the multitude of such stains in Athenian history is to be attributed not to the greater prevalence of dishonesty, but to the fact that in Athens the power was intrusted to a multitude, divided into two factions, one of which was always anxious to hear, to accredit, and to reward any plausible accusation against an influential statesman of the opposite side.

The Achæan league attracted or produced a number of men who served the state with ability and zeal. Of these, the first was Marcos, who led in the organization of the new federation, and continued to be a prominent citizen, frequently serving in high office, for half a century. Isæus and Lydiadas, who surrendered their despotic power in Boura and Megalopolis, and led their cities into

the league, proved to be faithful friends of freedom. Aratos, who was rewarded with the generalship immediately after bringing Sicyon into the league, and continued to control the federal administration for thirty years, was a man of pure motives, but his distrust of the Megalopolitan generals led to many serious disasters. Of all the Achæan statesmen, the ablest and the most successful was Philopœmen, who had the satisfaction of bringing Sparta, Messena, and Elis into the league. His combination of high political and military talents with rare purity of motive, entitles him to be placed near Aristides, Pericles, Epaminondas, and Timoleon, if not on an equality with them. As a general he has been considered worthy to be classed with his eminent contemporaries, Hannibal and Scipio Africanus,¹ whose greater fame was perhaps due only to the wider spheres in which they displayed their talents.

This second Achæan league, founded in 280 B. C., maintained its existence for one hundred and thirty-four years, with a dominion including the entire Peloponnesus for half a century, and finally gave way to the Roman power in 146 B. C. During the last half century of its existence it included the whole Peloponnesus, as well as Corinth and Megara. Its influence was also felt north of the Corinthian gulf, where nearly all the Greeks combined their strength in federal unions.² In 189 B. C. there were ten leagues in Greece. Those of Achæa, Bœotia and Ætolia were of ancient origin, but recently reorganized; those of Acarnania, Phocis, Eubœa, Thessaly, Epirus, Magnesia, and Perrhæbia, were of late date. The Achæan federal constitution is the only one of which we can obtain a distinct idea; the others were probably similar in the more important points.

SEC. 391. *Bœotia, etc.*—Important as was the part played by Bœotia in Grecian history, our knowledge of its government is very incomplete. Except during several brief periods, its political system was aristocratic and federal. Its league comprised nine or eleven cities, each of which had one representative, or Bœotarch, in the ministry, except Thebes, the chief city, which had two. It is uncertain whether the board of Bœotarchs numbered eleven or thirteen; possibly it had the smaller number at one period and the larger at another. The ministry seems to have exercised or controlled all the political authority of the league. We read nothing of a federal assembly, such as that of Achæa. The Bœotarchs were elected for annual terms by the various cities, to which respectively they were responsible for the manner in which they performed their duties.

The chief city and its dependent territory had perhaps one-third of the inhabitants of Bœotia, and seemed to be at a great disadvantage in the ministry, where it had only one-sixth of the votes; but by its central position, strong military power, and metropolitan relations, it controlled the government and subjected the larger of its confederate cities—Orchomenos, Thespia, and Plataea—to an oppressive domination, which they always wished to throw off, and against which they frequently revolted. Most of the Bœotian towns were too small, and too near to Thebes, to think of maintaining their independence without her help, and therefore were always ready to accept her dictation; and some of the Bœotarchs might be influenced in their action by the fact that their board held its sessions in Thebes, whose public opinion was a continual pressure upon them, and in times of great excitement might be a source of serious

personal danger to them. Neither in the earlier nor in the later leagues of the Greeks was there ever any apportionment of delegates on the basis of population, or military force; and the knowledge of the inequality of the representation in the federal council, and the unfairly large share of influence given to Thebes, was doubtless one of the chief causes of the ordinary military weakness of Bæotia. "The whole internal history of Bæotia is one long record of feuds between Thebes and the other cities, Plataea, Thespia, and Orchomenos. And the lesson is the more striking because, as far as we can make out from our scanty notices of the Bæotian constitution, the mere formal position of Thebes does not seem to have been at all extravagant or anomalous. To the great executive college of the Bæotarchs, while the other cities contributed one member each, Thebes contributed two. That is, in the chief magistracy of the federation, the great city of Thebes legally commanded only two votes out of eleven or thirteen. Yet we find the Bæotian League, throughout two-thirds of its history, existing only as an instrument to advance Theban interests, constantly to the disadvantage, sometimes to the utter destruction, of the smaller towns of the confederation."¹

The Arcadian and Ætolian leagues were combinations of districts rather than of cities; and the Arcadian federation in early times was a bond so weak, that the different cities and districts frequently made peace and war without consulting, and apparently without seriously offending, the other members of their league. Ætolia had a stronger union; next to Achæa it had a higher federal authority than any other part of Greece; it acted with more consistency and efficiency in its foreign rela-

tions, and in proportion to population it had a better army than that of Achæa. Plutarch and Polybius hated the Ætolians, and called them "robbers;" but supply no proof to sustain their accusation, and furnish much evidence to discredit it. The Ætolians were a rude nation, and some of their dealings with other states were harsh; but not more harsh than those of Thebes or Sparta. They had a federal general, secretary, ministry, and senate; once a year they held a federal assembly, in which every Ætolian citizen was a member with a vote, but his vote was counted only in the section of his district or city; and the decision of the assembly was controlled by the majority of cities.

In 189 B. C. nearly all Greece was in leagues. The Peloponnesus, with Megara and Corinth, formed the Achæan league; Ætolia, Acarnania, Phocis, Bœotia, Eubœa, Thessaly, Epirus, Magnesia, and Perrhæbia, had each its federal government. South of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, Attica and Locris, among the Greek states, on the mainland, did not belong to a league. Threatened by Rome on one side, and by Macedonia on the other, the Greek cities saw that they could not stand separately; but they delayed their combination until they could no longer resist the advance of alien domination.

Under Rome the Greeks shared the fate of the other subjects; they were cruelly plundered. With no protection against spoliation and little against personal outrage by their insolent foreign masters, they had scant encouragement for toil, economy, or study. Manufactures and commerce languished; wealth and population diminished; literature and art sank into insignificance; and the superiority of the schools in Athens was caused, not by their high merits, but by the deficiencies of all rivals.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GREEK RELIGION.

SECTION 392. *Poetic Myths*.—The religion of the Greeks was an idolatrous polytheism. It recognized about a dozen great gods, a vast multitude of minor divinities, and the ancestral spirits, which last were worshiped at the domestic hearth of every citizen. Among the great gods were Zeus, the ruler of the skies; Phœbus (Apollo), the god of light, music and poetry, and the chief agent for communicating by oracles, to men, the decrees of Zeus; Poseidon (Neptune), the master of the seas; Ares (Mars), the god of war; Aphrodite (Venus), the goddess of love; Athena (Minerva), the goddess of science, philosophy and art; Hephæstus (Vulcan), the god of fire; Hera (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus and goddess of marriage; Demeter (Ceres), goddess of agriculture, and Dionysus (Bacchus), the god of wine. Among the minor divinities were the gods of many professions and localities. Every city had its divine patron, worshiped in a special temple. The Greek gods were not jealous. They allowed their worshipers to adore other gods. No Greek city limited its adorations to a single deity, or prohibited the worship of any god in the Hellenic pantheon. In public opinion, a sacrifice to one god did not mean the desertion of another. An offering was due to Poseidon from a man when going to sea, to Ares when starting on a military campaign, to

Demeter, when sowing a grain field, and to Athena when planting olive trees. The same person not only might with propriety, but often must, pay his adoration to several different divinities in the same day. Those actions which took him into the jurisdictions of various gods, should, if important, be accompanied by his devotions.

Many religious ideas current in Greece were derived from older contemporaneous nations. The Greek Zeus is near akin in etymology and signification to the Hindoo Dyaus; the Greek Uranus to the Hindoo Varuna; and the Greek Eos (dawn) to the Hindoo Ushas. The Greek and Hindoo myths show numerous close relationships. The Hindoo tenet of transmigration was accepted by Plato and many of his contemporaries. Herodotus found in Egypt the origin of many ecclesiastical usages common in his own nationality. The Greek Elysium suggests the Egyptian Aalu, the home of the blest. There are many resemblances between the ecclesiastical systems of Greece and Phœnicia. Melicertes, a title of Hercules in Corinth, is evidently the Syrian Melkarth in Hellenic spelling. Adonis and Apollo are the Greek forms of the Asiatic Adonai and Aplu. The arrangement and management of some of the temples of Aphrodite were imitations of those of Astarte. Though rare, not favored by predominant public sentiment, and not tolerated in any Hellenic city as a regular form of appeasing the gods, human sacrifice was not unknown to the historical Greeks.¹ Its occasional appearance among them was due less to the preservation of a custom of their Aryan ancestors than to the imitation of the rites of their contemporaries in Phœnicia.

All the Greeks had the same religion, the same gods,

the same conception of the divine nature, and the same modes of worship. All their cities had temples built on the same plan, idols, sacrifices, oracles, and omens. None had a written revelation, a precise creed necessary to salvation, or a priesthood that controlled the future fate of mankind. The belief in the immortality of the soul was universal, but the conception of the life to come was vague. In the literature of the ancient Greeks there is no distinct statement of the doctrine of rewards and punishments hereafter, for virtue and vice here.

The Hellenic ecclesiastical system had neither a famous founder like Zoroaster or Buddha, nor a sacred book. Its nearest approach to a great prophet was Homer; its nearest approximation to a gospel was the *Iliad*. In that great epic poem, all the greater gods and all the classes of divinities are introduced, incidentally and in disconnected passages, from which, however, may be deduced a comprehensive and harmonious system of divine attributes and characteristics, and of celestial government. This book, made familiar to everybody by frequent public recitations, full of charm and impressiveness for the weakest and the strongest minds, though secular in its general purpose and tone, was a high ecclesiastical authority. It was in all likelihood, as Gladstone says, "a main instrument in establishing the dominant features of the Hellenic religion."²

Divinity and humanity as conceived by the Greeks, were not far apart. Many distinguished families were descended from celestial ancestors. The leading chieftains who took part in the Trojan war were the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of various gods. Divine blood flowed in the veins of the nobles of Athens, Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and other Greek states, and

was traced in genealogies that were not questioned by the multitude.

Even those citizens whose ancestors had been exclusively human in all their generations, acquired a divine dignity by death. They became so powerful that they were entitled to worship from their descendants. In the world of spirits, they retained their interest in mundane affairs, and they had power to give material aid to their devout descendants, over whom they constantly watched, and to whom they, as well as the great and minor gods, often gave signals of events that were to come.

The average Greek was greedy for stories of the participation of the gods in human life. As Grote says: "He looked for wonders and unusual combinations in the past; he expected to hear of gods, heroes, and men moving and operating together upon earth; he pictured to himself the fore-time as a theater in which the gods interfered directly, obviously and frequently, for the protection of their favorites and the punishment of their foes. The rational conception, then only dawning in his mind, of a systematic course of nature, was absorbed by this fervent and lively faith. And if he could have been supplied with as perfect and philosophical a history of his own real past time, as we are now enabled to furnish with regard to the last century of England or France, faithfully recording all the successive events, and accounting for them by known positive laws, but introducing no special interventions of Zeus or Apollo—such a history would have appeared to him not merely unholy and unimpressive, but destitute of all plausibility or title to credence."³

In the VIth century B. C. the Greeks generally believed that the gods had abandoned the custom observed by

them in earlier times, of coming down frequently to earth, making themselves visible and audible to men, associating familiarly with them, giving them lessons in poetry, music, polity, and war, planting vines, olive trees, and grain fields, building ships, temples, and cities, and making love with success to women and men. Nearly every city had its legends, accepted with complete credence, about the visits which it received from its patron god in perceptible human form, the blessings he had conferred, and the friendly treatment with which he had honored the citizens of a prior generation.

The cessation of such divine visits was admitted and lamented. It was attributed to the increasing demoralization of mankind, to the augmenting vulgarization of human life, to the growing force of a skepticism that was insulting to the gods, and to the advancing blindness that incapacitated men for seeing the divine influences surrounding them on every side. And this explanation was accepted by many who would have sneered at a story that the child of any unmarried woman of their acquaintance had been begotten by Zeus or Phœbus. They believed implicitly that Hercules, Achilles, Æneas, and numerous other legendary heroes, had actually existed and were of divine parentage; but they did not imagine that the gods begat sons in their time.

The poetic myth as a feature of religious belief reached its highest development in Greece. Beautiful legends were associated with many of the most striking natural phenomena, and men seemed to be lifted up to heaven while the gods were brought down to earth.

"All things were alive, most things were conscious beings; and all the phenomena of the universe were but the actions of these personal agents. If, in the clear

heaven, the big drops fell from the suddenly gathered clouds, these were the tears which Zeus wept for the death of his son Sarpedon. If, in the autumn-time, the leaves fell from the trees and the earth put on a mourning garb, this was because Persephone, the summer child, had been stolen from the great mother, and because her sorrow could not be lightened until the maiden should be brought back at the joyous trysting-place of Eleusis. If the sun, which plunged into the sea in the evening, came back after a few hours to cheer the earth with his radiance, this was because during the night he had journeyed round the ocean stream in his golden car and had been gladdened with the sight of his wife and children. For the Greek, 'the moon wandering among the stars of lesser birth,' was Asterodia surrounded by the fifty daughters of Endymion, the attendant virgins of Ursula in the christianized myth. All the movements of the planets were, for him, fully explained by this unquestioned fact; and with the same unhesitating assurance he would account for all sights or sounds on the earth or in the heavens. The snow-storm was Niobe weeping for her murdered children; the earthquake was the heaving caused by the struggles of imprisoned giants who were paying the penalty for rebellion against the lord of heaven. . . . The stars and the clouds were the exulting dancers who clashed their cymbals round the cradle of Zeus; the sun was the hero compelled to go his weary round for the children of men, or crucified daily on his blazing wheel, or condemned to heave to the summit of the heaven the stone which thence rolled down to the abyss."⁴

As compared with Christianity, the religion of the Greeks was simple. It had no puzzles or impossibilities

of creed, called mysteries. It had no incarnation; no double nature, both human and divine in its divinity; no satisfaction of celestial justice for the sin of one man by the punishment of another; no god that consisted of three persons; no conversion of bread into flesh and blood by the word of a priest; and no gospel, the text of which provoked criticism. The numerous Christian subtleties, among which these are some of the most notable, have no parallels in the faith of ancient Greece.⁵

SEC. 393. *Greek Worship*.—The sacerdotal profession was not numerous or powerful. It had no hierarchical organization, no chief priest, for all Greece, nor for any state, nor for all the temples of any one god in different cities. In its discipline and revenue every shrine was independent of all others. Many sacerdotal positions were open to commoners, but in each of the great temples, the priests belonged to one ancient noble family, which had a hereditary right of ministering there.

Without a hierarchical system that might offer successive promotions to ambitious priests, without any considerable sacerdotal influence in state affairs, and without a precise written creed that might serve as a standard of orthodoxy, the relations between the political and ecclesiastical departments of life in ancient Greece were very quiet. Men were sometimes punished for impiety; but in these cases the priests did not appear as complainants. There never was a general persecution of heretics or unbelievers.

The authority of priest was originally attached to that of king; and, as a general rule, when the monarchy was overthrown, the royal family retained the priesthood in the temple of the patron god of the city. In Sparta, where the royal title was preserved, though it was con-

ferred on two men at the same time, and though the office was deprived of its political authority, the nominal kings were really priest-generals. They consulted the omens and declared what the state could do with the approval of the gods.

The temples of the Greeks were the most splendid of their buildings. Those of Athena and Zeus in Athens, of Demeter at Eleusis, of Apollo in Delphi and Delos, of Zeus in Olympia, and of Diana in Ephesus were among the most noted works of Hellenic architecture. The temple had a shelter for the statue of the god, and for certain offerings; and in large temples, this shelter was in a front hall, behind which was a rear chamber for articles used in worship, and for temple treasures. Outside of the main building but near its front entrance, was an altar for sacrifice. Many temples had extensive grounds; and in these were buildings for the slaughter of beasts to be sacrificed, and for the dwellings of the priests and their servants. In a few cases in Greece proper, the temples of Aphrodite owned and kept on the temple grounds a large number of public women, most, if not all of whom, were slaves. A celebrated institution of this kind was at Corinth.

On account of their sacredness, some of the leading temples were places of deposit for money and other valuables; and because of the number of their visitors from distant places, they were centers of information. In both these respects, as a bank, and as a focus of news, the temple at Delphi was far in advance of any other. Its priests were in the habit of carefully questioning the applicants for oracles, and thus they accumulated a large stock of knowledge, which assisted them in giving responses that would fit any result.

Certain temples, such as those of Æsculapius, had in their grounds, or in their vicinity, buildings for the shelter of invalids, who were there attended by priests skilled in medicine and surgery. In some cases the patient fasted and then slept in the temple, with a hope that he would be told by the god in a dream what remedy he should use.

The worshiper prepared himself for addressing the god by dipping his fingers into the bowl of consecrated water, which stood in the main chamber of every temple. To prevent any mistake in the title which he gave to the divinity, he prayed for favor "whether this or another be your favorite name" and "whether you be god or goddess."¹ When the customs of the temple required a sacrifice of a certain beast from the worshiper, if he was too poor to purchase the animal, he might offer instead, a figure of the beast in bread or cake. The trickery common among the spirit mediums of modern times was not unknown to the ancient Greeks. "There were temples called Plutonia, where the spirits of the dead were conjured up to answer questions."² The gods and perhaps also goddesses were materialized for those who were not satisfied with associations of flesh and blood. Aristotle says "even to our times, in that place [the Bukeion], the wife of the Archon king is intrusted once every year to matrimonial communication with Bacchus."³

The temple was not a place for public worship. It had no room for a congregation. Its chief purposes were to provide a home for the god; to conciliate him by its construction and maintenance; to furnish a place where private worship could be paid to him; and to sustain a priesthood which should supervise his private worship and manage his public festivals. The acts of

private worship in the temple were prayers, sacrifices of beasts, offerings of fruits, wine, and flowers, and the fulfillment of vows made when divine help was needed. The private adoration of the domestic divinities, the most important and most frequent exercise of Greek devotion, was paid in the house at every meal by an offering of a particle of food, a pinch of salt, and a libation of a few drops of wine thrown on the hearth or poured on the floor. The public worship of Greece included festivals and occasional sacrifices by order of the state. The panathenaic festival and dramatic performances of Athens, and the international athletic games at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus of Corinth were all given in honor of the gods and were regarded as acts of worship to them.

In the worship of the temples, and of certain noble families, great importance was attached to ancient liturgies, which, it was supposed, had secured the favor of the gods, and must be repeated with the greatest exactness, and preserved with the greatest secrecy. The relation of the worshiper to the god was supposed to be confidential; any betrayal of the language, or any admission of a stranger to the ceremonies, was sacrilegious. Strict rules governed the dress, the attitudes, and the tones of the priests while they were engaged in worship.⁴

The temple of Demeter at Eleusis occupied an exceptional position in the Greek religion. She was the goddess of agriculture, but it was in her character of the afflicted mother, mourning for her daughter, that her worship was peculiar, significant, and influential. She promised comfort to the sad; she invited them to her mysteries; she provided a secret formula of initiation which should secure peace of mind for them in this

world and happiness in the next. Her temple had a large hall where pilgrims assembled at her great annual festivals, which sometimes attracted as many as 30,000 from other states to Attica. These pilgrims and the Athenians who intended to accompany them spent two days in the city, going through the rites of purification, and then marched in procession twelve miles to Eleusis, where they went through ceremonies which have not been described, but which were supposed to prepare men for holiness in life and for happiness after death.

SEC. 394. *Greek Monotheism.*—In the later centuries of Greece, many of the philosophers were monotheists. To them the error of the popular polytheism was quite apparent. They accepted only one divine existence, but they did not attempt to disturb the faith of the multitude. They supposed that the traditional mythology, notwithstanding some objectionable features, helped the state to maintain order. They considered it a valuable aid to the police. They feared that a rabble without superstition would be ungovernable. Under the ancient faith, states had been founded, and without it perhaps they could not be preserved. Such were the ideas of Plato, and of many of his philosophic successors, and perhaps also of some of his predecessors; and it was under the influence of these ideas that ancient Greece produced no reformer of the popular religion.

“The philosophers,” says Felton, “universally rejected the popular notions of the gods, and almost universally the belief in a multiplicity of gods; though, as a matter of expediency and prudence, they generally fell in with the observances of the popular worship, so far, at least, as the laws of the state required religious conform-

ity. But after all there was a wide separation between them and the body of the people, who, partly from the fanaticism natural to ignorance, and partly from the apprehension of losing the enjoyments placed within their reach by the religious festivals, persecuted with unrelenting hostility any man who was suspected of questioning the national faith. They could laugh over the vices and absurdities attributed by the poets to the gods and goddesses, the cowardice and lewdness of Dionysus, the intrigues of Aphrodite, the sneaking amours of Zeus, the scolding jealousy of Hera; but if an earnest seeker after the truth came to doubt the existence of these precious models of divine nature, and pronounced that the universe was created and governed by one God, holy, omnipresent, eternal, and indivisible, he could look only for banishment or death from the popular tribunals.”¹

The earlier Hellenic poetry contains many henotheistic passages. The following is from the Orphic remains:—

“One self-existent lives; created things
 Arise from him, and he is all in all.
 No mortal sight may see him, yet himself
 Sees all that live. He out of good can bring
 Evil to men, dread battle, tearful woes;
 He, and no other. Open to thy sight
 Were all the chain of things, could'st thou behold
 The Godhead, ere as yet he stepped on earth.

* * * * *

Jove is the first and last, who the infant thunder hurled;
 Jove is the head and midst; the framer of the world;
 Jove is a male; a nymph of bloom immortal, Jove:
 Jove is the base of earth, and starry heaven above;
 Jove is the breath of all; the force of quenchless flame;
 The root of ocean, Jove; the sun and moon the same.

Jove is the king, the sire, whence generation sprang;
 One strength, one Demon great, on whom all beings
 hang;
 His regal body grasps the vast material round;
 There fire, earth, air and wave, and day and night are
 found;
 Wisdom, first maker, there, and joy-prolific Love;
 All these centering fill the mighty frame of Jove.”²

Æschylus says:—

“ Zeus is the earth and air, and Zeus the heavens;
 Yea, Zeus is all and what is over all.”

The Stoics as a class were monotheists, and their conception of the divine nature was not less enlightened than that of modern Christian scholars, who have found much to admire in the theology and piety of such writers as Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, who, though Romans, gave expression to teachings that had their origin in Greece. Among the Hellenic Stoics was Cleanthes, whose hymn to Jupiter, conceived not as a national divinity but as the universal god who looks with equal favor on all mankind, is here given in translation:—

“ Most glorious of the immortal Powers above!
 Oh, thou of many names! mysterious Jove!
 Forevermore Almighty! Nature’s source!
 That govern’st all things in their ordered course!
 All hail to thee! since innocent of blame,
 E’en mortal creatures may address thy name;
 For all that breathe and creep the lowly earth,
 Echo thy being with reflected birth;
 Thee will I sing, thy strength for aye resound;
 The universe, that rolls this globe around,
 Moves wheresoe’er thy plastic influence guides,
 And, ductile, owns the God whose arm presides.

The lightnings are thy ministers of ire;
The double-forked, and ever living fire;
In thy unconquerable hands they glow,
And at the flash all nature quakes below.
Thus, thunder-armed, thou dost creation draw,
To one immense, inevitable law;
And with the various mass of breathing souls
Thy power is mingled, and thy spirit rolls.
Dread genius of creation! all things bow
To thee; the universal monarch thou!
Nor aught is done without thy wise control,
On earth or sea, or round the ethereal pole,
Save when the wicked, in their frenzy blind,
Act o'er the follies of a senseless mind.
Thou curbest the excess. Confusion to thy sight
Moves regular; the unlovely scene is bright.
Thy hand, educing good from evil, brings
To one apt harmony the strife of things.
One ever-during law still binds the whole,
Though shunned, resisted, by the sinner's soul.
Wretches! while still they course the glittering prize,
The law of God eludes their ears and eyes.
Life then were virtue, did they this obey;
But wide from life's chief good they headlong stray.
Now glory's arduous toils the breast inflame;
Now avarice thirsts, insensible of shame;
Now sloth unnerves them in voluptuous ease;
And the sweet pleasures of the body please.
With eager haste they rush the gulf within,
And their whole souls are centered in their sin.
But oh, great Jove! by whom all good is given!
Dweller with lightnings, and the clouds of heaven!
Save from their dreadful error lost mankind!

Father! disperse these shadows of the mind!
Give them thy pure and righteous law to know;
Wherewith thy justice governs all below.
Thus honored by the knowledge of thy way,
Shall men that honor to thyself repay;
And bid thy mighty works in praises ring,
As well befits a mortal's lips to sing.
More blest, nor men nor heavenly powers can be,
Than when their songs are of thy law and thee!"³

SEC. 395. *Delphi*.—The Greek religion included the belief that the gods gave to men omens or signs indicating the results of every important action that he proposed to himself, and that they had taught men how to interpret these omens correctly. The celestial signs for man's guidance were given in many ways; by meteorological phenomena; by the movements and cries or songs of quadrupeds, birds, and insects; by the appearance of the entrails of animals sacrificed; and by his own involuntary movements, such as sneezing or stumbling.

The future was also made known to man by priests or priestesses, who were directly inspired by some god, without the aid of any visible sign. It was considered dangerous and impious to begin any important enterprise without the approval of an omen or oracle. If the advice given by the diviner or priest seemed injudicious, it was presumed, not that the agent of the god was wrong, but that the applicant for celestial advice had committed some blunder, or had misinterpreted the instructions given, and he might make another inquiry.

The most remarkable case in Greek history of national disaster caused by divination occurred to the Athenian expedition in Sicily. When Nicias, the commander, found that he could not take Syracuse, nor

achieve any conquest in Sicily, he prepared to retreat, but was stopped by an eclipse of the moon. His soothsayer said he must stop twenty-seven days before moving. He obeyed, and the result was that his army was captured and enslaved, and Athens greatly weakened and impoverished. Afterwards the Athenians said the soothsayer did not understand his business; the eclipse was a sign to facilitate and hasten retreat.

The delivery of oracles, that is the direct response of a god to questions addressed to him, without reference to any visible omen, was considered the special business of Apollo, who had a temple in every large Grecian city, where the priests gave prophecies to inquirers. Only two of these temples had Panhellenic credit, those of Delphi, and of Delos.

As a source of oracular responses, the most famous, the one that commanded the greatest faith over a wide area, and among the most intelligent people of antiquity, was the Temple of Apollo, at Delphi, north of the Corinthian gulf, and near its shore. This shrine gained its credit in prehistoric times before the composition of the Homeric poems, and retained it until after Christianity had become the state religion of the Roman empire.

The temple of Delphi was situated in a ravine, and was built over a spring, from which arose an exhilarating or intoxicating gas. In these fumes, the woman, or pythoness, who was the agent of the divinity for declaring the divine revelations of future events, placed herself, and then responded to inquiries addressed to her by the patron, who had previously offered a sacrifice in the temple grounds, and had otherwise complied with the rules of the place. It is said that a woman was chosen to officiate, probably on account of her nervous temperament;

and the smoke, gas, and her own imagination quickly intoxicated her. At first the woman selected was young, but a love affair having occurred, it was decided that no one under fifty should be eligible.

The responses of the pythoness were usually incoherent, and were taken down by attendant priests, who revised them, and gave them a poetical form before delivering them to the inquirers. In many cases the responses, thus revised, were highly enigmatical, and were not less puzzling than the practical problems for which solutions were wanted. Not unfrequently statesmen obtained predictions for their guidance, and then could not agree upon the interpretation. The event decided what the oracle meant.

Complaint was repeatedly made that the Delphic oracle had been bribed or otherwise improperly influenced, but in the most notable of these cases, such as the contests between Hippias and the Athenian democracy, and between Philip and Demosthenes, the results justified the Delphic commands and predictions.

The Delphic oracle occupies a place so prominent in the history of Greece, and it commanded the full faith of so many intelligent men, that it deserves our attention. It aids us to understand how plausible the priests of false religions can be; how easy it is for men to masquerade as gods and thus deceive their fellows; how well they play their part; how readily and boldly they assume the tone of celestial command.

Herodotus, to whom we are indebted for most of our stories about the temple of Delphi, tells us that Cræsus, King of Lydia, sent messengers to several oracles, to make inquiry at a certain hour on a certain day, what he, Cræsus, was doing at that time, and to bring the re-

sponse as written down by the clerk of the oracle. When the day and hour arrived, he was boiling pieces of a lamb and of a tortoise together in a brass pot. The response of the Delphic oracle was the only correct one.

Cræsus then sent very liberal presents to this oracle, in which he had great faith, and made an inquiry whether he should attack Cyrus. The reply was that, if he did, he would destroy a mighty empire. To a third inquiry, whether his own kingdom would be of long duration, the response was that it would last till a mule should reign over the Medes. Supposing that a mule never would occupy the Median throne, he attacked Cyrus, and was defeated, and taken captive. To his complaint that he had been deceived, the oracle replied that he had overthrown a mighty empire, and he had been defeated when a mule reigned over the Medes, for Cyrus was a half-breed, the son of a Persian father and a Median mother. Cræsus admitted that he had misinterpreted the responses.

A young man of Thera, who stuttered, went to Delphi to get advice about the impediment in his speech. The response to his question called him "Battus," and ordered him to build a city in that part of Africa south of Greece. He protested that he had no money or power sufficient to establish a colony far from any other Greeks, but he got no other reply. He returned to his city, and remained there till various disasters overtook it, and when inquiry was made at Delphi, the Theræans were told to send a colony to Africa under Battus. They dispatched their colonists, who settled on an island near Africa, and, after suffering many hardships, these colonists sent a delegation to Delphi with their complaint, and with solicitation for further instructions. Their assertion

that they had obeyed the previous order of Apollo was contradicted by the oracle; they were told that they were not in Africa; they must make their home on the mainland. They did so, and founded the wealthy city of Cyrene. The word Battus in the native language of that region meant king, and the man whom the oracle called Battus became the sovereign of the new Greek state.¹

Before the birth of Cypselus, who became despot of Corinth, two prophecies of his greatness were made by the Delphic oracle. Of these one predicted that he and his son, but not his grandson, should rule over his native city. His son was Periander, after whose death, in 585 B. C., an aristocratic government was established.

Miltiades owed his eminence to the oracle of Delphi. He was a noble Athenian, but was dissatisfied with the political affairs of Attica, where he had no influence in the government. One day he was at his front door, when he saw a party of men foreign in dress, looks, and manners, evidently aliens. He invited them into his house, and they followed him into his court yard, where they immediately saluted him as their master and prince, and begged him to come and rule over the land of the Dolonician Thracians, of whom they were the ambassadors. Their people, at war with a powerful neighboring state, had inquired at Delphi how they could conquer; and the response was that they should send an embassy to Athens, by the sacred road, and should accept as their sovereign the first Athenian who should offer hospitality to them. Regarding their request as a divine command to him, Miltiades accepted. He gave his subjects victory and prosperity, and they gave him wealth, fame, and experience with the Persians. These enabled him to conquer at Marathon.

When the Dorians invaded Attica in mythical times, they were told that they would succeed if they spared the life of the Athenian king. Codrus, the monarch, having been informed of the response, and being determined to offer himself as a sacrifice for his country, went in disguise among the invaders, and having attacked them, was slain. When the Athenians claimed his body and revealed his rank, the Dorians considered their enterprise hopeless, and withdrew.

When Philip of Macedon was preparing to invade Persia, and inquired at Delphi whether he would succeed, the response was, "Crowned is the victim, the altar is ready; the stroke is impending." Within a few days he was murdered. A stroke that he did not anticipate was impending.

SEC. 396. *Various Responses*.—After Thermopylæ, the Athenian government sent a deputation to consult the oracle. "Hardly had the envoys completed the customary rites about the sacred precinct, and taken their seats inside the sanctuary of the god, when the Pythoness, Aristonicé by name, thus prophesied:—

"Wretches, why sit ye here? Fly, fly to the ends of creation,

Quitting your homes, and the crags which your city crowns with her circlet.

Neither the head, nor the body, is firm in its place, nor at bottom

Firm the feet, nor the hands, nor resteth the middle uninjured.

All—all ruined and lost; since fire, and impetuous Ares, Speeding along in a Syrian chariot, haste to destroy her. Not alone shalt thou suffer; full many the towers he will level,

Many the shrines of the gods he will give to a fiery destruction.

Even now they stand with dark sweat horribly dripping,
Trembling and quaking for fear, and lo! from the high
roofs trickleth

Black blood, sign prophetic of hard distresses impending.
Get ye away from the temple, and brood on the ills that
await ye."

When the Athenian messengers heard this reply, they were filled with the deepest affliction; whereupon Timon, the son of Androbulus, one of the men of most mark among the Delphians, seeing how utterly cast down they were at the gloomy prophecy, advised them to take an olive branch, and, entering the sanctuary again, consult the oracle as suppliants. The Athenians followed this advice, and, going in once more, said: "O King, we pray thee, reverence these boughs of supplication which we bear in our hands, and deliver to us something more comforting concerning our country. Else we will not leave thy sanctuary, but will stay here till we die." Upon this the priestess gave them a second answer, which was the following:—

"Pallas has not been able to soften the Lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed him, and urged him with
excellent counsel.

Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant
firmer.

When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of
Cecrops

Holds within it and all which divine Cithæron shelters,
Then far-seeing Jove grants this to the prayers of Athena;
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy
children.

Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footmen
mightily moving

Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire
ye.

Yet shall a day arrive when ye shalt meet him in battle.
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the
harvest."¹

With these responses, the deputies hastened back to Athens, where there was an anxious consultation about their meaning. One interpretation which found prominent advocates was that Attica must be finally abandoned by its people, who should first cross over to Salamis, and thence sail away to some distant land, where they should found a new city. The safety of the wooden wall indicated transportation from their ancestral land in their ships. Another view accepted by few was that the defenders of Athens would be secure behind a wooden wall on the acropolis. Themistocles, however, argued that the wooden wall was the fleet of Athens, which was to gain a victory near Salamis. If that place were to be only a spot of brief sojourn, it would have been called "unlucky" instead of "holy Salamis." The island would be doubly sacred if his opinion were correct, first, as a refuge for the Athenians during a brief period while the Persians occupied their city, and second, as a witness of a victory at sea not less glorious than that of Marathon on land. This argument was convincing to the minds and congenial to the patriotic devotion of the Athenians. They staked their fortunes and their lives upon it and achieved the triumph which they deserved.

Before the battle of Plataea the Athenians sought advice at Delphi, and were told that they would triumph,

if they fought in their own land on the plain of the Eleusinian goddess. This seemed to predict defeat if the battle should occur in Bœotia; but the Plataeans interpreted it otherwise. They found that there was a little Eleusinian temple in the valley near their town, and they dug up the boundary stones so that their territory should not be distinguishable from that of Attica.

Lycurgus and Solon each had the most encouraging response from Delphi, and each laid the foundation of an original and successful national constitution. The oracle promised that Sparta should flourish so long as she should adhere to the institutions of Lycurgus, and events justified the promise.

While the Spartans were striving to subdue Messena, with little prospect of success, they inquired what they should do to conquer. The reply was that they must get an Athenian for an adviser. Thereupon they sent an embassy to Athens with a solicitation that the Athenian government should send them a leader. A lame schoolmaster was selected as a man who would render the least service, for the Athenians did not wish to see the Messenians enslaved; but the martial poems of this schoolmaster, Tyrtæus, aroused such enthusiasm among the Spartans that they carried everything before them.

When Xerxes, with his army, approached Greece, the Spartans sent to Delphi to inquire whether they should fight. The following response was received:—

“Oh! ye men who dwell in the streets of broad Lacedæmon,

Either your glorious town shall be sacked by the children of Perseus,

Or, in exchange, must all, through the whole Laconian country,

Mourn for the loss of a king, descendant of great Heracles.
He cannot be withstood by the courage of bulls or of
lions,

Strive as they may; he is mighty as Jove; there is
naught that shall stay him,

Till he have got for his prey your king, or your glorious
city.”²

This prediction caused Leonidas to stay where death was certain, and also influenced him in sending the allies away so that as much as possible of the glory should belong to the Spartans.

When the Lacedæmonians became desirous of conquering the whole of Arcadia, and sent to consult the oracle, the Pythoness turned them from their purpose with what seemed a promise of better things. But they were not satisfied to stay quiet. “Regarding the Arcadians as very much their inferiors, they sent to consult the oracle about conquering the whole of Arcadia. The Pythoness thus answered them:—

‘Cravest thou Arcady? Bold is thy craving. I shall
not content it.

Many the men that in Arcady dwell, whose food is the
acorn.

They will never allow thee. It is not I that am niggard;
I will give thee to dance in Tegea, with noisy foot fall,
And with the measuring line mete out the glorious
champaign.’

“When the Lacedæmonians received this reply, leaving the rest of Arcadia untouched, they marched against the Tegeans, carrying with them fetters, so confident had this oracle (which was in truth, but of base metal) made them that they would enslave the Tegeans. The battle,

however, went against them, and many fell into the enemy's hands. Then these persons, wearing the fetters which they had themselves brought, and fastened together in a string, measured the Tegean plain as they executed their labors. The fetters in which they worked were still, in my day, preserved at Tegea, where they hung round the walls of the temple of Minerva Alca. Throughout the whole of this early contest with the Tegeans, the Lacedæmonians met with nothing but defeats; but in the time of Cræsus, under the kings Anaxandrides and Aristo, fortune had turned in their favor, in the manner which I will now relate. Having been worsted in every engagement by their enemy, they sent to Delphi, and inquired of the oracle what god they must propitiate to prevail in the war against the Tegeans. The answer of the Pythoness was, that before they could prevail, they must remove to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon. Unable to discover his burial-place, they sent a second time, and asked the god where the body of the hero had been laid. The following was the answer they received:—

‘Level and smooth is the plain where Arcadian Tegea standeth;

There two winds are ever, by strong necessity, blowing,
Counter-stroke answers stroke, and evil lies upon evil.

There all-teeming Earth doth harbor the son of Atrides,
Bring thou him to thy city, and then be Tegea's master.’

“After this reply, the Lacedæmonians were no nearer discovering the burial-place than before, though they continued to search for it diligently; until at last a man named Lichas, one of the Spartans, called Agathoërgi, found it. The Agathoërgi are citizens who have just

served their time among the knights. The five eldest of the knights go out every year, and are bound during the year after their discharge, to go wherever the state sends them, and actively employ themselves in its service. Lichas was one of this body, when, partly by good luck, partly by his own wisdom, he discovered the burial-place. Intercourse between the two states existing just at this time, he went to Tegea, and, happening to enter into the workshop of a smith, he saw him forging some iron. As he stood marveling at what he beheld, he was observed by the smith, who, leaving off his work, went up to him and said: 'Certainly, then, you Spartan stranger, you would have been wonderfully surprised if you had seen what I have, since you make a marvel even of the working in iron. I wanted to make myself a well in this room, and began to dig it, when, what think you? I came upon a coffin seven cubits long. I had never believed that men were taller in the olden times than they are now, so I opened the coffin. The body inside was of the same length; I measured it, and filled up the hole again.' Such was the man's account of what he had seen. The other, on turning the matter over in his mind, conjectured that this was the body of Orestes, of which the oracle had spoken. He guessed so because he observed that the smithy had two bellows, which he understood to be the two winds, and the hammer and anvil would do for the stroke and the counter-stroke, and the iron that was being wrought for the evil lying upon evil. This he imagined might be so because iron had been discovered to the hurt of man. Full of these conjectures, he sped back to Sparta and laid the whole matter before his countrymen. Soon after, by a concerted plan, they brought a charge against him and began a

prosecution. Lichas betook himself to Tegea, and on his arrival acquainted the smith with his misfortune, and proposed to rent his room of him. The smith refused for some time; but at last Lichas persuaded him, and took up his abode in it. Then he opened the grave, and, collecting the bones, returned with them to Sparta. From henceforth, whenever the Spartans and the Tegeans made trial of each other's skill in arms, the Spartans always had greatly the advantage; and by the time to which we are come now, they were master of most of the Peloponnesus."³

After Timoleon had taken command of the Corinthian expedition to relieve Syracuse, and when the weakness of his forces led to the general expectation that he would fail, he went to Delphi and inquired of the oracle whether he would succeed. Not only did he receive an encouraging reply, "but while he was actually in the temple, a fillet with intertwined wreaths and symbols of victory fell from one of the statues upon his head. The priestesses of Persephone learned from the goddess in a dream that she was about to sail with Timoleon for Sicily, her own favorite island. Accordingly he caused a new special trireme to be fitted out, sacred to the two goddesses (Demeter and Persephone) who were about to accompany him. And when, after leaving Corcyra, the squadron struck across for a night voyage to the Italian coast, this sacred trireme was seen illumined with a blaze of light from heaven; while a burning torch on high, similar to that which was usually carried in the Eleusinian mysteries, ran along with the ship and guided the pilot to the proper landing-place at Metapontum. Such manifestations of divine presence and encouragement, properly certified and commented upon by the prophets, rendered

the voyage one of universal hopefulness to the armament."⁴ Never were prophecies more speedily or splendidly fulfilled. In many contingencies, Timoleon achieved success far beyond the expectations of himself or of his companions; and there was a general belief among the Greeks of his time that he owed all his greatest triumphs to the interposition of the gods in his favor.

It will be observed that in most of the cases here mentioned the responses were given in, or the precise phrasology of the poetical response was preserved to, historical times. Another response, given by an oracle in Asia Minor, deserves a place with these from Delphi. The religious sentiment of Greece made it a sacred duty to protect suppliants; but when some Lydians fleeing from Cyrus became suppliants in the small city of Cyme, the danger of resisting the conqueror was so great that an agent named Aristodicus was sent to a neighboring oracle for advice. On his arrival at the shrine of the god, Aristodicus, speaking on behalf of the whole body, thus addressed the oracle: "O king, Pactyas, the Lydian, threatened by the Persians with a violent death, has come to us for sanctuary, and lo, they ask him at our hands, calling upon our nation to deliver him up. Now, though we greatly dread the Persian power, yet have we not been bold to give up our suppliant, till we have certain knowledge of thy mind, what thou wouldst have us to do." The oracle, questioned several times, gave the same answer, bidding them surrender Pactyas to the Persians; whereupon Aristodicus, who had come prepared for such an answer, proceeded to make the circuit of the temple, and to take all the nests of young sparrows and other birds that he could find about the building. As he was thus employed, a voice, it is said,

came forth from the inner sanctuary, addressing Aristodicus in these words: "Most impious of men, what is this thou hast the face to do? Dost thou tear my suppliants from my temple?" Aristodicus, at no loss for a reply, rejoined: "O king, art thou so ready to protect thy suppliants, and dost thou command the Cymæans to give up a suppliant?" "Yes," returned the god, "I do command it, that so for the impiety you may the sooner perish, and not come here again to consult my oracle about the surrender of suppliants."⁵ The idea that dictated the first responses was that men, who doubted the duty of protecting suppliants at every risk to themselves, were so impious that they deserved destruction.

SEC. 397. *Greek Burials, etc.*—The Greeks disposed of the corpses of their freemen with the most devout care. After the body had been washed and dressed in a shroud of white linen, it was laid out on a bed, crowned with flowers, and then watched at its side and mourned through one whole day and the following night by four women relatives. The next morning at sunrise the body was taken to the tomb or to the funeral pile, accompanied by a procession of the male relatives, slaves and friends, near female relatives, other women at least sixty years of age, hired mourners, and flute players. There was a factitious burial for bodies lost at sea, and for soldiers slain in battle under such circumstances that the corpses could not be obtained. There was no funeral service for criminals and persons struck dead by lightning.

Cremation and burial were both practiced, the former being the more frequent. The coffin for burial was of wood, pottery, or stone. In the mouth of the dead man a small copper coin was placed to pay the ferriage across the Styx. Earthen vessels containing wine and bread

were put into the grave or placed on the funeral pile; and on the third day friends went to the grave, or to the urn containing the ashes of the dead, to adorn it with flowers and ribbons, and to make offerings of milk, honey, wine, olives, and flowers. Sometimes a pyre was built, covered with a banquet and flowers, and then burned. Similar ceremonies were repeated on the anniversaries of the person's birth and death, and also on the day, which came in the autumn, observed generally as the feast of the dead. Funeral monuments were erected at the roadside outside of the city gate, so that everybody coming in or going out should be reminded of the deceased. He who found an unburied corpse must bury it, or at least throw three handfuls of earth upon it. Graves were sacred.

CHAPTER XXV.

LITERATURE AND ART.

SECTION 398. *Homer*.—In many branches of literature the ancient Greeks reached an excellence not approached before, and in some, not excelled since. Among epic poets, Homer is unquestionably the first, as is Demosthenes among the orators of the bar. Thucydides, as a historian, Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, as tragic dramatists, Aristophanes as a comic poet, Socrates as a dialectician, Plato as a metaphysician, Aristotle as a biologist and inductive philosopher, and Epicurus and Zeno as moral philosophers, are among the greatest names in literature; and many of them are the original organizers of their respective departments. The very language that the Greeks used took the impress of a brilliant national genius. By many scholars, the Attic dialect has been praised as the most forcible, precise, and beautiful of all tongues for the expression of human thought. Felton says of it: "It was the most flexible and transparent body in which human thought has ever been clothed."

The Attic dialect became the language of Greek literature. Most of the great authors of the Hellenic blood were Athenians by birth, and of those born elsewhere, a majority spent much of their time in Athens. Not only in speech, but also in architecture and plastic art, in tragedy and comedy, in oratory and history, in lyric poetry

and in social customs, the taste of Athens was accepted throughout Greece as the highest standard of correctness. This Attic taste or Atticism has been defined as an "exquisite feeling for the right tone and natural proportion; an effort to obtain pliancy without softness, grace without affectation, the love of sober and refined elegance; and all these gifts put at the service of a rich, original, and unfettered imagination."

In nearly every department of literature known to the ancients, the Greeks produced some work of great merit. As pleas of an advocate, the orations of Demosthenes are unapproached. In its substance, the oration of Pericles, at the funeral of the Athenians slain at Samos, is the most impressive address ever spoken on a public occasion. By many able critics the history of Thucydides is considered the greatest work of its kind. Since the ancient Greeks disappeared as a distinct nationality, in no important department of letters except in prose romance, can the moderns claim to have surpassed them.

In this work no attempt will be made to give a critical review of Greek literature. Great books, as a class, are effects, not causes, of high general culture. They have been most numerous when the nation which produced them was about to decline. So it was in ancient Athens and Rome; so it was in medieval Florence; and so it has been in several modern nations. The ages of Pericles, Augustus, and Lorenzo de Medici were the culminating periods of their respective countries. The most splendid blooming of literature did not exhaust the people, but it came when they were about to be exhausted by other influences. The poetry of Homer, the dramatic productions of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the history of Thucydides, and the oratory of Demosthenes

have done much for human enlightenment, but their direct effects on human life, distinctly stimulating numerous branches of culture in many nations, cannot be traced, as can those of the democracy of Athens, the aristocracy of Rome, the foundation of Christianity, the constitution of England, the discovery of America, the invention of the printing press and of the steam engine.

Those books, which directly affect constitutional or civil law, industrial art, scientific knowledge, ecclesiastical institutions, or philosophic system, so far as their effects, in these directions, can be clearly traced, come within the domain of the history of culture; others, like the productions of architectural, plastic, pictorial, and musical art, belong mainly to special criticism.

The first literary compositions of the Greeks were in verse, and of these, the oldest now preserved are the Homeric poems. The traditions in reference to the birth-place of Homer are conflicting, but he is more intimately associated with Chios, where he spent part of his life, than with any other city, though it was Athens that did the most to preserve his poems. There they were first arranged, edited, written out in their present shape, and appreciated as works of enduring interest and of eminent literary value.

Of his two epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the former is universally recognized by critics, as the most admirable production of its class. Much has been written to prove that it is a compilation of a series of ballads which the Greek bards were in the habit of reciting or singing at popular festivals; but the preponderant opinion is that it was composed by one author on a plan that possessed the merits of unity and high interest.

In regard to the general merits of the Homeric epic,

Grote writes: "They are of all poems the most absolutely and unreservedly popular. . . . The most unlettered hearer of those times could readily seize, while the most instructed reader can still recognize, the characteristic excellence of Homeric narrative,—its straightforward, unconscious, unstudied simplicity, its concrete forms of speech and happy alternation of action with dialogue,—its vivid pictures of living agents, always clearly and sharply individualized, whether in the commanding proportions of Achilles and Odysseus, or in the graceful presence of Helen and Penelope, or in the more humble contrast of Eumæus and Melanthius; and always, moreover, animated by the frankness with which his heroes give utterance to all their transient emotions, and even all their infirmities,—its constant reference to those coarser veins of feeling and palpable motives which belong to all men in common; its fullness of graphic details, freshly drawn from the visible and audible world, and though often homely, never tame, nor trenching on that limit of satiety to which the Greek mind was so keenly alive; lastly, its perpetual junction of gods and men in the same picture, and familiar appeal to ever present divine agency, in harmony with the interpretation of nature at that time universal."²

"The two [Homeric poems] which remain are quite sufficient to demonstrate in the primitive Greeks, a mental organization unparalleled in any other people, and powers of invention and expression which prepared, as well as foreboded, the future eminence of the nation in all the various departments to which thought and language can be applied. Great as the power of thought afterwards became among the Greeks, their power of expression was still greater. In the former, other nations have built on

their foundations and surpassed them; in the latter, they still remain unrivaled. It is not too much to say that this flexible, emphatic, and transparent character of the language as an instrument of communication, its perfect aptitude for narrative and discussion, as well as for stirring all the veins of human emotion without ever forfeiting that character of simplicity which adapts it to all men and all times, may be traced mainly to the existence and widespread influence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.”³

SEC. 399. *The Greek Drama*.—Dramatic exhibitions may have appeared in Egypt, China, or Babylon, before they did in Greece, but the earliest known to history were in the latter country. There the drama was an original product of the native mind, and there it reached an excellence unapproached elsewhere before modern times. The first trace of a theatrical performance appeared in the annual festival of Bacchus, at Athens, in which a chorus sang a song or poem descriptive of events, with comments on the conduct of some personages mentioned in the story. The entertainment was religious in origin and character, and the song was marked by an elevated moral tone which was preserved in all the tragic compositions of the Greeks.

Æschylus, an Athenian who became distinguished as a tragic poet early in the Vth century B. C., made an important innovation in the literary entertainment of the Bacchic festival. Instead of having a continuous song by the chorus, he introduced an actor who sang or recited a solo part, in dialogue with the chorus. Thus the drama succeeded to the ballad. The actor became the hero of the plot; and the chorus gave voice to public opinion, questioning, criticising, approving, or condemning the actions brought to their notice.

A little later than Æschylus, but contemporaneous with him for many years, was Sophocles, who introduced a second actor on the stage, so that it may be said that with the leader of the chorus, and the chorus, he had four actors on the stage at the same time. Euripides, who was born when Æschylus was forty-five, and Sophocles sixteen years old, introduced another actor. This was the last improvement in that direction made by ancient tragedians. Since the actors wore masks, they could assume different characters in successive scenes.

In Athens, and probably in other leading Grecian cities, the performance of a tragedy was an act of worship paid by the state to god Dionysus, or Bacchus. The government built the theater, managed the performance, employed the actors, trained the chorus, selected the pieces, and paid actors and dramatists. Although the god of wine does not seem to modern thought a good representative of severe morality, the dramatic performances given in his honor in ancient Greece, were pervaded by a severe ethical spirit. A Greek tragedy abounded with impressive teachings of justice and pity. Of the productions of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, Grote says: "So powerful a body of poetical influence has probably never been brought to act upon the emotions of any other population; and when we consider the extraordinary beauty of these immortal compositions, which first stamped tragedy as a separate department of poetry, and gave to it a dignity never since reached, we shall be satisfied that the tastes, the sentiments, and the intellectual standard of the Athenian multitude must have been sensibly improved and exalted by such lessons."¹

It was in Greece that the first theater was erected.

This structure had a capacity to seat 30,000 spectators, and was not larger than the average ancient theater, though ten times as large as the modern. The shape was semicircular; the seats were of stone; and there was no roof, but there were awnings which could be drawn across the top of the building to shield the stage and the best seats from the sun. There was no curtain and no sliding scenery; but there were several scenes on pivots, so arranged that an idea could be given of the different places; and after the middle of the Vth century B. C., some of these scenes were painted in linear perspective which was discovered by an Athenian scene painter while engaged in his business of trying to represent streets and the interiors of buildings in a manner true to his subjects.

The great multitude of spectators made it necessary to give to thousands seats at such a distance from the stage that they could neither see the features of the actor's face, nor hear his voice in the ordinary tone of speaking. It was partly because of the great size of the theaters, that, on the ancient stage, the actors wore masks, of which there was one for each of the leading emotions represented, including anger, hatred, sorrow, mirth, and joy; and these masks were so large and had the expression so strongly marked that their meaning was clearly discernible. They were shaped in such a manner that they served as speaking trumpets to make the voices more resonant. The text of the play was not spoken in an ordinary tone, but most of it was recited, chanted, or sung, and was thus made intelligible to distant auditors. All the performers were men; and in selecting them, attention was paid to strength of voice; and a considerable part of the text was intrusted to a chorus.

The performances were not given every day, nor in a number of theaters at the same time, nor in the evening; but rarely, for some few days in the year. The Greeks were early risers, and sunrise was a favorite hour for opening courts, theaters, and public meetings, partly because the people generally had no means of measuring time precisely, and that hour was more easily ascertainable than any other of the day save sunset; which latter being soon followed by darkness, was unsuitable for meetings that might last several hours.

The Athenian tragedy was religious, and its performance was preceded by some brief act of worship, such as burning incense and offering flowers and a libation of wine to the god. In Athens several tragedies by different authors were produced in competition on successive days; and each author had his own chorus and set of actors; and each chorus was under the management of some prominent citizen who had selected them and provided for their musical training in the part assigned to them. The poetical, the dramatic, the musical, and the spectacular effects were associated with personal, political, and religious influences, for a highly devout tone ran through many of the tragedies, and contributed to the intense feeling with which the plays were witnessed.

SEC. 400. *Socrates*.—Philosophic thought about the origin of the universe and the nature of existence made its appearance among the Hellenes, in Asia Minor and in Italy, before it attracted attention in Greece proper. One philosopher supposed that the universe was developed out of water; another believed that it originated in air; and a third that it came out of fire. Zenó, of Italy, adopted the rudiments of a system of dialectical argument; Protagoras declared that man is the measure of

all things, meaning that conformity to his perception and reason is the standard of truth; and Xenophanes argued that perceptions are delusive and that reason alone can be trusted for discovering the relations of man to his surroundings. Empedocles, of Sicily, denounced the popular myths about the wars, loves, and romantic adventures of the gods as demoralizing and disgraceful to humanity. Anaxagoras, of Asia Minor, while admitting that the perceptions needed to be corrected by reason, declared that the senses are the sources of all knowledge; that man cannot discover anything beyond phenomena; that nature is the proper subject of his study; that the heavenly bodies are balls of matter similar in substance to that of our earth—the sun being white hot and the moon cold—and that the universe is an animal pervaded by a vital principle. Such were some of the gropings that laid the foundations for the philosophical schools of Athens.

Among the great thinkers who taught in that city, five are notable as the organizers of systems. These are Socrates, the dialectician and social philosopher; Plato, the metaphysical philosopher; Aristotle, the scientific and political philosopher; Epicurus, the utilitarian moralist; and Zeno, the Stoic moralist. Socrates gave his instruction in the streets and public places, to all persons who might be present when he had anything to say. The other four had each an educational institution in which he gave lectures to a class of students.

Most of the Greeks who first became famous as philosophers were natives of Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily; but in the latter part of the Vth century B. C., Athens obtained general recognition as the center of education, and she became the site where all the greatest philoso-

phers of the Grecian world maintained their schools, taught their systems, and wrote, or found writers for, their ideas. The "abundance and variety of speculative genius and invention are among the most memorable facts in the history of the Hellenic mind. The prompting of intelligent curiosity, the thirst for some plausible hypothesis to explain the Cosmos and its generation, the belief that a basis or point of departure might be found in the Cosmos itself, apart from those mythical personifications which dwelt both in the popular mind and in the poetical theogonies, the mental effort required to select some known agency, and to connect it by a chain of reasoning with the result—all this is a new phenomenon in the history of the human mind."¹

It was in the last quarter of the Vth century B. C., that Socrates became one of the most famous men of Athens. Fond of argument, extremely skillful in it, and blessed with an abundance of leisure, he devoted a large part of his time to disputation with men of intelligence, selecting as preferred subjects of inquiry, fundamental questions of dialectical, ethical, social, and political philosophy. He sought as controversialists those men who laid claim to superior wisdom and learning, and with such men his victory was usually easy. His method was greatly admired by his friends, by whom he was usually attended; but not unfrequently it gave much offense to those whom he had vanquished. He himself was relatively secure because of his skill in selecting the subjects, and in directing the course of the discussion, and because of his refusal to make himself responsible for vulnerable propositions. His main object was to show that people claimed more knowledge than they possessed, and that they habitually made assertions

without sufficient evidence. He distinctly declared that he was ignorant upon many of the points about which his adversaries claimed positive knowledge; and he attributed his advantage in debate to his knowledge of his own ignorance.

Socrates had no place where he taught at regularly recurring times; he had no special house or grounds for his lessons; he did not deliver systematic courses of lectures; he did not charge for tuition. And yet he had many pupils who went to him frequently for instruction, and who recognized him as their master. They sought his company every day; they accompanied him in his walks; they listened to his conversations with others, and not unfrequently themselves addressed questions to him. He never wrote anything, nor requested anyone to write what he had taught; but among his pupils were two men, Plato and Xenophon, who afterwards became famous, and who undertook to explain his teaching; and their writings about Socrates are among the treasures of Greek literature.

Although the most notable original feature in the teaching of Socrates was his dialectical system of seeking for truth, yet he gave much prominence also to morals. For him happiness was the purpose of life, and ethics the guide to its approximate acquisition. Morality, as conceived by him, was based on experience. That rule which was not approved by human observation and reason, had for him no ethical authority. The act which was injurious to the community yielded no pleasure to him. He gave to his neighbor that considerate regard which was indispensable to his own satisfaction in life. He owed much of his enjoyment to society, and he could not be content with himself unless he was conscious

that he had contributed a fair share to the common stock of social service. He considered it a duty to earn the affection of his neighbors as much as to earn his bread. He would not be a burden on the community in either respect. Whether a wrong was small or great, he would rather be its victim than its perpetrator. He said, "Even though others do evil to us, we ought not to do evil to them in return." Nor was this mere talk. It was the rule by which he lived. He was an excellent friend, citizen, political official, and soldier. As senator and as soldier he repeatedly risked his life, and showed the most heroic bravery, and the most generous devotion to his friends. And they, in return, looked up to him with affectionate veneration for his character as well as with high admiration for his capacity.

The circumstances of the death of Socrates add greatly to the interest of his life. Indicted and tried for impiety, an offense of which he was never guilty, he was convicted and sentenced to death. By appealing to the pity of the jury he might have obtained a verdict of acquittal; by making some concessions to their prejudices he might have induced them to impose some light punishment; and by accepting the aid of his friends he could have escaped after sentence was pronounced. But he would do none of these things. In his address to the jury which sentenced him to death, by a majority of about half a dozen out of the whole number of two hundred, he said:

"Strange, indeed, would be my conduct, O men of Athens, if I, who, when I was ordered by the generals whom you chose to command me at Potidæa and Amphipolis and Delium, remained where they placed me, like any other man, facing death; if, I say, now, when, as I conceive and imagine, God orders me to fulfill the phi-

philosopher's mission of searching into myself and other men, I were to desert my post through fear of death, or any other fear; that would indeed be strange, and I might justly be arraigned in court for denying the existence of the gods, if I disobeyed the oracle because I was afraid of death; then I should be fancying that I was wise when I was not wise. For this fear of death is indeed the pretense of wisdom, and not real wisdom, being the appearance of knowing the unknown; since no one knows whether death, which they in their fear apprehend to be the greatest evil, may not be the greatest good. Is there not here conceit of knowledge, which is a disgraceful sort of ignorance? And this is the point in which, as I think, I am superior to men in general, and in which I might perhaps fancy myself wiser than other men,—that whereas I know but little of the world below, I do not suppose that I know; but I do know that injustice and disobedience to a better, whether God or man, is evil and dishonorable, and I will never fear or avoid a possible good rather than a certain evil. And therefore if you let me go now, and reject the counsels of Anytus, who said that if I were not put to death I ought not to have been prosecuted, and that if I escape now your sons will all be utterly ruined by listening to my words—if you say to me, 'Socrates, this time we will not mind Anytus, and will let you off, but upon one condition, that you are not to inquire and speculate in this way any more, and that if you are caught doing this again you shall die;' if this was the condition on which you let me go, I should reply: 'Men of Athens, I honor and love you, but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting anyone whom I meet after

my manner, and convincing him, saying: O my friend, why do you, who are a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens, care so much about laying up the greatest amount of money, and honor, and reputation, and so little about wisdom and truth, and the greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or heed at all? Are you not ashamed of this?' And if the person with whom I am arguing, says: 'Yes, but I do care;' I do not depart or let him go at once; I interrogate and examine and cross-examine him, and if I think that he has no virtue, but only says that he has, I reproach him with undervaluing the greater, and overvaluing the less. And this I should say to everyone whom I meet, young and old, citizen and alien, but especially to the citizens, inasmuch as they are my brethren. For this is the command of God, as I would have you know; and I believe that to this day no greater good has ever happened in the state than my service to the God. For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons or your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul. I tell you that virtue is not given by money, but that from virtue come money and every other good of man, public as well as private. This is my teaching, and if this is the doctrine which corrupts the youth, my influence is ruinous indeed. But if anyone says that this is not my teaching, he is speaking an untruth. Wherefore, O men of Athens, I say to you do as Anytus bids or not as Anytus bids, and either acquit me or not, but whatever you do, know that I shall never alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times."²

SEC. 401. *Socratic Philosophy*.—While the method of

Socrates was skeptical, and the general tendency of his reasoning was unfavorable to the dominion of the Greek mythology, he was a most sincere believer in the popular religion. He was not only a devout polytheist and idolater, but he supposed that the priests, augurs, and oracles acted under divine inspiration, to guide the people of Greece. He was the outspoken enemy of the theory that celestial phenomena are the results of natural law. To him the sun was a god; to call it a globe of fire was false and sacrilegious. He "deprecated astronomy and physics as unbecoming attempts to pry into the secrets of the gods, who administered the general affairs of the cosmos [universe] according to their own pleasure, and granted only through the medium of prophecy or oracles such special revelations as they saw fit."¹

He did not attempt to introduce a new philosophical or religious creed; he had no long list of principles to which he demanded assent. His method was negative rather than positive. His teaching was explained by Aristotle to mean that "philosophy is the solution of doubts." Some Athenians who had been repeatedly bothered by his questions denounced him and his "free argumentative discussion," and he in turn ridiculed their "misology," as he termed it, their hatred of words. This misology was a symptom of the false persuasion of knowledge without the reality, "a chronic malady of the human mind," and Socrates made it one of the special objects of his ambition to cure this malady.

Socrates gave much attention to the definition of terms used in disputation; and, so far as we know, he was the first to perceive the fundamental importance of having the same word convey precisely the same idea to both sides in any argument. Aristotle says that Socrates in-

troduced two novelties into philosophy; first, inductive reasoning; and, second, the definition of general terms.² There may be reason to doubt whether Socrates fully deserved this praise; there can be no reason to doubt that it is the greatest praise that has been given to any philosopher. These two "novelties" are the greatest contributions ever made to the art of argumentation. All the notable Greek philosophers of later date were either the pupils of Socrates or the pupils of his pupils; and all subsequent philosophy, so far as it had any real value, consisted of developments or differentiations of his teaching.

He "required from no man implicit trust; nay, he deprecated it as dangerous. It is one peculiarity of the Socratic dialogues, that the sentiment of authority, instead of being invoked and worked up, as is generally done in philosophy, is formally disavowed and practically set aside."³ He was the most decided enemy of blind submission to traditional belief and inherited "custom, the king of all." To him it was evident, as it is to many modern observers, that "most of the misunderstandings and contradictions among men, most of the controversies and errors . . . arise from our assuming (consciously or unconsciously) fundamental maxims and fundamental facts, as if they were self-evident and as if they must be assumed by everyone else besides."⁴

There can be no doubt that his "individual influence permanently enlarged the horizon, improved the method, and multiplied the ascendant minds of the Grecian speculative world in a manner never since equaled."⁵ His pre-eminence as a thinker was generally recognized not only among the leading men of Athens but throughout Greece. A question addressed to the Delphic Oracle,

whether any man was wiser than Socrates, elicited a reply that no other man was wiser. The publicity of this response and the authority of the Oracle settled the matter in public opinion.

“His peculiar gift was that of cross-examination or the application of his elenchus, to discriminate pretended from real knowledge. He found men full of confident beliefs on these ethical and political topics—affirming with words which they had never troubled themselves to define—and persuaded that they required no further teaching; yet at the same time unable to give clear and consistent answers to his questions, and shown by this convincing test to be destitute of real knowledge. Declaring this false persuasion of knowledge, or confident unreasoned belief, to be universal, he undertook as the mission of his life to expose it; and he proclaimed that, until the mind was disabused thereof, and made painfully conscious of ignorance, no affirmative reasoned truth could be presented with any chance of success.”⁶

Socrates stamped his impress on the philosophy of his time; and, in its main principles, made it the true philosophy of all time. It is owing to him that “the negative side of Grecian speculation stands quite as prominently marked, and occupies as large a measure of the intellectual force of their philosophers, as the positive side. It is not simply to arrive at a conclusion, sustained by a certain measure of plausible premise, and then to proclaim it as an authoritative dogma, silencing or disparaging all objectors, that Grecian speculation aspires. To unmask not only positive falsehood, but even affirmation without evidence, exaggerated confidence in what was only doubtful and show of knowledge without the reality;

to look at a problem on all sides and set forth all the difficulties attending its solution, to take account of deductions from the affirmative evidence, even in the case of conclusions accepted as true upon the balance, all this will be found pervading the march of their greatest thinkers. As a condition of all progressive philosophy, it is not less essential that the grounds of negation should be freely exposed than the grounds of affirmation."¹

SEC. 402. *Plato*.—Plato, the most distinguished pupil of Socrates, purchased a beautiful garden, known as the Academy, which he used as a place of instruction and bequeathed to the public as an educational institution. Here his pupils, who were divided into classes, as they were more or less advanced, met nearly every day for forty years, with occasional interruptions, to listen to his conversation and lectures. He charged no tuition fee, but we may presume that he sometimes accepted presents from his students. Each class elected one of its own members to the position of leader for a term of ten days; and once a month the school, or perhaps each class, had a common dinner.

As the writer of the oldest philosophical books that have been preserved to modern times, and of philosophical books written with much breadth of thought and impressiveness of style; as the author who first organized a metaphysical system of thought; as the chief expounder of the teachings and chief apologist of the character of Socrates; and as the founder of the first great philosophical school, Plato occupies a prominent place in the history of the mental growth of mankind.

“Plato was the most artistic of philosophers, and, among men of great eminence, one of the worst of investigators; not, assuredly, from deficient power, but

from his disastrous misconception of method. In spite of a certain loitering diffusiveness of style, and an oppressive circumstantiality in refuting trivial considerations, no one before Plato, no one since, has managed the extremely difficult art of dramatic debate in philosophic topics with such commanding success; and in consequence of this fascinating art, aided by the union of dialectical subtlety with mystical yearnings, a subtlety which seems to give a hope to mysticism, and a warrant to transcendentalism, no one has exercised a more pernicious influence on culture. The charm of the artist has immortalized the vices of the thinker."¹

Although the moral philosophy of Plato was adopted from the teachings of Socrates without notable modification or addition, and although it was not characteristic of the Academy, it nevertheless deserves mention as one of the features of his school, as it was in that of Aristotle. In the schools of Epicurus and Zeno it became the main feature. The spirit of the ethical teaching of all these philosophers was the same; each made experience the source, and happiness the end, of morals.

The distinctive feature of Plato's philosophy is his metaphysical ontology. He was not the first to observe that the perceptions of the senses are sometimes delusive, but he was the first to teach a comprehensive system in which their testimony is declared absolutely untrustworthy for all philosophical purposes. He denied the reality of the material universe, and recognized no absolute existence save that of ideas. Believing natural phenomena to be illusory, he turned his attention from them to his conception of the essence of things. These creations of his imagination, or, as he claimed, of his reason, were for him the chief realities of life. He not

only rejected sensation as a source of truth, but he declared it to be trivial, and misleading. He denied the value of science and of everything that can be learned through the perceptions.

Metaphysical ontology, which may be defined as the co-ordination of suppositions about the nature of absolute existence,² has had many distinguished advocates, but has made no notable progress since Plato. Having no basis in sensation, it has no new material out of which to make additions to its domain. In matters of metaphysical imagination, as in those of gustatory sensation, there is no common standard of measurement, and no secure basis for continuous progress.

SEC. 403. *Aristotle*.—Aristotle was born in the Greek colony of Stagira, Thrace, about the year 384 B. C. Having lost his father and inherited a fortune at an early age, he went to Athens to obtain an education. There he was a student in the school of Plato for at least fifteen years, and then spent five years at Mitylene, where he resided when he accepted an invitation from Philip of Macedon, to become the tutor of his son Alexander who was fourteen years of age. This position he held for three years, to the satisfaction of the pupil and his father. Alexander became greatly attached to his master, of whom he said that to him he owed his knowledge of the art of living. After reaching the throne, the youthful hero provided liberally for Aristotle, giving him, according to an untrustworthy rumor, \$800,000. He encouraged the philosopher to undertake extensive scientific researches, and ordered his hunters, gamekeepers, fishermen, and other servants, to collect such material as the Stagirite wanted for his studies. At the age of fifty, Aristotle returned to Athens and there opened his

school at the Lyceum, which had a shady walk called the Peripatos, from which his students were called the Peripatetics. Thirteen years he spent there teaching and writing. At the end of that period Alexander died, and then the Athenians showed their hatred of Aristotle.

“As a foreigner, a philosopher, and a friend of Macedon, he was trebly odious to [some of] the political leaders; and a pretext for accusation was raised on a ground where such pretexts are always easily raised and are always dangerous—irreligion. He was accused of blasphemy, and of paying divine honors to mortals. And who were these mortals he had honored? His friend and his wife. The charge may seem frivolous, but too well he knew the temper of the multitude to hope that the absurdity of the charge would be a guaranty for his safety. Mobs seldom reason, rarely examine. The blameless life and lofty soul of Socrates had been no defense against the charges of Melitus; and Aristotle quitted Athens, ‘not to give the Athenians a second opportunity of committing a sacrilege against philosophy.’ . . . The Athenians, on his refusal to appear in answer to the summons of the Areopagus, deprived him of citizenship, and all the honors that had been conferred on him,”¹ and sentenced him to death. He died very soon afterwards, so that the end of his teaching at Athens may be considered the end of his life.

He understood the importance of precise definitions, and he gave full praise to Socrates for his immense service to philosophy in laying down the fundamental principles that the terms used in argument should have the same exact meaning for the person speaking and for the one spoken to; and that no truth was valuable until

it had been considered skeptically and accepted after fair consideration of the adverse evidence and argument.

Although Aristotle gave to Socrates the credit of being the father of inductive philosophy, yet that credit belongs more strictly to Aristotle himself than to any other person, much more to him than to Bacon. Plato observed life from the subjective, and Aristotle from the objective, standpoint. To one, matter was a delusion, and to the other, the most important subject of study. Plato found the chief basis of truth in his unassisted reason; Aristotle found it in his perception, guided by his understanding. These two men were the first great leaders in the warfare, not yet ended, between abstract idealism and scientific positivism.

The most complete work done by Aristotle was his elaboration of the rules of formal logic, which he conceived and defined in such a manner that later writers have not been able to add anything to his treatise save in the way of amplification and elucidation. He did not discover any new test of truth or principle of reasoning, but he devised a valuable system of technical rules suitable for applying sound principles of argument, previously well understood, to special problems.

Aristotle had an encyclopedic knowledge of the science and philosophy of his time, and to the former he contributed much. His researches in comparative anatomy, his acute original observations, and his compilations of all the zoological and botanical knowledge of his predecessors, give him a position of great eminence in the history of the intellectual development of Greece.

He made the first attempt, known to us, to define life. He described it as "the primary result of an organism," and as the "possession of the faculties of self-nourish-

ment, self-growth, and self-decay." He and his contemporaries did not understand the analogies between fire and life, and therefore he could not, as we can, say that life is a slow combustion in a moist body which supplies itself automatically with fuel.

He had meditated much on the progressive complexity of life, and he observed many of the traces of kinship between animals of different classes. He saw that the bird's feather and the fish's scale, the crab's claw and the man's hand, have analogous functions. In his treatise he made "one of the earliest attempts to found biology on comparative anatomy." He distinctly observed epigenesis, the formation of one organ after another in the course of anatomical development; and he mentioned all the forms of reproduction save that of spontaneous fission.²

He distinguished quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects, but had no conception of class, order, family, genus, and species as understood in recent biology; and he objected to any classification based on "the principle of negation," as if negation were not the inseparable correlative of affirmation in scientific investigation.

Aristotle understood the "parallelogram of forces;" and also the principle of virtual velocity, as illustrated in the movements of the different ends of a lever, though he failed to appreciate its importance. He observed the influence of momentum, but did not understand its cause. He was puzzled by the facts that more effort is required to move a stationary than a moving cart, and that wood can be split by an ax impelled by a strong momentum and not by an ax laid on the wood gently.

Although he did much scientific work in accordance with the principle of induction, he also did much other

work in the metaphysical spirit, trusting to presumptions. Thus he said that the principle of perfection in nature implies that all movements are naturally circular; and therefore the necessary form of the heavens [and of the planetary orbits] is a circle, for this form is the most suitable for its substance.³

He described the internal organs of man, but as he had never systematically dissected the human body, many of his statements are "meager and inaccurate." Thus he said that some men have gall bladders and others have not; that "of all living creatures man has the coldest left side;" that "the office of the sutures is to permit the escape of vapors from the brain;" that man alone has a heart-beat "because he alone is moved by hope and expectation;" that children sleep much "because all their food is carried upwards;" that the seat of sensation is in the heart; and that the taste of blood in a healthy condition is sweet and its color red, but "when of inferior quality or damaged by sickness, is black."⁴ His remark about the color of the blood was presumably suggested by the observation that the venous blood drawn by surgeons from sick people was darker than that flowing from severed arteries. Not knowing that there are two kinds of blood in the body, one bright red, flowing from the heart through the arteries, and the other dark red, flowing towards the heart through the veins, he imagined that the darker blood drawn in sickness was itself a symptom of disease. The optic, auditory, and olfactory nerves were familiar to him, but their functions in transmitting sensation were not known; and he had no conception of the nervous system.

"After every deduction has been made, the instinctive and popular appreciation of his greatness will be ratified

by a large philosophy. Among the great heroes of humanity, his position must ever remain conspicuous. He claims precedence over hundreds who, under more fortunate conditions, have enriched science with priceless details. He rises superior to most of those who have illuminated science with great conceptions. And this superiority is claimed not only in virtue of his many achievements, but also in virtue of his native force. His comprehensive glance embraced the whole field of research; and if some other philosophers, ancient and modern, have taken as wide a survey, none have, like him, first opened the pathways they surveyed."⁵

SEC. 404. *Epicurus*.—The philosophical school of Epicurus was established in Athens near the close of the IVth century B. C., and for thirty-six years was under the management of its founder. For five centuries after his death it continued to flourish. The bulk of his teaching was ethical; but his moral doctrines were little more than an amplification of those of Socrates. He taught that virtue or a just regard for others is indispensable to the enjoyment of life; that we cannot be happy unless we abstain from cruelty, violence, fraud, insolence, and all forms of trespass on the equal rights of our fellow-men. Persons of narrow mind may obtain brief gratifications from vice or crime, but they embitter the general tenor of their lives and deprive themselves of many of the higher pleasures. Virtue with Epicurus is a means, not an end. It pays for itself; it pays largely. It is "the indispensable condition of everyone's comfort."¹

There is a distinct originality in Epicurus. He was the first to make the teaching of ethics the main business of a great educational institution; the first to declare that experience is the only proper guide of a high and pure

morality; the first to denounce as pernicious all appeals to supernatural considerations; and the first and only teacher among the Greeks to found an ethical doctrine which, in its main features, still has a multitude of adherents among enlightened men.

His object was to reach the highest enjoyment of which life is capable, and to sustain himself in that condition through the longest possible period; and as means to that end, he considered it indispensable to conduct himself in such a manner that he should contribute to the happiness of everybody around him. The state of mind which resulted from the observance of this rule was, in his phraseology, pleasure.

According to Epicurus, true happiness "is not the enjoyment of the moment, but the enjoyment of the whole life. We must not seek to intensify, but to equalize; not debauchery to-day and satiety to-morrow, but equable enjoyment all the year round. No life can be pleasant except a virtuous life; and the pleasures of the body, although not to be despised, are insignificant when compared with those of the soul. The former are but momentary; the latter embrace both the past and future. Hence the golden rule of temperance. Epicurus not only insisted on the necessity of moderation for continued enjoyment, he also slighted and somewhat scorned all exquisite indulgences. He fed moderately and plainly. Without interdicting luxuries, he saw that pleasure was purer and more enduring if luxuries were dispensed with. This is the ground upon which cynics and stoics built their own exaggerated systems. They also saw that simplicity was preferable to luxury; but they pushed their notion too far. Contentedness with a little, Epicurus regarded as a great good; and he said wealth consisted not

in having great possessions but in having small wants. He did not limit man to the fewest possible enjoyments; on the contrary, he wished him in all ways to multiply them; but he wished him to be able to live upon little, both as a preventive against ill fortune, and as an enhancement of rare enjoyments. The man who lives plainly has no fear of poverty, and is better able to enjoy exquisite pleasures."²

In a noble system of morality, friendship has a prominent place; and it had such a place in the teaching of Epicurus. He appreciated the vast importance of kindly offices rendered by man to man for the sake of their common humanity, and of that spirit of mutual aid which contributes greatly to make life enjoyable. "No one except a wise man [he said] knew how to return a favor properly."³

His "exhortations to active friendship were not unfruitful. We know, even by the admission of witnesses adverse to the Epicurean doctrines, that the harmony among the members^s of the sect, with common veneration for the founder, was more marked and more enduring than that exhibited by any other of the philosophical sects. . . . The Epicurean sect still continued its numbers and dignity [four hundred and fifty years after the death of Epicurus], having outlasted its contemporaries and rivals."⁴

In his tranquil garden, "in the society of his friends, he passed a peaceful life of speculation and enjoyment. The friendship which existed amongst them is well known. In a time of general scarcity and famine they contributed to each other's support, showing that the Pythagorean notion of community of goods was unnecessary amongst friends, who could confide in each other.

At the entrance of the garden they placed this inscription: 'The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find pleasure the highest good, will present you liberally with barley cakes, and water fresh from the spring. The gardens will not provoke your appetite by artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not be well entertained?' "5

In accordance with his rule that man should be content with little and should not continually hanker after new gratifications difficult of attainment for the successful few, and inaccessible for the many, Epicurus advised his pupils not to strive for political honors. The phraseology of his instruction on this point has not been preserved, and his precise meaning is doubtful. His enemies accused him of advising his students to shirk the duties of citizenship; but they accused him also, and without truth, of teaching them to live by the rule of mean selfishness, without regard for the rights of others. There is a great difference between a greedy strife for political office, and a base avoidance of it when offered by the public voice, or imposed by public duty. Socrates did not scheme for it, and he did not shirk it; and the general tenor of the ethics of Epicurus leads us to infer that his teaching on this point was in harmony with the doctrine and conduct of Socrates. It is worthy of note that while Epicurus was at the head of his school, Athens was subject to Macedonian influence, and political office there was often accessible only to those who would be more or less subservient to despots. It is possible that he gave advice to abstain from state affairs, but intended it only for local and temporary application; and there is also a possibility that the later masters in the Epicurean school, under the dominion of Rome,

misrepresented the doctrine of its founder on this point. Certain it is, on the other hand, that Lucretius, the best interpreter of the teaching of Epicurus, and its ablest advocate, was not in favor of shirking any patriotic duty.

Epicurus taught some principles of physics. He saw that matter is self-existent and eternal; that it never was created and never will be destroyed; that it consists of atoms which are in constant motion, and which, by their inherent qualities, acting under invariable natural laws, are the sources of all natural phenomena, including life. As Lucretius, the best expositor of Epicurus, expresses it, "atoms are the seeds of things;"⁶ and he adds that many monsters were born in the course of time, but that only those fit for the conditions of nature survived; and thus he suggests the recent doctrine of natural selection.⁷ "Nothing," according to Lucretius, "is ever begotten out of nothing by divine power," and again he tells us that atoms are "strong in solid singleness;" and that "it is absolutely decreed, according to the conditions of nature, what each thing can do and what it cannot do."⁸ These phrases come very near to the suggestion of the conservation of energy; they plainly convey the idea of all-pervading natural law; and they are remarkably near to many of the ideas established in the domain of science by the investigations of the XIXth century. They remind us of the structural power of matter in Tyndall, and of his phrase that "it is matter and only matter which grows up from the seed into the oak, from the embryo into the perfect animal or man."⁹

Epicurus gave a prominent place in his teaching to doctrines in relation to the gods. He denounced as false the theology current among the Greeks and the barbarous nations known to him. He considered it

pernicious to believe in gods as the vulgar conceive them; and it is demoralizing to suppose that they grant their highest favors not to the just but to the most abject followers of the priests. In his opinion "the chief miseries of life arose, not from bodily pains, but partly from delusions of hope, and exaggerated aspirations for wealth, honors, power, etc., in all which the objects appeared more seductive from a distance, inciting man to lawless violence and treachery, while in the reality they were always disappointments and generally something worse; partly, and still more, from the delusions of fear. Of this last sort were the two greatest torments of human existence—fear of death and of eternal suffering after death, as announced by prophets and poets, and fear of the gods. Epicurus, who did not believe in the continued existence of the soul separate from the body, declared that there could never be any rational ground for fearing death, since it was simply a permanent extinction of consciousness. Death was nothing to us (he said); when death comes, we are no more, either to suffer or to enjoy. Yet it was the groundless fear of this nothing that poisoned all the tranquillity of life, and held men imprisoned even when existence was a torment. Whoever had surmounted that fear was armed at once against cruel tyranny and against all the gravest misfortunes. Next, the fear of the gods was not less delusive, and hardly less tormenting, than the fear of death. It was a capital error . . . to suppose that the gods employed themselves as agents in working or superintending the march of the Cosmos; or in conferring favor on some men, and administering chastisement to others.

"The vulgar religious tales, which represented them

in this character, were untrue and insulting as regards the gods themselves, and pregnant with perversion and misery as regards the hopes and fears of mankind. Epicurus believed sincerely in the gods; revered them as beings at once perfectly happy, immortal, and unchangeable, and took delight in the public religious festivals and ceremonies. But it was inconsistent with these attributes, and repulsive to his feelings of reverence, to conceive them as agents. The idea of agency is derived from human experience; we, as agents, act with a view to supply some want, to fulfill some obligation, to acquire some pleasure, to accomplish some object desired but not yet attained—in short, to fill up one or other of the many gaps in our imperfect happiness; the gods already have all that agents strive to get, and more than agents ever do get; their condition is one not of agency, but of tranquil, self-sustaining, fruition. Accordingly, Epicurus thought (as Aristotle had thought before him) that the perfect, eternal, and imperturbable well-being and felicity of the gods excluded the supposition of their being agents. He looked upon them as types of that unmolested safety, and unalloyed satisfaction, which was what he understood by pleasure or happiness, as objects of reverential envy, whose sympathy he was likely to obtain by assimilating his own temper and condition to theirs as far as human circumstances allowed.

“These theological views were placed by Epicurus in the foreground of his ethical philosophy, as the only means of dispelling those fears of the gods that the current fables instilled into everyone, and that did so much to destroy human comfort and security. He proclaimed that beings in immortal felicity neither suffered

vexation in themselves nor caused vexation to others ; neither showed anger nor favor to particular persons. The doctrine that they were the working managers in the affairs of the Cosmos, celestial and terrestrial, human and extra-human, he not only repudiated as incompatible with their attributes, but declared to be impious, considering the disorder, sufferings, and violence everywhere visible. He disallowed all prophecy, divination, and oracular inspiration, by which the public around him believed that the gods were perpetually communicating special revelations to individuals, and for which Socrates had felt so peculiarly thankful.”¹⁰

Epicurus made a bitter opposition to the sacerdotal influence and theory of life ; and his followers praised him as the liberator of humanity from the bondage of ecclesiastical superstition. Thus Lucretius says : “ When human life lay shamefully groveling upon the earth, crushed down under the weight of religion, who showed her face from heaven, frowning upon mortals from on high, with awful aspect, a man of Greece was the first who ventured to lift mortal eyes to her face and to withstand her openly. . . . Religion is put beneath our feet and trampled on in him ; us his victory raises to heaven.” Elsewhere Lucretius tells us that “ there is no holiness in being often seen to turn oneself with veiled head towards a stone and to approach every altar and to fall prostrate on the ground and to spread out one’s palms before the statues of the gods and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts and link vow on to vow ; rather it is to be able to look on all things with a mind at peace.”¹¹

SEC. 405. *Stoicism*.—Later in its origin, by some few years, than the school of Epicurus, was that of Zeno,

a native of Cyprus. His place of instruction in Athens was called the *Stoæ*, and his pupils were designated as the Stoics. His teaching was mainly ethical and differed little from the moral doctrines of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus; but it was accompanied by theological ideas which gave to it a peculiar character. He taught a devout recognition of an all-powerful and perfectly good God, who directly controls the universe. Regarding everything in the world as of divine origin, he denied the existence of evil, which would imply that the Deity was defective in either goodness or power. Many things which are generally regarded as misfortunes were in his opinion matters of indifference, and so also were many others that are usually termed blessings. Thus Marcus Aurelius, a leading expositor of Stoicism, says: "He that reckons prosperity and pleasure among things really good, pain and hardship among things really evil, can be no pious person, for such a man will be sure to complain of the administration of Providence.¹ This idea, if carried out consistently, in all its bearings upon life, would necessarily tend to make men severe, unsympathetic, and harsh. It made pain a pretense and pity an act of impiety. It crushed and starved emotion.²

Zeno taught his followers to take an active interest in affairs of state; and Stoicism owes much of its historical importance to its acceptance by many distinguished Roman statesmen and authors. To the latter class belong Epictetus and Seneca; and Marcus Aurelius does honor to both classes. But the Stoic should not seek public office. He should accept it when it was offered to him, and not otherwise. Epictetus said: "Remember that in life you ought to behave as at a banquet. Sup-

pose that something is carried round and is opposite to you. Stretch out your hand and take a portion with decency. Suppose that it passes by you. Do not detain it. Suppose that it is not yet come to you. Do not send your desire forward to it, but wait till it is opposite to you. Do so with respect to children, so with respect to a wife, so with respect to magisterial offices, so with respect to wealth, and you will be sometime a worthy partner of the banquets of the gods. But if you take none of the things which are set before you, and even despise them, then will you be not only a fellow-banqueter with the gods, but also a partner with them in power. For by acting thus Diogenes and Heracleitus and those like them, were deservedly divine, and were so called."³

In the doctrine of the Stoics, death is not an evil; it is a matter of indifference. It is not wrong to invite death or to commit suicide. It is far better to die than to violate any duty. Priscus Helvidius was a Stoic, and applied his belief in his life. "For when Vespasian sent and commanded him not to go into the senate, he replied, 'It is in your power not to allow me to be a member of the senate, but so long as I am, I must go in.' 'Well, go in then,' says the emperor, 'but say nothing.' 'Do not ask my opinion, and I will be silent.' 'But I must ask your opinion.' 'And I must say what I think right.' 'But if you do I shall put you to death.' 'When, then, did I tell you that I am immortal? You will do your part and I will do mine; it is your part to kill; it is mine to die, but not in fear; yours to banish me; mine to depart without sorrow.'"⁴

In regard to suicide, the Stoical doctrine is thus expressed by Epictetus: "In sum remember this: the

door is open; be not more timid than little children, but as they say, when the thing does not please them, 'I will play no longer,' so do you, when things seem to you of such a kind, say, I will no longer play, and be gone: but if you stay do not complain."⁵ Many of the leading Stoics, including Zeno himself, and his successor in the headship of the school at Athens, died by their own hands.

Zeno taught his pupils to make liberal allowances for others; and to judge an enemy leniently. Epictetus says: "Recollect that in what he [your enemy] says or does, he follows his own sense of propriety, not yours. He must do what appears to him right, not what appears so to you. If he judges wrongly it is he that is hurt, for he is the person deceived. Always repeat to yourself in such a case, "The man has acted on his own opinion." We should never be unhappy because of what others think of us; we should be unhappy if we know we have acted unbecomingly. "Remember that it is not he who reviles you or strikes you, who insults you, but it is your opinion about these things as being insulting. When, then, a man irritates you, you must know that it is your own opinion which has irritated you. Therefore, especially try not to be carried away by the appearance. For if you once gain time and delay, you will more easily master yourself."⁶

The first principle of nature, according to Zeno, is self-love; and the highest duty of a man is to keep himself in a state of nature, that is in harmony with nature. He may properly provide first for his own welfare, but must always take thought also for the welfare of others. The Stoic idea of submission to the divine will is thus expressed by Epictetus: "As to piety towards the gods

you must know that this is the chief thing, to have right opinions about them, to think that they exist, and that they administer the all well and justly; and you must fix yourself in this principle [duty], to obey them, and to yield to them in everything which happens, and voluntarily to follow it as being accomplished by the wisest intelligence. For if you do so, you will never either blame the gods, nor will you accuse them of neglecting you. And it is not possible for this to be done in any other way than by withdrawing from the things which are not in our power, and by placing the good and the evil only in those things which are in our power. For if you think that any of the things, which are not in our power, is good or bad, it is absolutely necessary that, when you do not obtain what you wish, and when you fall into those things which you do not wish, you will find fault and hate those who are the cause of them; for every animal is formed by nature to this, to fly from and to turn from the things which appear harmful and the things which are the cause of the harm, but to follow and admire the things which are useful and the causes of the useful. It is impossible then for a person who thinks that he is harmed to be delighted with that which he thinks to be the cause of the harm, as it is also impossible to be pleased with the harm itself.”⁷

Another class of Greek philosophers, few in number and not deserving the name of a school, were the Cynics (dogs), who snarled at everything, neglected the elegances and even the decencies of life, lived like mendicants, and exalted ascetic suppression of the sympathetic and sensuous feelings. The Cynics would probably have attracted little attention if they had not had a very witty representative in Diogenes. “The virtue which is loud, noisy, ostentatious, and self-affirmative looks very

like an obtrusive egoism. And this was the virtue of the Cynics. Pretending to reform mankind, it began by blaspheming humanity; pretending to correct the effeminacies of the age, it studiously outraged all the decencies of life. Eluding the real difficulty of the problem, it pretended to solve it by unabashed insolence."⁸

SEC. 406. *Greek Science*.—Greek science owed most of its progress to the aid and encouragement granted to it by the sovereigns of Macedon and Egypt. It was by the liberality of Alexander that Aristotle was enabled to collect his information and to write his encyclopedic statement of the scientific knowledge of his time. Among all the dynasties known to history, the Macedonian Ptolemies in Egypt deserve the credit of having been the most generous, the most intelligent, and the most successful royal patrons of science. When Ptolemy I. found himself securely seated on the Egyptian throne, in 306 B. C., one of his first measures was a large grant of money for the establishment of the museum or university of Alexandria, with a library, botanical garden, menagerie, anatomical school, astronomical observatory, and teachers of geography, geometry, mathematics, languages, grammar, engineering, and many other branches of knowledge. The library grew with great rapidity, and soon became famous for possessing the most accurate and most complete editions of many famous authors, as well as having a collection which in its magnitude far excelled any other ever made. It was one of the intellectual wonders of the ancient world. It is the "unique and noble memorial of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, who have thereby laid the whole human race under obligations, and vindicated their title to be regarded as a most

illustrious line of kings.”¹ The age of the Ptolemies—for there were five intelligent patrons of learning in this wonderful dynasty—produced no great poet, historian, or orator, but it fostered a long succession of distinguished men of science. In the time of Julius Cæsar, after having existed two centuries and a half, the museum was destroyed by a conflagration, and though afterwards partially replaced, never approached its former position. Poets were patronized, and poetry and philosophy were taught; but most of the patronage was given to the scientific department, which was early recognized as the characteristic feature and chief boast of Alexandrian literature.

The first teacher of great eminence at the museum was Euclid, whose treatise on geometrical problems is still the text-book wherever geometry is studied. No other school book has ever held dominion for so long a period, and so wide an area, with so little change. He presumably copied many of his demonstrations from his predecessors; but he added to them many new ones of his own, and he gave to them a form which has not been materially improved since. His successor, Apollonius Pergæus, wrote on conic sections, and added much to the previous knowledge of mathematics. Archimedes, a little later, though a native and resident of Syracuse, belonged to the Alexandrian school of mathematicians and students of physical science. He ascertained the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle, and also that of the contents of a solid sphere to its circumscribing cylinder. He originated the idea of specific gravity, and discovered the method of determining the relation of weight to bulk. He was the first to explain the true theory of the lever. He invented many ingen-

ious machines, such as the screw pump, the hydraulic organ, and various engines used for military purposes. Hipparchus, whose most active years were in the last half of the IInd century B. C., made material additions to trigonometry and other branches of mathematics. In astronomy he made the important discovery of the precession of the equinoxes, catalogued more than a thousand stars, and suggested a theory to explain the apparent movements of the planets in consistency with the theory of their revolution in circular orbits. He also invented the astrolabe for measuring angles and determining the height of the stars and planets. Aristarchus calculated the distance of the sun to be eighteen times greater than that of the moon; and although he made a great error, for the relation should be four hundred instead of eighteen, his method was instructive. Eratosthenes, who became the chief librarian, made several interesting additions to mathematical and geographical science, including an approximate determination of the space between the tropics, and the discovery that vertical lines converge downwards. He measured the distance from Alexandria to Syene, and then, from the latitudes of the two places, calculated the diameter of the earth to be about 30,000 miles. For his time this was a marvelous achievement.

In the IInd century A. D., Ptolemy, the geographer, not a descendant of the royal dynasty of the same name, was the last eminent Greek in the school of Alexandria. His chief work was a comprehensive treatise on astronomy. He accepted the geocentric theory, and attempted to explain the movements of the heavenly bodies in such a manner as to make them harmonize with the idea that these bodies revolved around the earth. Although his

book taught a fundamental error, it contained a vast amount of correct knowledge and suggestive remark; and for more than a thousand years it remained the chief work of astronomy. Among other points of original information, it recorded the observation of the inequality in the motion of the moon, discovered by its author.

The scientific discoveries of the Greeks at Alexandria were a wonderful series of contributions to human knowledge. For several centuries the average number of students at the Museum was more than three thousand, and at one time rose to 14,000. In philosophy, in poetry, and in oratory, it was far inferior to the Athens of its time, but in mathematics, astronomy, geography, dynamics, and surgery, it took the lead, and with the decline of its school, those sciences fell into decay among the Aryan peoples.

SEC. 407. *Greek Medicine, etc.*—As compared with the enlightened nations of our century, the ancient Greeks did not reach a high degree of therapeutical skill. They had no knowledge of chemistry. Their ideas of anatomy and physiology were superficial. They had neither thermometer, microscope nor accurate scales to assist them in diagnosis. They were not in the habit of dissecting the human body until after the time of Alexander. Many of the most potent remedies of modern medicine were unknown to them. They had neither morphine, quinine, calomel, nor alcohol; and previous to the middle of the Vth century B. C., the physicians kept their professional knowledge as a secret, reserved for favored pupils.

Among the common remedies were purges, emetics, enemas, blood-letting by lancet and cupping, cold baths, and fasting. When drugs were administered, they were

usually prepared by the physicians; but if to be bought at shops, the prescriptions were written in a dialect or in signs not familiar to the multitude. The physicians of ancient, like those of modern, times disliked to let their patients know the precise quality and quantity of their remedies. Proprietary medicines were not unknown.

There were medical schools at the cities of Rhodes, Cnidos, and Cos, and also at several temples to Æsculapius, the god of medicine, situated at sanitariums, either in places where the air was considered very wholesome, or near medicinal springs. As to the subjects of study, the mode of instruction, or the rules for the admission or examination of students, we have no definite information. In many cases, the profession of physician was hereditary in families, of which the most noted was that known as the Asclepiads, or descendants of Æsculapius.

As in other nations of antiquity, so also among the Greeks, the belief that all diseases were inflicted on man by divine or demoniac agency was a great obstacle to the rise and development of medical science; but among them first, a considerable proportion of the people outgrew that old superstition, and among them too the art of healing reached an excellence unknown among their contemporaries.

Before the time of Hippocrates, philosophers had begun to ascribe natural phenomena to natural causes, but so far as we know, he was the first physician to deny the theory that disease was due to supernatural powers. Epilepsy was considered, as more manifestly than any other malady, a demoniac possession, and for that reason, among the Greeks, was called the "sacred disease." Of this Hippocrates wrote: "The disease is nowise more divine than others; but has its nature such as other dis-

eases have, and a cause whence it originates, and its cause and nature are divine only just as much as all others are; and it is curable no less than others, unless when from length of time, it is confirmed and has become stronger than the remedies applied."

Surgery made more progress than medicine, mainly because the result of the treatment could be observed more accurately. Armies were accompanied by surgeons who had their ointments and bandages, and for severed arteries, they used red-hot iron or boiling pitch.

Hippocrates was more eminent in surgery than in medicine. His treatises on articulations, dislocations, and fractures are still valuable, and in some points are unsurpassed. In reference to his essay on articulations, Adams, who translated him into English, says: "Several sections of the work are perfect masterpieces, such for example as the parts which relate to dislocations at the shoulder and hip-joint, and more especially the latter, in which, as it appears to me, he has given a fuller and more complete history of everything relating to the subject than is to be found in any single work even at the present day."

The dissection of the human body was first practised systematically at Alexandria, and there anatomy made great progress. It was perhaps here that was discovered the ligature of the artery which was mentioned by Celsus, but was apparently not practiced extensively; for it was soon afterwards lost to the art of surgery, and remained unknown to surgeons generally for more than a thousand years. The anatomical text-book of Galen is a work of great learning, and in its form, as well as its information, bears a close resemblance to modern works written for the same purpose.

SEC. 408. *Greek Music*.—Music received more attention among the Greeks than in any other nation of antiquity, and it seems to have exerted a greater influence on them; but whether they were superior either in composition or in execution to the Egyptians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, or Lydians, is a question upon which we have no conclusive evidence. Their authors do not make a distinct claim of superiority, nor of any important addition either to the science of music or to the instruments used in it, but they write as if the moral tone of their serious airs was better than that of the barbarians.

Much that they say upon this point, however, is not clearly comprehensible. We can understand how an air suggests the patriotic, ludicrous, or sentimental idea to which it has been attached; or how martial, merry, or sad thoughts are brought before the mind by certain combinations of notes, but we cannot understand how a nation could be demoralized in its military discipline and in its political management by the influence of pernicious music. Yet leading thinkers, including Plato and Aristotle, considered immoral music to be one of the greatest evils in a state. Felton says: "The moral degeneracy which marked the later periods of Greek history was traced, by philosophers and satirists alike, to the corruption which had glided into the heart through the melting tones of a luxuriant and overrefined music."¹

The Greeks divided musical airs into four main classes or moods, the serious Dorian, the wailing Lydian, the convivial Ionian and the Phrygian. Mahaffy thinks the Lydian was in the major key, while the Dorian and Phrygian were in the minor. The main difference ac-

ording to him was in the "arrangement or progression of the notes."²

It is worthy of remark that some authors on China, where, to European taste, the music is of a most barbarous and ludicrous character, speak of the moral influence of music in terms very similar to those used in ancient Greece. Mahaffy suggests that the Phrygian music may have been similar in the arrangement of its notes to the Czardas, a national air of the Magyars, and he adds: "It is probable that the far greater complexity of our music, the multiplication of instruments, the development of harmony, has brought out intellectual instincts unknown to them [the ancient Greeks], and so obscured the moral questions once so striking."³

The musical instruments of the Greeks were the lyre, lute, harp, fife, flute, flageolet, Pan's pipe, trumpet, horn, drum, cymbal, and castanets. The seven-stringed lyre was the most common because it was lighter than the harp, and because, unlike the flute, pipe, and horn, it allowed the performer to sing an accompaniment; and the song had a greater place relatively in music then than in modern times. The violin, keyed horns, piano, and all instruments of their classes now so prominent, were as yet unknown. There was no harmony in the higher sense of the word; and if there was any method of writing musical notes, it was very rude and vague. There was, however, a large stock of well known musical airs, which have been lost or are no longer traceable to an ancient origin.

SEC. 409. *Greek Architecture, etc.*—The oldest remains of Greek architecture are cyclopean walls of immense stones, irregular in shape, laid up without mortar; and false arches and vaults, made by bringing horizontal

courses of stones gradually nearer to one another. These structures do not differ notably from similar structures of the early barbarous nations of western Asia. But in the VIIth century B. C., and perhaps earlier, the Greeks began to show in their architecture that remarkable perception and taste for proportion which were among their most striking characteristics. Whether they obtained their general plans of temples from Egypt or Asia, has been a question of dispute among scholars, but that they made a vast improvement upon their model is admitted by all. They rejected as much as they accepted, and made everything their own, by modifying forms and proportions, so that every part should be simple, and in harmony with every other part. The columns were made higher in proportion to thickness; the spaces between them were enlarged; excessive ornamentation was discarded; and among the results were three styles of architecture, the Dorian, Ionian, and Corinthian, each considered as perfect in its kind, and admirably suited to the purposes for which it was designed.

The most splendid edifices of the Greeks were temples and theatres, and each of these classes had one general plan from which there was little variation, save in the size. The Propylæa in Athens, and the Initiation Hall in Eleusis, were notable structures without their parallels elsewhere. There was no great palace, legislative hall, city hall, gallery of art, college building, hospital, amphitheatre, dome, arch, or bridge in all Greece. The Greeks took lessons in building and statuary from the older nations, especially those of Egypt and Babylonia, but they improved so much upon the work of their masters, that they seem to deserve all the credit of having developed architecture as a fine art out of masonry, and

sculpture out of stonecutting. Felton says : "Whatever else the Greeks may have borrowed from the land of the Pharaohs, beauty they did not borrow. . . . They made whatever they received their own, by working it over again. They breathed into rude materials and ungainly forms the elegance and grace of their own brilliant spirits. They turned inanimate matter into the almost breathing forms of art. They raised death into life, and stamped upon life the seal of immortality."¹

In many respects the sculpture of the Greeks is vastly superior to that of any earlier nation, and has not been surpassed in later times. In the correctness of their proportions of the human figure, in the truth of their anatomy in repose and action, in the beauty, grace, and dignity of their forms, in the rich artistic suggestiveness of their subjects, whether of single individuals or groups, in the sentiment and passion in many faces, and in the felicitous handling of their materials whether in the round or in low or high relief, whether in marble or in bronze, their broken fragments are the subjects of inexhaustible admiration to the greatest modern critics.

As an ornamental art, painting had its origin among the Greeks. They were the first to use the brush, to model with light and shade, to use aerial and linear perspective, and to paint good portraits, landscapes, still life, and theatrical scenery. Before their time, the only painting was a uniform wash applied with a sponge, and variegated perhaps with a stencil plate.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GREEK INDUSTRY.

SECTION 410. *Greck Homes*.—Far superior as the Greeks of the Vth century B. C. were to all other nations in their literature, ornamental art, polity, and military discipline, they could claim no notable superiority in mining, metallurgy, masonry, woodwork, shipbuilding, navigation, weaving, dyeing, tillage, or the breeding of animals. In navigation and dyeing they admitted that the Phœnicians were more skillful.

Although idleness was considered a vice in Athens, and although the law encouraged and public opinion of that city permitted leading citizens to engage in industrial pursuits, there was, nevertheless, a considerable social prejudice against the ruder forms of manual labor and the smaller branches of shopkeeping. Those shopkeepers who had booths in the market-place, were generally despised at Athens; and at Thebes they were disfranchised for a period of ten years.

Throughout Greece, most of the work was done by slaves, except in a small mountainous district north of the Corinthian Gulf, where all the people were free, and nearly all were poor. Generally a state had at least three slaves for one freeman; in many cases more. Most of the bondmen were held by families to which their ancestors had belonged for generations, and this hereditary relation was accompanied by kindness on one side and

attachment on the other. In many respects the slave fared as well as the poor freeman.

Among the common handicrafts were those of carpenter, mason, brickmaker, stonecutter, smith, cabinet-maker, wheelwright, turner, weaver, dyer, tanner, shoemaker, potter, baker, cook, and glass blower. Mechanical work was usually done in a small shop, with a small supply of tools. Large factories requiring multitudes of workmen and large stocks of material existed, but were very rare.

Until after their absorption by Rome, the Greeks had little that we call machinery for ordinary use in their mechanical or agricultural labor. They had no large power-producing wheel, driven by water, wind, or the tread of animals; nor had they a revolving axle with teeth to thresh or with fans to winnow grain. Grain was usually ground by hand, rarely in mills turned by quadrupeds.

Except in connection with military operations, extensive engineering enterprises were rare among the Greeks. A lake in Bœotia was drained and water was brought into Samos by a tunnel; and the harbors of Athens and Samos had breakwaters, as a protection to shipping.

The home of a wealthy family in a city was inclosed by a high wall, which had only one opening, the main door. There was no outer window; no side or rear door leading into the street. The rooms were arranged round two courts, that nearest the street door, with its apartments, being used by the men and the boys over seven years of age; and the rear court and its apartments were reserved for the women, girls, and little boys. The two courts were connected by a door which was under the charge of the wife or feminine head of the household,

The courts were surrounded by verandas or colonnades which gave protection against rain and sun. The rear of the inner courts had rooms for looms and household stores. The apartments around the courts were small, and those intended for bedrooms had no opening save a door, which was closed by a curtain. Windows were few, small, and unglazed. Blocks on busy streets had much of their frontage occupied by shops, but these usually had no communication with the courts. On streets that had little traffic, a portion of the frontage was often occupied by stables; staircases leading to upper stories were sometimes built inside and sometimes outside of the rooms. The houses of the poor were mostly of adobe; those of the rich of brick or stone. Floors were of stone, tile, or clay.

Among the articles of kitchen furniture were a sink, kneading trough, pots, pans, chopping block, cleaver, mortar, spits, andirons, ovens, sieves, chafing dishes, and roasters for barley and beans. There were also platters, bowls, and ladles made out of fig wood. Over the hearth there was sometimes an opening for the escape of the smoke, but nothing that we would call a chimney. When rooms were to be heated, braziers were used; and the poor carried little chafing dishes or put them between their feet. Wood, charcoal, and, rarely, mineral coal were used as fuel.

In their household utensils the Greeks exhibited signs of that delicate taste which enabled them to carry the plastic arts to an excellence unapproached in any other ancient nation. Many of their vases, pitchers, urns, cups, lamps, and tables were made in patterns that have never been surpassed in elegance. In metal and in pottery they acquired an admirable skill. They were the first to

appreciate the value of soft terra cotta as distinct from hard pottery for ornamental purposes, and they used it extensively. They painted terra cotta vases in distemper before burning, and they baked it with or without glaze, some of their glaze being of a kind that did not make a vessel water-tight. They used terra cotta and plaster moulds for making casts of statuary.

The cities were built densely with narrow streets, and houses closely crowded together so that the inclosing wall should be short in proportion to the men who were to be its defenders in case of war. And the probability of war was always a prominent consideration in selecting the site, and adopting a plan for a city. A hill top was preferred, especially a rocky hill with steep sides. The large blocks of stone with which streets were paved in leading cities, were not put down for trotting horses or light wagons.

The popular interest in the chariot races at the Olympian, Pythian, and Nemean games was so great that every Greek city had its cart road open to the places where those games were held; but these roads, as well as all others outside of the cities, were muddy in wet, and dusty in dry weather; in some places steep, in others swampy.

Every city had its market-place, where provisions and merchandise of many kinds were offered for sale daily, or on certain frequently recurring market days, and where cooks, messengers, nurses, dancers, jugglers, and artisans collected for hire. The opening of the fish market was announced by ringing a bell. At all the national and international festivals, buyers and sellers met in grounds set apart for their use. Industrial exhibitions were held, but we know little about their system or results.

SEC. 411. *Greek Agriculture*.—Barley was the staff of life throughout Greece, and was eaten in porridge and in cakes, often baked without leaven and sometimes eaten without baking. Wheat, millet, rye, and spelt were used in the same manner. Among the common vegetables, were onions, garlic, beans, peas, turnips, radishes, lettuce and asparagus. Pickled olives had a prominent place on the table; and olive oil was used extensively in cooking. Figs, grapes, chestnuts, walnuts, almonds, apples, pears, quinces, cherries, and plums, were cultivated. The meat of domestic animals, sold in the markets, was mostly that obtained from the temples where it had been offered to the gods in sacrifice. Honey, and pastry sweetened with honey, were common. There was no sugar. Wine mixed with an equal, double, or treble share of water was the common beverage. Mead was used, and beer was not unknown. There were neither hot nor frozen drinks, but snow was sometimes brought from the mountains to cool the wine.

Swampy land was drained, and dry land was irrigated from streams or wells. Stable manure was saved. The soil was prepared for planting with the plough on some farms, and on others with the hoe or spade. Barley was cultivated more extensively than any other cereal, mainly because it thrives better in a dry climate and light soil. Most of the transportation was done on the backs of slaves or horses, or on carts drawn by oxen or horses. Pack horses were used with armies. Travelers by land, even distinguished ambassadors, usually went on foot.

The horse and the cow were relatively rare. The former owes much of his value in modern life to the iron shoe, the stirrup, the light wagon, good harness, and good roads and pavements, all of which were wanting in

ancient Greece. Cows were too costly to be used in sacrifice by any save the wealthy. The sheep was preferred for the altars, and mutton was more abundant than beef. Most of the milk was furnished by the goat, which was better suited than the cow to the steep and brush-covered hills. Butter was rare and cheese abundant. The management of the dairy received much attention, and slaves, skillful in making cheese, commanded good prices. Chickens, geese, ducks, pigeons, guinea hens, quails, partridges, pheasants, and thrushes were among the domestic fowls.

The earliest known mention of grafting and budding is in Greek books, which, however, do not tell us in what country or century those processes had their origin. The vine was pruned with care, but was not cultivated in a manner that would be considered creditable to modern skill. Instead of trimming them low, and leaving them without support—a method that does well with the vine of Europe—the Greek grape grower usually trained his vines upon trees which took a considerable part of the nutriment of the soil. This wasteful system prevails to our own times in many districts of southern Europe, but finds no favor among the more intelligent vineyardists. There is nothing in the books to indicate the varieties of grape cultivated; nor do we know whether they had different varieties for the table, for wine, and for drying. The Chian wine was considered the best in the Athenian market, but we have no information whether its superior excellence was due to the influence of soil, of climate, of skill in the cellar masters, or of the variety of grape; or of several or all of these in combination.

Every wealthy man, whether he dwelt in the city or

not, owned a farm, which was expected to yield all the grain, kitchen vegetables, fruit, oil, pickled olives, wine, cider, meat, wool, and flax needed in his family. The flax and wool were spun, woven, and dyed in the house, most of the work being done by slaves.

No well defined rules for improving the breed of domestic animals have been preserved to us from ancient Greece; nor do we read that different varieties of sheep were bred for long and short wool, and for moist and for dry pasture; nor that different varieties of cows were bred for butter, for cheese, and for beef; nor that different varieties of horses were prized for heavy draft, and for trotting. Our ignorance on these points, however, may be chargeable mainly to the loss of Greek books on agriculture, rather than to the lack of such things in Hellenic communities. We know that they attached much value to certain breeds of domestic animals; and that a sheep which would bring only twenty cents for slaughter, might command \$1,000 for breeding purposes. An equally high price was paid for the best pigs. The most valuable horses were those designed for use in racing at the national and Panhellenic games.

SEC. 412. *Greek Commerce*.—The money was gold, silver, and copper or bronze coin, that struck by Athens after the time of Solon being considered the best in Greece, because of the uniformity of its quality, and the excellence of the mintage. Gold was to silver nearly as one to ten, and to copper as one to three thousand. Money was counted by the gold talent of about \$10,000; the silver talent of about \$1,000; the mina of \$18; the dram of eighteen cents; and the obol of three cents. In ordinary times a sheep was worth about twenty cents; an ox, eighty; the day's work of an unskilled laborer,

twelve; and barley enough to feed a man for a day, a cent and a half. The money of the poor was copper; and gold was rare. A healthy male slave, in his active years, was worth from \$20 to \$40. A man possessing \$10,000 in Athens was rich; and Critias, the richest citizen in Athenian history, with \$200,000, had a position similar to that which an American now holds with \$100,000,000.

There were no banks or bills of exchange, but there were money brokers who dealt in foreign coin and lent money on interest for themselves and for others. The lowest rate of annual interest was ten per cent, the highest forty, and the average fifteen or twenty. Money lending was not disreputable, nor was there any legal limit to the percentage. Athenian law did not enforce the collection of a loan on the mortgage of a ship going to a foreign port, unless the contract provided that a return cargo must be brought to Athens; and when money was lent under such a contract, the lender frequently sent an agent or supercargo to collect the debt at the foreign port.

Among the Greeks, mariners, marine fishermen, and shipwrights were numerous. Nearly every Hellenic city was near the sea; every leading Greek state had some seaport in its territory. Harbors, roadsteads, islands, and promontories were relatively near together, so that the prudent shipmaster, on the watch for storms, was seldom far from some place where he could find shelter. The ordinary size of the Greek ship was ten or twenty tons, and its form was long, with seats for numerous rowers, who could drag it along on the land. The main reliance for propulsion was on oars, but there was a mast, with a sail to be used when the wind was favorable.

Rigging, for conveniently shifting the position of the sail to any angle required, had not been devised, and mariners had not learned to sail against the wind, or, at least, not so close to the wind as they do now.

Long voyages for commercial purposes were limited to the eight months of fair weather, from April to November inclusive; and during the other four months, the ships lay at anchor, or more commonly were drawn up on the beach out of reach of the waves. In trading ships the breadth was usually one fourth, in war ships one eighth or one tenth of the length. In some cases lead was used for sheathing; copper never. Anchors, capstans, and hemp cables, much like those of modern times, were in use. The art of navigation consisted largely in control over the rowmen, and in familiarity with the appearance of the numerous headlands which became visible successively in the customary voyages, which, except on rare occasions, were made within sight of land. A pilot who felt safe when he had been beyond the range of any landmark for more than twenty-four hours, was considered extremely bold. The shipmaster bound from the southwestern point of the Peloponnesus, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles, in a due west direction across the open sea, preferred the longer route, going three hundred miles in a north-west direction to Corfu, and then at right angles, south-westward an equal distance to his destination, pursuing the longer route for the sake of keeping within sight of visible guiding points on the solid ground.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GREEK SOCIETY.

SECTION 413. *Greek Women*.—The main differences between the social life of ancient Greece and that of modern Europe have been caused by industrial improvements, such as the chimney, window glass, lamp chimney, illuminating gas, the clock and watch, the printing press, and the steam engine. The ancient Greek, having no chimney, could not make his house warm in cold weather, without filling it with smoke. His usual artificial light in the house was furnished by a saucer-shaped lamp, in which the wick lay in the oil, furnishing a dim and smoky flame. For ordinary purposes, the day ended when darkness set in, and the people generally went to bed soon after twilight, and rose with the dawn. No political assembly, no theatrical or musical entertainment, no lecture, no shop or factory, was open after dark. By making it possible to admit light without cold, wind, or rain, window glass changed the plans of public and private buildings. The clock gave a precision and regularity that were previously lacking. The Greeks could measure time by the running of water or of sand, but the clepsydras and hour-glasses were so defective that very few persons used them. Cheap mechanical power, cheap literature, cheap and rapid transportation of merchandise, the almost in-

stantaneous transmission of information, the establishment of a postal system, and the abolition of slavery have contributed much to give to modern life a variety, a fullness, and a comfort unknown to the ancient Greeks.

In historic Greece woman's social position differed greatly from that held by her sex in any other country. The respectable girl was bred in seclusion. Though, in the wealthy families, she often learned to read, she could not leave the house to take lessons, nor did she have a teacher unless it was her mother or a female slave of the family. For her there was no instruction in music, painting, elocution, rhetoric, or dancing. She never went promenading in the street nor shopping; she never attended a mixed party of ladies and gentlemen at dinner, picnic, or ball; she never rode on horseback nor drove out in a carriage for pleasure. It was not proper for her to engage in conversation with a gentleman unless he was a near relative. In the selection of her husband her wishes were not consulted. Absolute submission to her father's choice was demanded by public opinion. An orphan heiress was under legal obligation to marry her nearest male relative, excepting only father, grandfather, full brother, and half brother by the same mother.

The seclusion of the wife was almost as complete as that of the maiden. Unless she was poor, the occasions were rare when she could properly leave her house. She took care of her boys till they were seven years old; she trained her daughters in household affairs, and perhaps taught them to read; she managed the household slaves; she took charge of the clothing, food, and other household supplies; and, with the help of her slaves, she spun all the thread and wove all the cloth needed in the family. She waited at table upon her husband and her

sons who had passed their seventh year, and when they had finished their meal, she and her daughters could eat by themselves; and after they had finished, the slaves were allowed to eat. The married woman might call on a lady friend in the daytime, with a woman slave for her companion on the street, but she must not leave her home often. If some urgent necessity, such as the serious illness of a near relative, required her to leave her dwelling at night, she must be accompanied by slaves with torches.

Whether the respectable woman could go to the theater to witness the performance of tragedies in Athens is a matter of dispute among scholars. There was a place for women, but whether they were the wives of reputable and influential citizens is not clear. The comedy was certainly prohibited to them. They could take part, however, in processions at certain ecclesiastical festivals.

The woman was not considered a suitable intellectual companion for her husband. He could have only one legal wife in Greece, and matrimony had a religious consecration. He could not marry an alien woman nor a slave, he must ally himself with the daughter of a citizen if he wished his marriage to have that sacredness which would entitle his sons to be citizens. But the religious character of wedlock, as he understood it, did not elevate his wife to social equality with him. Even if they two were alone in the house together, he was not to eat with her, nor to make a practice of conversing with her, nor to walk with her arm in arm or side by side, nor to seek to educate her so that she should be the preferred companion in the hours that he could give to social relaxation.

Her legal rights were few. She might own property

inherited from her parents or given to her by her relatives, but its control and the use of its income belonged to her husband. She did not even own herself when she became a widow. By his will her husband could designate her next husband, and her refusal to submit to such a bequest subjected her to the loss of all her property.

Notwithstanding the inferiority of their legal rights, many Athenian wives were presumably happy in their domestic sphere. Themistocles, it is said, pointed out to a stranger, a child as the ruler of Athens. When asked for an explanation, he said the child ruled its mother, and she ruled her husband, who was Themistocles, then the most influential man in the city. But beyond some such vague suggestions of the domestic authority of Athenian wives, we read little of them as individuals. Not one has a prominent place in history; not one is famous for learning, talent, or heroic conduct. No woman born in Attica has a fame like that of the mother of the Gracchi, or like that of the wife of Brutus. Sappho was a great poet and Aspasia an eminent critic, but they were not natives of Athens.

In Sparta the education and social position of women were peculiar. The girls were trained in gymnastic exercises. Dressed only in short chemise or chiton, partly open on one side so as to show the hip, the girl was required to race, jump, and wrestle, under the superintendence and within the view of men and boys; and she was permitted to see the Olympic contests of naked men, though matrons, whether of Spartan or any other nationality, were excluded under penalty of death. Partly because of their athletic training, and partly because the state took care that every weakly and

deformed child, and probably every child of sickly or puny parents, should die in infancy, the Spartans, both men and women, were noted throughout Greece for their beauty, activity, strength, endurance, and height. Spartan women were called bull-stranglers, because it was said that each was strong enough to strangle a bull. They were considered superior as nurses to the women of any other part of Greece. While they were generally ignorant of letters and lacking in refinement, they had strong character and much self-respect. In discretion of conduct, and modesty of demeanor, they were not inferior to the women of other Greek states; and they were credited with more influence in state as well as more authority in their households. An Athenian woman said to a Spartan woman, "You are the only women who know how to govern the men;" and the proud reply was, "Yes, and we are the only women who give birth to men."

As the young men and maidens had more opportunities of seeing each other, so there was more love-making among them in Sparta than elsewhere. The Spartan was not allowed to keep house until he was thirty years of age; and if he married earlier, he must visit his wife by stealth. But there was no elopement. The father or guardian of the bride gave his consent; and when the lover met her, it might be when she was in a chorus, in the gymnasium, or in the street, he seized her violently and carried her off to a bridesmaid, who cut off her hair as a symbol of her condition as a wife. The husband returned to his companions as if nothing had happened, but when night came he sneaked into the bridal chamber. Such stolen interviews might continue for months before he introduced her to his own home and his relatives.

Among citizens wedlock had a religious character, and the marriage ceremony was sometimes performed in a temple. The bride who had been brought up to adore the domestic gods, the divine ancestors of her father's family, was formally released from that worship at his domestic hearth; she ate with the groom, in the presence of witnesses, as a sign that she accepted him as her husband; she went with an escort to his house, where she was presented to her husband's domestic gods and transferred to their allegiance by being carried several times around their sacred fire. Thus she was introduced to the religion of her husband and transferred to his dominion. If she went to a man without the religious ceremony, she did not become his wife, under the customs and law of Greece.

Divorce was rare, but could be obtained easily when both parties desired it, and without much difficulty when the husband insisted, even if the wife objected. The law provided that a man should have the privilege of getting rid of a wife if he had an opportunity to espouse a rich woman to whom he was the nearest male relative within the marriageable degrees. If able to do so, the father of a bride gave her a dowry; and the money to be obtained was usually an important part of the bargain, and a subject of explicit stipulation. In case of a divorce, the husband was required to restore the amount of the dowry to the father or guardian of the wife.

Neither law nor public opinion required the husband to be faithful to his wife or to make any pretense of fidelity. Without discredit he could openly and habitually associate with *hetairæ*, women of light reputation, as did the most distinguished statesmen, authors, and artists,

including men like Themistocles, Pericles, Demosthenes, Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Phidias, Praxiteles, and Apelles, some of whom share their immortality with their hetairæ friends, while their wives are relatively obscure. If a rich Greek wanted the company of an intellectual woman he did not look for it to his wife.

The Greek hetairæ were a class which has not its like in any other country, and they owed their prominence partly to the seclusion and ignorance of the wives. Many of them were highly educated and accomplished; and by their education, accomplishments, and association with intellectual men, acquired a distinguished social tact and a conversational brilliancy. They studied and they sometimes taught rhetoric, elocution, music, and general literature. Eminent men, and in a few instances reputable matrons, sought their instruction. They practiced dancing, but this was only to acquire grace of movement, or to entertain a single male friend or at the most two or three friends at a dinner. Dancing at large parties or before strangers was beneath the dignity of their profession.

Besides the hetairæ there was a less reputable and uneducated class of public women, some of whom were free and others slaves. Among the latter were the women owned by the temples of Aphrodite, of whom there were relatively few at Athens, but many at Corinth, at Cythera, and in Cyprus. Most of them were bought as infants or small girls, and educated for the lives they were to lead.

SEC. 414. *Greck Children*.—If the father lifted up a new-born child it was to live; otherwise to die before receiving nourishment. Public opinion condemned the rearing of a large number of children, and especially of

girls, in poor families. Without a dowry the daughter of a citizen had little chance of obtaining a husband, and old maids were a disgrace to their parents. A considerable proportion of the men were slain in war, and for these, as well as for those who by their spendthrift disposition, or by other mental peculiarities, were incompetent to maintain families creditably, calculation was made in the practice of infanticide. That mode of equalizing the sexes was favored by Plato; and Aristotle advised intentional abortion to limit the number of children. These practices, now abhorred by public opinion in all civilized countries, were directly commended by "the two greatest authorities in the Hellenic world; men differing on many points from each other but agreeing in this; men not only of lofty personal character, but also of first-rate intellectual force, in whom the ideas of virtue and vice had been as much developed by reflection as they ever have been in any mind."¹ Before the establishment of Christianity no Greek moralist and no Greek state condemned either of these practices. It was considered more merciful to the child to let it die at once than to bring it up for a life of abject poverty.

Infants were seldom slain, but many were exposed or left in some solitary place, so that they might die for lack of nourishment. In or near the cities there were places recognized by custom, as proper for such exposure. Any person finding such an infant might take it, and rear it as a slave. It was from such foundling girls that many of the slave women were reared.

Little children had rattles, dolls, hoops, balls, swings and hobby-horses. The girls remained in the woman's part of the house, with the mother, until marriage; and the boy stayed there until he was seven years old.

Then he was transferred to the man's side, and intrusted to a slave, who was to accompany him whenever he left the house, and to be his attendant and body servant through life.

In his eighth year, the Athenian boy was taken from his nurse and sent to school, where he studied spelling, reading, writing, vocal music, recitation of poems, arithmetic, and grammar, of which last branch of education, however, only the rudiments were then understood. In writing numbers, the Greeks represented them by letters, which, for arithmetical purposes, are far inferior to the Hindoo numerals; and calculations were habitually made on the abacus or counting board, which had a place in the Greek school similar to that of the slate in a modern school. The schools opened early in the morning, and in many cases closed at midday, so that the boys could spend the afternoon in play or gymnastic exercises. One of Solon's laws provided that the schools should not begin before sunrise, nor close after sunset. Except in Sparta, there were no state schools in Greece; and as a general rule there was no instruction save for the sons of citizens who had a share in the government. Slaves, and commoners without votes, were allowed to grow up without a knowledge of letters. Girls did not go to schools, but might have lessons at home.

At thirteen, instrumental music was added to the list of studies, the lyre being the favorite instrument, because it was conveniently portable and suitable for accompaniment by the voice. The harp was less in favor, because it was heavy, and the flute and pipes, because the performer could not use his voice.

SEC. 415. *Greek Meals, etc.*—The Greeks were a frugal people. Meat was rarely seen on the tables of the slaves

or poor freemen. The common dinner consisted of bread or porridge, wine, and pickled olives; those were considered necessary for the principal meal. He was fortunate who, in addition, could get cheese, dried figs, and salt. In the cities only the rich could often have fresh meat and fresh fruit. Bread and wine were considered sufficient for the two lighter meals, even in the houses of the wealthy.

The kitchens were small and had few cooking utensils, and those few of pottery. Metallic pots and pans were found only in the houses of the wealthy. Meats were usually stewed or broiled. Ordinarily the cooking was done by the household slaves; but on special occasions of importance, in cities, professional cooks, who had their stands in the market-places, were hired to prepare the meal and to wait on the guests or direct the household slaves in their attendance.

The men ate by themselves, and the women and children afterwards, when the family was alone as well as when it had company. Respectable ladies never went out to dinner with their husbands, and when a man had guests at dinner, his wife did not make her appearance. When guests were invited to dinner in the house of a wealthy man, before they sat down their shoes or sandals were taken off by slaves. There were four main courses for the meal, the first of salad, oysters, sweetmeats, or pungent herbs, or perhaps of several of them; the second of fish, shrimp, lobster, or crab; the third of meat with vegetables; and the fourth of cheese, fruit, and confectionery. There was neither knife nor fork and usually there was no spoon for the separate use of a person at his meals. He was expected to pick up pieces of meat, as well as of vegetable, with his fingers. At grand

dinner parties, girls entertained the party between the courses, with dancing and music. There was a napkin for every guest, and at the end of a course, in which the fingers became greasy, a slave carried to every guest a bowl of water and a towel. The left hand was considered unclean and was not used for lifting food to the mouth.

Reception rooms had benches or sofas, which, in the houses of the rich, were covered with rugs or cushions and, very rarely, with skins. Chairs were less common and more clumsy in pattern than in modern times. The most elegant pieces of furniture were the table and the couch upon which, in historical Greece, the men reclined while dining, resting upon their left elbows. As the bedrooms were small and the clothing plain in cut and material, the bedroom furniture was usually simple.

Barber shops were common, and were places where news was collected and distributed. It was from a barber that the citizens of Athens first heard of the destruction of their army and fleet at Syracuse, and when he could not find his informant he got into serious trouble, on a charge of inventing a false report injurious to the public welfare. The barbers cut, dyed, and bleached hair and beard, and about the time of Alexander the Great began to shave. In earlier times smooth faces were unfashionable.

The clothing was simple, without change in fashion from generation to generation, and was nearly the same for both sexes. There were two principal garments, the chiton or chemise, and himation or mantle. The former, worn next to the body, was a plain sack open at both ends. For the women it reached to the feet; for the men, to the knee or mid-thigh. Sometimes it had sepa-

rate openings for the head and arms, sometimes it was fastened over the shoulders by buckles or strings. Sleeves attached to it were rare; and a girdle might confine it at the waist. In warm weather people, either in the house or at work, usually wore no garment save the chiton. The mantle was large enough to reach to the feet and was necessary for full dress, except for ladies, who, instead of it, might wear a peplum, an outer garment reaching to the hips and similar in cut to the chiton. A small mantle called the chlamys was worn by boys and by cavalry soldiers.

No garment was sewed or knitted to fit the body, arms, or legs tightly. In the ordinary dress of men and women there were no collars, bands, pleats, ruffles, tucks, frills, laces, ornamental edgings, or buttonholes; corsets were unknown, though some matrons wore bands under the breast. The patterns of different colors produced in the loom had stripes in one direction or in two—the latter plaids—and were rare. No cloth was woven with raised figures or irregular colored patterns. The clothing was nearly all home-made, coarse, heavy, durable, uniform and dull in color, and rarely washed. Silks were obtained from China, but were rare and very costly.

Women had no head covering, and men wore none except in military service, in rainy weather, or when traveling. It was the custom of all classes to go barefooted in the house, of slaves to be barefooted at all times, and of adult male citizens to wear sandals when away from home. Slippers and shoes were rare.

Umbrellas and parasols were known. Fashion required the citizen to carry a cane as a symbol of his free condition—a survival presumably of the spear which his ancestor had carried in prehistoric times.

SEC. 416. *Athletic Games*.—In Greece athletic training had a prominence which it has never had elsewhere. It was a large part of the education of boys and young men, and occupied much of the time, attention, and ambition of the men who had reached mature years. Next to the agora, where the public markets and political assemblies of the sovereign people were held, the chief resorts for men were the gymnasiums and palestras.

Every city maintained at least one gymnasium and paid the gymnasiarch, or manager, who directed the exercises, gave instructions in the rules and tricks of the different contests, supervised the diet of athletes while in training, and had assistants to rub them after the bath, to anoint them, to plaster and bandage the scratches and wounds sometimes received, and to sell oil for anointing. Besides its gymnasium every city had its palestra, for athletic exercises; but in what respect the two institutions differed from each other is not satisfactorily explained. Some authors think the palestra was reserved for the use of professional or highly expert athletes; others, that it was for boys, or for certain kinds of exercises, and especially for wrestling and boxing. Education at the gymnasium was compulsory for the male citizen, entitled to a voice in the government. At the age of sixteen he must begin a course of training that would fit him for military service, which, for the healthy man, was an accompaniment of full citizenship.

Every year each city had at least two local festivals in which prizes were offered to athletes, and, as a general rule, the contest was open to all Greek citizens not stained by crime. For the purpose of attracting competitors from a distance and thus stimulating their athletes to do their best, considerable prizes of money were offered.

These local festivals outnumbered the days in the year, but many athletes made it their business to attend as many as possible of those festivals in which the largest prizes were offered; and thus spent much of their time, with great advantage to their purse and to their fame. Their highest activity was limited to periods that might range from five to fifteen years, and while it lasted they were the most widely known personages in the Hellenic world.

Of the national festivals of Greece, the most brilliant was the Panathenaic, which was held annually at the beginning of August, to celebrate the birth of Athena, the tutelary goddess of the city. It began with a day devoted to music, oratory, poetry, and other intellectual entertainments; it gave the succeeding day to various athletic exercises; then a day to races on horseback and in chariots; then a day to ecclesiastic ceremonies, including the Panathenaic procession, in which most of the free inhabitants participated, marching to the temple of Athena to pay homage to her; and the final day of five, to a boat race in the harbor. The procession on the fourth day, considered the most imposing show that could be witnessed in Hellas, started at sunrise. All the adult male citizens of the military age appeared as soldiers, the rich as cavalry, and the poor as heavy armed infantry. The old men, exempt by age from service in the army, wore dresses of crimson. The priests wore their sacerdotal garments. The victorious athletes had a special place and wore the insignia of their triumphs. The young men, not old enough to bear arms, were dressed in white. The matrons and maidens of citizen families were accompanied by alien women and slave women, who carried fruits, flowers, and vessels to be used

in the ecclesiastical ceremonies. A hundred oxen to be sacrificed to the goddess were led by aliens and slaves. Nominally the chief features of the festival were the sacrifice of the victims and the offering of a new pepulum to the ancient wooden idol of Athena in the Erechtheum, but to the multitude the principal attraction was the procession in which the wealth, the taste, the valor, and the beauty of Athens were collected. To see these, a large concourse of visitors came from other states of Greece.

The gymnastic games and horse races were open on equal terms to the citizens of other Greek states and large money prizes were offered so as to attract the best gymnasts in every contest. In the literary entertainment, the Panathenaic festival was unsurpassed. It was here that Herodotus read part of his history of the triumph of the Hellens in the Persian war, and as the Athenians had achieved great glory and power in that contest, they were so delighted with the impressive narrative that they awarded to him a prize of \$10,000 in money.

Among the national festivals, the next in importance to the Panathenaic was that of Dyonisus, or Bacchus, at Athens, in April. This also lasted five days, of which three were given to theatrical entertainments. It was for these that the famous plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and other distinguished Athenian tragedians, were written. Every city had its annual festival; and in Attica every village had its minor Bacchic festival.

Besides the national games, there were four international or Panhellenic festivals, the Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean. The Olympic games were held in the midsummer of every fourth year; and the period intervening between one Olympic festival and another was called an Olympiad, with its first, second,

third, and fourth years from midsummer to midsummer. In historical Greece, records were kept by the Olympiads, the first of which began in the midsummer of 776 B. C.

The Pythian festival, next in importance to the Olympic, was first held in the autumn of 582 B. C., near the middle of the Olympiad, and thereafter at intervals of four years, in the second year of each Olympiad. The Isthmian festival was held in the springs of the first and the fourth years of every Olympiad; and the Nemean in the autumns of the second and fourth years. Thus in the LXXth Olympiad, we would have first, in July 500 B. C. the Olympic festival; the Isthmian in May, and the Nemean in September 499 B. C.; the Pythian in September 498 B. C.; in 497 B. C. the Isthmian in May and the Nemean in September; and then in July 496 B. C., the eve of another Olympic, thus completing the round of six Panhellenic festivals in the one Olympiad of four years. In every calendar year, and in every Olympic year, there was at least one of these great festivals. The latest in its origin, the Nemean, began in 570 B. C.

The Olympic games were held at Olympia in the territory of Elea, near the western shore of the Peloponnesus; the Pythian at Delphi, north of the Corinthian gulf; the Isthmian near Corinth; and the Nemean about forty miles southwest from Corinth. At the Olympic festival, the entertainments were exclusively games of muscular training, including chariot races; at the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals, there were musical and literary contests in addition to the gymnastic exercises.

To these festivals people went in parties, wearing festival badges, which gave them a sacred character, and entitled them to pass in peace through states with which their own was at war, while returning from, as well as in

going to, the place of assemblage. For three centuries preceding 320 B. C., every Greek city, including those in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Africa, and on the shores of the Black Sea, was represented by an embassy at every Olympic festival; and a failure to be so represented would have been considered a national disgrace. These embassies came in gorgeous attire, with numerous attendants, decorated chariots, splendid tents, and costly sacrificial implements; for every embassy must make a sacrifice in the name of its state. Each embassy from a leading city was accompanied by a multitude of private individuals. The places where the festivals were held had their chariot roads leading to all the adjacent cities and seaports. The exercises included wrestling, jumping, quoit-pitching, javelin-throwing, boxing and races afoot, on horseback, and in chariots. The foot races were the short, of four hundred yards; the double, of eight hundred; and the long, of sixteen hundred. From the remarks of various ancient authors about the Greek and Roman boxing matches, from the descriptions of the wrappings on the arms and hands while boxing, from the battered ears of the busts of boxers, and from the customs of the medieval and modern inhabitants of Greece and Italy, the inference is drawn that the system of boxing practised among the ancients was different from that of the modern English.² The blows seem to have been struck from the side rather than from the shoulder. The Spartans, who were fond of very rough sport, and who, in their wrestling matches, permitted biting and finger-breaking, and even eye-gouging, forbade boxing as the source of serious injuries and quarrels.

The number of visitors being large and their stay brief, they brought or hired tents, converting the site of the

festival into a transitory city bearing much resemblance in some of its features to the encampment of an army. Although the gymnastic exercises were considered the attraction, nevertheless, the commercial business of the gathering was, in some cases at least, the chief attraction for the majority of the attendants. Traders came from great distances with large stocks of merchandise, which were exposed for sale in booths; and the facilities for finding purchasers for elegant and costly wares at these gatherings were unequaled elsewhere in the Greek dominions.

Olympia was the only place where representatives of all the Hellenic cities came together at regular periods, and therefore public monuments were erected there with inscriptions recording the terms of treaties affecting rights of many states. Delphi, near the site of the Pythian festival and near the great temple where Apollo delivered his oracles, had similar monuments, but not so many as those at Olympia.

A list kept of the names of the winners of the first prize, in the short foot race, at Olympia, and of the cities which they represented, shows that, in the earlier centuries, most of the competitors came from the near vicinity, and that, in later times, there was an increasing proportion from distant cities. In the VIIIth century, from 776 to 700 B. C., Messenia won five triumphs, Elis three, Laconia, Corinth, and Megara each two, and Sicyon, Epidaurus, Coronea, and Dyme, each one. In the VIIth century, Laconia won fourteen, Athens five, Epidaurus two, and Thebes, Megara, and Hyperesia, each one. In the VIth century, Crotona won eight; Laconia four; Coreyra and Elis, each two; and Chalcis, Camarina, Thessaly, Tarentum, Himera, Pellene, Opus, Pharsalus,

and Peparethus, each one. Between 496 and 432 B. C., Himera and Crotona won each three; Syracuse (by an athlete trained in Crotona) two; and Thessaly, Corinth, Ambracea, Messalia, Cyrene, Mitylene, Argos and Posidonia, each one. These numbers are here given for the purpose of showing how, in the beginning of the historical period of Greece, the winners, and presumably the competitors, were in large majority from the Peloponnesus, and from that portion of it near Olympia; and how, in later times, all the Hellenic communities participated in the triumphs.¹

Each site of a Panhellenic festival had an amphitheatrical ravine with seats for many thousands of spectators, the higher and remoter seats being so far off that the spectators there could neither see nor hear distinctly what was done or said in the arena. The seats were divided into sections, running from front to back; and each section was set apart for a city. The ambassadors and certain honored personages, including winners at international or national games, occupied the front row or rows of seats, and the best places open to the common people were usually taken before daybreak, and sometimes early on the previous evening. Slaves, aliens, and married women were not admitted to the amphitheater; maidens had a legal right to admission, but public opinion, save among the Spartans, forbade them to avail themselves of this privilege. There was no covering for the amphitheater; the heat was often great; the dust especially during the chariot races, was suffocating; and the long sitting was very tiresome. To many of the Greeks the attendance on the games was a great bore.

Every competitor was required to spend a month at the amphitheater in preparatory exercises. This training

and the festival were superintended by resident managers, whose duty it was to see that every part of the exhibition should be creditable to the occasion. When the day came and the spectators had taken their seats, the managers led the competitors round the amphitheater, while a herald proclaimed the nature of the contest, and the name and nationality of every participant, and also called upon anyone who had an objection to the admission of any of the proposed competitors, on account of slavery, crime, or barbarian blood, to state his case. If objection was made, and it rarely was, the managers listened to the accusation and decided it summarily.

Then the struggle began, and after a few minutes of intense exertion for the participants, and of intense excitement for the spectators, it was decided amidst great demonstrations of rejoicing among the compatriots of the winner, who was regarded as a man who had conferred high honor on his city. Crowned with a wreath of wild olive, the only material reward offered by the managers of the Olympic festival, he was led out into the arena, and his name and city were proclaimed by the herald, and greeted by the assemblage with loud applause. No matter how ignorant, how young, how rude in his manners, how unprepossessing in his appearance, how poor, or how obscure in his family, from that time forward he was a celebrated man. He was entitled to a brilliant reception in his native city. He returned at the head of its embassy. When he drew near, a multitude of his fellow-citizens went out to bid him welcome and to thank him for the honor he had conferred on them. Crowned with laurel, dressed in purple, in a chariot drawn by white horses, he re-entered his city, not through one of its gates, but through a wide breach in the wall

made by the city authorities. It was said that a city which had a victor at the Olympic games did not need walls. So long as he lived, he had the privilege of dining in a public hall at the city's expense.

The chief attraction at Olympia was the chariot race, which, as compared with the other contests, gave occupation to the largest number of people, made the greatest show, involved the most danger, and called out the longest list of men distinguished for wealth and political power. Among those who competed in the chariot race of Olympia at various times were such monarchs as Hiero of Syracuse, Jason of Pheræ, and Philip and Alexander of Macedon. This was the only contest in which wealth was necessary, and strength and dexterity were unnecessary for a triumph. The award was given to the owner of the horses, not to their driver. It was not necessary that the winner should be present in person at the games.

Although the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games, on account of their musical, poetic, and elocutionary contests, were much more interesting to many Greeks than the Olympic festival, still the latter attracted a far larger number of attendants and competitors and a much more imposing display by national embassies. It also had greater social and commercial significance. Its precedence in time and its adoption by fashion gave it a pre-eminence which it never lost until long after Greece ceased to be free.

The general system of management was the same at all these Panhellenic festivals. The reward of the victor in the Pythian games was a wreath of laurel, in the Nemean of parsley, and in the Isthmian of pine.

Many athletes numbered their prizes by hundreds,

and Theagenes, of Thasos, was credited with winning fourteen hundred. We are told that he ate a whole ox at a single meal, and that in this feat he was equaled by Titornos, another famous gymnast.³ They say that Milo carried an ox four years old a distance of two hundred yards, with the implication that this animal was as large as the average Greek ox at that age; and that, standing between two oxen, he grasped a hind foot of one with his right hand, and a hind foot of the other with his left, and held them so firmly that neither could break loose from him. We read that after Argeus, of Argos, won a race at Olympia, he ran to carry the news of his triumph to his native city, and arrived there the same day, having made a journey equal to one of eighty miles on level road.

After the battle of Plataea, all the fires of the city were extinguished, for the reason that they had been desecrated by the Persians, and an order was issued that no new fire should be started from any source save a flame, or embers to be brought from the temple of Delphi. A Plataean athlete offered to bring the fire within a day, and he accomplished his feat, running sixty miles each way, but fell dead when he reached his home. He was buried in the temple of Plataea, and an inscription recorded his feat.⁴

The remarkable feats of noted athletes, however, do not furnish evidence of the benefits of gymnastic training so conclusive as do some of the marches of Greek armies. Thus the Spartan troops which arrived at Marathon after the battle, traveled one hundred and fifty miles on three consecutive days, a march for which no parallel is found in the history of modern warfare.

When they had outlived the period in which they

could hope to acquire an income from their prizes, many of the professional athletes obtained profitable employment as superintendents of gymnasiums, and in such positions commanded high salaries. When the skillful artisan could not earn more than \$75 a year, Demotedes, the athlete, received \$1,500 from Athens, and he was induced to go to Samos by an offer of \$2,200!

SEC. 417. *Greek Morality*.—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno, who taught almost continuously from 425 till 275 B. C. (there was a brief interval between the flight of Aristotle and the opening of the school of Epicurus), were a series of ethical teachers unequaled in capacity in any other state; and in elevation of sentiment and purity of motive, their moral doctrines were not inferior to those of any equal number of men, who have been accepted as the highest authorities in any other nation. The first distinguished moral teacher of Athens, however, was not a philosopher, but a tragic dramatist by profession.

“No modern theology,” says Mahaffy, “has taught higher and purer moral notions than those of Æschylus and his school, developed afterwards by Socrates and Plato, but first attained by the genius of Æschylus. Thus he censures high-handedness even in the gods (Prometheus), so laying the foundations for that great doctrine of immutable morality, which is the pride of modern ethics. Again, he shows the indelible nature of sin, and how it recoils upon the third and fourth generation, thus anticipating one of the most marked features in Christian theology. Nay, even involuntary transgressions of the moral law are followed by dire consequences. The agreement of Sophocles (in his *Œdipus*) shows that these deep moral ideas were no individual

feature in Æschylus, and that there must have been a sober earnestness at Athens very far apart from the ribaldry of Aristophanes. Such immorality as that of the modern French stage was never tolerated among the Greeks, in spite of all their license."¹

Sophocles was often sublimely ethical. A prayer in one of his tragedies says: "Oh! that my lot may lead me in the path of holy innocence of word and deed; the path which august laws ordain, laws that in the highest empyrean had their birth, of which heaven is the father alone, neither did the race of mortal man beget them, nor shall oblivion ever put them to sleep. The power of God is mighty in them, and groweth not old."² Euripides followed his great predecessors in the dramatic art. He exulted that in Athens—

"The weak, the rich, have here one equal right,
And penury, with justice on its side,
Triumphs o'er riches; this is to be free.
Is there a mind that teems with noble thought
And useful to the state? He speaks his thought
And is illustrious. When a people, free,
Are sovereigns of their land, the state stands firm."³

Morality was not intimately associated with religion, or with certain phases of it, in the popular conception of the Greeks. Their myths attributed to their gods nearly every form of vice and crime, without giving offense to the pious multitude. Many of the divinities had characteristic specialties of wickedness. Theft was appropriate in the conduct of Hermes, cruelty in Mars, adultery in Jupiter; and many gods took pride in the success of their deceitful falsehoods. But the Greeks no more thought it justifiable to imitate such vicious

examples, than Christians would consider it proper to imitate the murder, adultery, treachery, perjury and gross cruelty of David.

Infanticide, which is criminal in all Christian nations, was lawful in ancient Hellas, which also tolerated some forms of vice rare now. On the other hand, their constitutional governments gave to the Greeks a sense of human dignity, and a regard for political rights, which have a large place in practical ethics, and which were unknown to contemporaneous Asiatic nations. "In no city of historical Greece did there prevail either human sacrifices or deliberate mutilation . . . or selling of children into slavery or polygamy, or the feeling of unlimited obedience to one man; all customs which might be pointed out as existing among contemporary Carthaginians, Egyptians," and Persians, and which were highly debasing in their influences.⁴

Athens contributed to the support of many women, children, and aged men deprived by war of those who would have furnished them with maintenance. The man who fell in her battle was buried by her with honor; his minor son received from her a full suit of armor, and his daughter a marriage portion. There were no hospitals for the poor and helpless, but the indigent could sleep in the club buildings, of which there were three hundred or more in Athens.

There were no charitable associations, but much was done in charity by individuals; and cases of great disaster called out marked demonstrations of public sympathy. The most notable of these occasions was the great earthquake at Rhodes. Hiero and Gelo, of Syracuse, sent \$95,000 in money to relieve the distress, and exempted the merchant vessels of the Rhodians from

import duties. The reigning Ptolemy of Egypt, a Greek in education and feeling, gave 250,000 bushels of grain, 10,000 pounds of bronze coin, and large quantities of timber and hemp. Antigonus, of Macedon, contributed \$100,000 in money, and great supplies of iron, timber, tar, and pitch. Seleucus gave ten quinqueremes completely equipped, besides grain and timber. Mithradates, Prusias, and other princes reigning on the southern shore of the Black sea, also contributed.

“That harmonious sustained manhood, without disproportion or anomaly or eccentricity, that godlike type in which the same divine energy seems to thrill with equal force through every faculty of mind and body,—the majesty of a single power never disarranging the balance, or impairing the symmetry of the whole,—was probably more keenly appreciated and more frequently exhibited in ancient Greece than in any succeeding civilization.”⁶

SEC. 418. *Oration of Pericles*.—The most comprehensive statement of the main characteristics of the intellectual and social life of Athens, when in her most flourishing condition, is given in an oration delivered by Pericles, at the funeral of the Athenian soldiers who died at Samos. Of all the productions of oratory, this is the one that possesses the highest interest for intelligent men of all lands and times. Many other orations are more brilliant in style, but in wealth of thought and of emotion, nothing approaches it, save the brief speech by Lincoln, at Gettysburg. In comparison with these, the grandest flights of Demosthenes, Webster, and Gladstone are of local and temporary interest. The following is part of this oration as translated by Grote:—

“We live under a constitution such as noway to envy the laws of our neighbors,—ourselves an example to

others, rather than mere imitators. It is called a democracy, since its permanent aim tends towards the many and not towards the few; in regard to private matters and disputes, the laws deal equally with every man; while looking to public affairs and to claims of individual influence, every man's chance of advancement is determined, not by party favor, but by real worth, according as his reputation stands in his own particular department; nor does poverty, or obscure station, keep him back, if he really has the means of benefiting the city. And our social march is free, not merely in regard to public affairs, but also in regard to intolerance of each other's diversity of daily pursuits. For we are not angry with our neighbor for what he may do to please himself, nor do we ever put on those sour looks, which, though they do no positive damage, are not the less sure to offend. Thus conducting our private social intercourse with reciprocal indulgence, we are restrained from wrong in public matters by fear and reverence of our magistrates for the time being, and of our laws, especially such laws as are instituted for the protection of wrongful sufferers, and even such others as, though not written, are enforced by a common sense of shame. Besides this, we have provided for our minds numerous recreations from toil, partly by our customary solemnities of sacrifice and festival throughout the year, partly by the elegance of our private establishments, the daily charm of which banishes the sense of discomfort. From the magnitude of our city, the products of the whole earth are brought to us, so that our enjoyment of foreign luxuries is as much our own and assured as those which we grow at home. In respect to training for war, we differ from our opponents (the Lacedæmonians) on several material points. First,

we lay open our city as a common resort: we apply no xenelasy to exclude even an enemy either from any lesson or any spectacle, the full view of which he may think advantageous to him; for we trust less to manœuvres and quackery than to our native bravery, for warlike efficiency. Next, in regard to education, while the Lacedæmonians, even from their earliest youth, subject themselves to an irksome exercise for the attainment of courage, we, with our easy habits of life, are not less prepared than they, to encounter all perils within the measure of our strength. The proof of this is, that the Peloponnesian confederates do not attack us one by one, but with their whole united force; while we, when we attack them at home, overpower for the most part all of them who try to defend their own territory. None of our enemies has ever met and contended with our entire force; partly in consequence of our large navy, partly from our dispersion in different simultaneous land expeditions. But when they chance to be engaged with any part of it, if victorious, they pretend to have vanquished us all; if defeated, they pretend to have been vanquished by all.

“Now, if we are willing to brave danger, just as much under an indulgent system as under constant toil, and by spontaneous courage as much as under force of law, we are gainers in the end, by not vexing ourselves beforehand with sufferings to come, yet still appearing in the hour of trial not less daring than those who toil without ceasing.

“In other matters, too, as well as in these, our city deserves admiration. For we combine elegance of taste with simplicity of life, and we pursue knowledge without being enervated; we employ wealth, not for talking and ostentation, but as a real help in the proper season; nor

is it disgraceful to anyone who is poor to confess his poverty, though he may rather incur reproach for not actually keeping himself out of poverty. The magistrates who discharge public trusts fulfill their domestic duties also; the private citizen, while engaged in professional business, has competent knowledge of public affairs; for we stand alone in regarding the man who keeps aloof from these latter, not as harmless, but as useless. Moreover, we always hear and pronounce on public matters, when discussed by our leaders, or perhaps strike out for ourselves correct reasonings about them; far from accounting discussion an impediment to action, we complain only if we are not told what is to be done before it becomes our duty to do it. For, in truth, we combine in the most remarkable manner these two qualities, extreme boldness in execution, with full debate beforehand on that which we are going about; whereas with others, ignorance alone imparts boldness, debate introduces hesitation. Assuredly, those men are properly to be regarded as the stoutest of heart, who, knowing most precisely both the terrors of war and the sweets of peace, are still not the less willing to encounter peril.

“In fine, I affirm that our city, considered as a whole, is the schoolmistress of Greece; while viewed individually, we enable the same man to furnish himself out and suffice to himself in the greatest variety of ways, and with the most complete grace and refinement. This is no empty boast of the moment, but genuine reality; and the power of the city acquired through the dispositions just indicated exists to prove it. Athens alone, of all cities, stands forth in actual trial greater than her reputation; her enemy, when he attacks her, will not have his pride wounded by suffering defeat from feeble hands,

—her subjects will not think themselves degraded as if their obedience were paid to an unworthy superior. Having thus put forward our power, not uncertified, but backed by the most evident proofs, we shall be admired not less by posterity than by our contemporaries. Nor do we stand in need either of Homer or of any other panegyrist, whose words may for the moment please, while the truth when known would confute their intended meaning: we have compelled all land and sea to become accessible to our courage, and have planted everywhere imperishable monuments of our kindness as well as of our hostility.

“Such is the city on behalf of which these warriors have nobly died in battle, vindicating her just title to unimpaired rights, and on behalf of which all of us here left behind must willingly toil. It is for this reason that I have spoken at length concerning the city, at once to draw from it the lesson that the conflict is not for equal motives between us and enemies who possess nothing of the like excellence, and to demonstrate by proofs the truth of my encomium pronounced upon her.”¹

The report of this oration is not to be classed with the speeches of generals and envoys in Herodotus and Livy. Those speeches are statements of the causes of political action or of motives for military effort, and were written by men who had no opportunity to know what, if anything, was said on the occasion. This was the greatest of the orations of Pericles, who, in his time, was regarded as the greatest of orators. His reputation, the publication of the report among people who heard the oration, the position of Thucydides as a statesman responsible to public opinion, the offense that would be taken by an incorrect report, and the fact that the value

of this report depended upon its substantial accuracy, are guaranties that we have the ideas if not the words of Pericles.

SEC. 419. *Athenian Enjoyment*.—In the age of Pericles, the bright side of life in Athens was very bright. Every intelligent citizen was familiar, by sight at least, with Pericles, Cimon, Herodotus, Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Phidias, and Ictinus. He was brought into frequent association with them by his regular attendance and active participation in the prytane, the senate, the assembly, the army, and various executive offices. He was present in the theater at the first performance, of the greatest of the ancient tragedies. He saw the unveiling of the sculptures of Phidias. He assisted at the consecration of the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Propylea, and the great theater of Dionysus. His city was incontestably the home of the highest education, of the most polished society, of the most eminent oratorical, literary, architectural, plastic, and pictorial art, and of the most advanced form of constitutional freedom in the known world. The glories of the victories at Marathon, Salamis, Mycale, and Plataea were still fresh; and those who had participated in them were still numerous. Every day was full of excitement and wonder and just motives for national pride.

But the other side to this Athenian life was correspondingly dark. The power and wealth of Athens were insecure. Her territory might within a week's notice be ravaged by her rancorous enemies, the Spartans, who were distant only three days' march. Thebes and Corinth, still nearer neighbors, and both powerful, were also hostile. Whenever these three enemies should combine their forces and work together harmoniously, the future

of Athens would be almost hopeless. The anticipation of danger did much to spoil the flavor of present enjoyment.

While the foreign relations of Athens were always precarious, her internal condition was far from serene. Questions of domestic policy kept her people in turmoil. Contentions that filled all classes of citizens with anger were frequent. About once in seven years, on an average, one of the ablest statesmen was banished by ostracism. The more influential the person, the greater his danger. The penalties of public life were, in many cases, unavoidable. The office often sought the man and compelled him to accept it and its great dangers. The higher the office, the greater the peril. And even if only a private citizen, he must serve repeatedly in war, and fight against the Spartans and Thebans, whose armies were better drilled than those of Athens. A large proportion of his fellow-citizens died in battle, or in slavery that resulted from defeat in battle, and he must look to a similar fate as a near contingency. Many who escaped these risks, survived to share a national humiliation more bitter to them than death. The modern American or Englishman has no good cause to envy the ancient Athenian.

SEC. 420. *End of Ancient Greece.*—With the beginning of the Peloponnesian war Greece fell into a decline. The number of her freemen, their wealth, their commerce, and their manufacturing industry, diminished. Her statesmanship and her literature lost their brilliancy. Her foreign influence became insignificant. For two centuries after the accession of Alexander she was little more than a breeding-place for mercenary soldiers to be used in distant wars.

After they became subjects of Rome, there was a constant increase of barbarian blood among the Greeks. The Hellenic stock, diminished by destructive warfare and emigration, was mingled with that of colonists and liberated slaves of other nationalities. When Mithradates defied Rome, the Greeks gladly became his allies, and in his war, Athens lost a large proportion of her citizens, whose places were filled by Italians. After lying in ruins for a century, Corinth was rebuilt by a Roman colony. In the wars between Pompey and Cæsar, between the senate and the friends of Cæsar, and between Antony and Augustus, most of the Greek cities took sides with the parties which were ultimately defeated; thousands of Greeks were slain; and much of their country, into which they had brought the wars, was devastated. Many of the most prosperous Greeks were induced to leave their native land to become residents of Constantinople when it was raised to the dignity of an imperial city; and four centuries later there was a large migration, not without compulsion, to occupy places made vacant by a great pestilence.

In 395 A. D. and the following year, a Gothic army invaded Bœotia, Attica, and the Peloponnesus, occupied all their valleys and cities, slew most of their inhabitants, and carried away many as slaves. After the withdrawal of the Goths, much of the country was covered with brushwood and forest, which disappeared very slowly as population and cultivation again reclaimed the land. In the last half of the VIIIth century A. D., extensive hordes of barbarous Slavonians poured into all parts of Greece and made permanent homes there for themselves and their descendants. They entered as peaceful immigrants, but they carried arms, and a bitter national animosity

between them and the weaker Greeks, led to the expulsion or withdrawal of the latter from many of the valleys. The Slavonians gradually learned to speak Greek, and to forget the tongue of their ancestors, but they gave their own names to many of the mountains, brooks, valleys, and towns. They substituted Vrana for Marathon, Kokla for Plataea, Kapurna for Chæroneia, Miraka for Olympia, Nikli for Tegea, Muchli for Mantinea, Slovochorion for Anyklæ, and Charbati for Argotis.

In the XIVth century, the country was overrun by the Albanians, who became its masters and permanent occupants. They too adopted the Hellenic tongue. After its coasts had been repeatedly ravaged by the Saracens, Normans, and Venetians, Greece was conquered by the Turks, who held it for four centuries, slew and carried away many of its people, and introduced many slaves, who mixed with the common people. Whether any family in modern Greece has inherited most of its blood from the ancient Greeks, is extremely doubtful.

The circumstances of Greece since 300 A. D. have been so unfavorable to culture that a race as gifted as that of the Athenians in the age of Pericles, would have had great difficulty in making any notable achievement. The emperors in Constantinople hated the characteristic institutions and the influence of ancient Greece. In 394 A. D. they prohibited the Panhellenic games; in 529 they made it a crime to teach philosophy in Athens, and confiscated the endowments of the philosophic schools; and in the next year they forbade the teaching of Roman law in that city or anywhere in Greece. When the Goths and Slavonians drove out or destroyed most of the earlier inhabitants of Greece, the emperors made no efficient resistance while the wrong was being done, and inflicted

no punishment on the invaders afterwards. Those emperors who were strong were hostile to Greece; and those who were friendly to it, administered the government in such a way that all their subjects were oppressed and impoverished. The rule of the Turks maintained through four centuries was still worse and its influences have not yet disappeared.

Unfavorable industrial changes have accompanied or succeeded to political oppression. Greece is no longer the center of the highest commercial activity. In the age of Pericles, the greatest seaports were Athens, Corinth, and their surrounding cities of Byzantium, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Sidon, Cyrene, Carthage, Syracuse, and Corcyra. Now not one of those places occupies a place among the great seaports, and most of them have fallen into insignificance. The greatest maritime cities of the present day are remote from the Mediterranean, in lands unknown to the ancient Greek. The shores of the Mediterranean have ceased to produce ship timber; and they have none of the coal which has become one of the chief sources of national wealth in our century. The improvements in house building, in lighting houses, in transportation by land and sea, in manufacturing iron, wood, and cotton, in establishing a high civilization among many millions of people in northern Europe, in America, Australia, and South Africa,—all these changes have contributed to transfer the bulk of the world's industry, wealth, enterprise, and intelligence from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic. In the age of Victoria, London holds a place similar to, but not so great intellectually as, that held by Athens in the time of Pericles.

The relative insignificance of the Greeks in modern

polity, literature, and ornamental and industrial art should be charged not to climatic disadvantages, nor to the exhaustion of national vitality, but to disadvantages of political condition, to inferiority of natural resources, and to lack of homogeneity in population. The summer of Greece is not more enervating now than it was when the physical energy of the Spartans and the intellectual activity of the Athenians reached the highest levels known in history. There is no proof of the theory that nations are subject to a law of growth, decay, and death, similar to that which governs the lives of individual plants and animals. Babylonia, Assyria, Lydia, and Phœnicia lived, flourished, and disappeared, but not one of them died a natural death. They perished not by internal exhaustion, but by external violence. As they were destroyed, so also was ancient Greece. Their histories furnish no materials from which we can calculate the decay of any great modern nation.

APPENDIX.

At the end of this volume, a list of the books mentioned in it or considered worthy of the reader's special attention, is given. In the citations, abbreviations are used. Grote H. G. means Grote's History of Greece. Grote A. means Grote's Aristotle. The Bible is cited by book, chapter, and verse; other books by volume and page. The name of Aristotle is given in both the English and German form, because the Polity of Athens is known to me only in the German translation.

NOTES.

SEC. 305. *Palestine*.—¹The statement (1 Chron. xxi. 5) that under David, Palestine had 1,570,000 fighting men, deserves no credit.

SEC. 306. *The Jewish Bible*.—The critical theory, that Deuteronomy and Leviticus were written by different authors and in different centuries, and by men who lived more than six hundred years after Moses, is taught by Kuenen, Wellhausen, and the articles on Israel and the Pentateuch in the 9th edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica." Books advocating this theory have been in print and have been recognized as high authorities for twenty years; and no distinguished orthodox scholar has published a reply to them. They are treated as if they could not be confuted.

The leading works of biblical criticism for the Old Testament are: "The Authenticity of the Hexateuch," by Kuenen; "The Prolegomena of the History of Israel," by J. Wellhausen, and the "Einleitung in das Alte Testament," by De Wette, as revised by Schrader, 8th edition. Those not familiar with the German will find much in Theodore Parker's translation of De Wette, but will not find the information brought up to the latest discoveries.

For the position of the Roman Catholic Church in reference to the latest results of biblical criticism, see articles by St. George Mivart, in the XIXth Century of July and December, 1887. Mivart

is a doctor of the church, and a noted biologist, the most distinguished among the now living zealous adherents of the Papacy. In his July article, he gave a summary of the recent discoveries in biblical criticism, and announced that his purpose, in publishing them, was to vindicate the liberty of research in the study of the Scripture, as in 1885, in the same periodical, he had vindicated a similar freedom in teaching evolution. In the article of December, 1887, he stated that an effort had been made, in the Vatican, to obtain a condemnation of his position in regard to biblical criticism, and that it failed. In other words, the Pope had decided that without violating their duties to their church, Roman Catholics could say that Deuteronomy and Leviticus were forgeries committed long after the exodus, attributed, for purposes of deception, to the pen of Moses; and that the stories of the creation, the garden of Eden, and the flood are myths of no value either in history or religion. So far as the public have means of information, the enemies of Mivart have made no attempt to secure his condemnation since 1887. The Roman doctorate has been conferred on Mivart.

SEC. 307. *Myth and Legend*.—¹Gen. vi. 9-13. ²*Ib.* vii. 19, 21. ³Num. i. 45, 46. ⁴Jud. xxi. 25.

SEC. 308. *Oscillating Piety*.—¹Jud. ii. 7, 13, 14; iii. 12, 15; iv. 1-3; vi. 1, 7; ix. 33; x. 6-16; xiii. 1; xx. 1, 26.

SEC. 310. *The Hebrew Monarchy*.—¹2 Sam. xxi. 8, 9.

SEC. 311. *Religious Condition*.—¹Records of the Past, 2nd Series, ii. 66. ²1 Chron. viii. 33; xiv. 7. ³1 Kings xi. 7, 8. ⁴*Ib.* vii. 29, 36, 44; vi. 26.

SEC. 312. *The Prophets*.—¹1 Chron. xxix. 29. ²2 Sam. ii. 4; v. 3. 19.

SEC. 313. *The Jewish Monarchy*.—¹1 Kings xiv. 25, 26.

SEC. 314. *The Temple, etc.*—¹1 Kings viii. 14-63. ²2 Kings xxiii. 4. ³1 Kings xi. 6. ⁴2 Kings xviii. 4, 5. ⁵*Ib.* xxiii. 5-25. ⁶2 Chron. xx. 33. ⁷2 Kings xxiii. 11. ⁸*Ib.* xxi. 5, 7.

SEC. 315. *Hilkiah's Book*.—¹2 Chron. xiv. 14. ²2 Kings xxii. 16-20; xxiii. 2-25.

SEC. 316. *The Captivity*.—¹2 Kings xxiv. 14. ²*Ib.* xxv. 26.

SEC. 317. *Synagogue*.—¹Ps. lxxxiv. 8.

SEC. 318. *Predictions*.—¹Ezekiel xxxiv. 22-28.

SEC. 319. *The Return*.—¹Ezra viii. 12-26. ²1 Kings ii. 2-9. ³1 Chron. xxii. 7-19; xxviii. 6-10, 19, 20. ⁴A tradition mentioned in the Talmud, which is a very poor authority, says that Ezra col-

lected the Sacred Scriptures, and published them as part of his work in the reorganization of the Jewish Church.

SEC. 321. *Prophets*.—¹1 Sam. viii. 7. ²*Ib.* ii. 28-35. ³2 Chron. vi. 26-28. ⁴1 Sam. i. 29. ⁵*Ib.* 3. ⁶*Ib.* ix. 19. ⁷*Ib.* 9. ⁸*Ib.* xix. 20.

SEC. 322. *Levite Priests*.—¹Deut. x. 8; xviii. 5. ²*Ib.* 6, 7. ³*Ib.* xxi. 5. ⁴Josh. xiii. 14, 23; xviii. 7.

SEC. 323. *Aaronite Priests*.—¹Num. xviii. 3, 18-24. ²1 Chron. xxiii. 13. ³Josh. xxi. 4.

There is, perhaps, no better method of getting a clear idea of the contradictions between Deuteronomy and Leviticus in regard to the sacerdotal office, than by underlining in red every phrase in both books containing the words Levi, Aaron, Levites, priests, sons of Levi, sons of Aaron, Aaronites, and Aaron and his sons. After all these phrases have been distinctly marked, a brief examination of them will convince any impartial reader that the two books were written with different purposes and meanings. In no verse does the Deuteronomist recognize a superior right of one portion of the tribe of Levi to the priestly office; and in no verse does the author of Leviticus admit that any Levite not descended from Aaron, can be a priest.

SEC. 324. *The High Priest*.—¹Lev. xxi. 10-14. ²Sam. xx. 25. 1 Kings iv. 4. ³*Ib.* i. 27.

SEC. 327. *Many Altars*.—¹Ex. xx. 24. ²Josh. viii. 30; xviii. i. ³Jud. vi. 26, 27. ⁴*Ib.* xiii. 1-24. ⁵*Ib.* vi. 24; xxi. 4; xx. 14. ⁶1 Sam. vii. 17; xi. 15; xvi. 2. ⁷*Ib.* xiv. 23-35. ⁸2 Sam. xxiv. 25. ⁹1 Kings xviii. 30, 36. ¹⁰*Ib.* iii. 1-5.

SEC. 328. *An Exclusive Sanctuary*.—¹Deut. xii. 10-14. ²Josh. xviii. 1.

SEC. 329. *Slaughter*.—¹Deut. xii. 20-24. ²Lev. xvii. 3, 4. ³Num. i. 46.

SEC. 330. *Sacrifices*.—¹Mal. i. 8, 13, 18. ²Num. xxviii. 29. ³W. R. Smith, R. S., 207. ⁴Lev. vii. 23-27. ⁵*Ib.* xvii. 11. ⁶*Ib.* 6.

SEC. 331. *Sacrifice Denounced*.—¹Jer. vii. 3-7, 22. ²Isa. i. 11-14. ³Amos v. 21, 22. ⁴Micah vi. 5-8. ⁵Ps. i. 9-13. ⁶F. W. Newman, A. M., 288. Acts xv. 10.

SEC. 332. *Festivals*.—¹Deut. xv. 23-25. ²*Ib.* xvi. 16, 17. ³Ex. xii. 7, 34. ⁴2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. xxi. 5. ⁵Lev. xxiii. 27. ⁶*Ib.* 36.

SEC. 333. *Sabbatical Years*.—¹Lev. xxv. 1-22.

SEC. 334. *Sacerdotal Revenue*.—¹Lev. xxvii. 30, 32. ²Num. xviii. 9-12. ³*Ib.* 14-18. ⁴Deut. xv. 19, 20.

SEC. 335. *Law School, etc.*—¹Deut. xvii. 18, 19. ²Deut. xxx. 9-12, 25, 26. ³1 Kings viii. 5-9. ⁴Josh. viii. 31, 32.

SEC. 336. *The Divine Name*.—¹Ex. iii. 13-15. ²*Ib.* vi. 3.
³1 Chron. viii. 33, 34. 2 Sam. iv. 4, 5; v. 16; xi. 21.

The word "Jehovah" is used only four times in the King James translation of the Bible,—in Ex. vi. 3; Ps. lxxxiii. 18; Isa. xii. 2; xxvi. 4. The substitution of the word "Lord" (in some editions printed in small capitals, LORD) in the English version, for Jehovah in the Hebrew, even in passages where the latter name is necessary to convey the force of the original, is one of the cases in which the translators have systematically misled their readers. We shall find another instance in the avoidance of the term Messiah, where it is applied to Saul, David, and an expected temporal king.

SEC. 337. *No Monotheism*.—¹Gen. xxviii. 13. Lev. xx. 26. Deut. xiv. 2; xxvi. 19. ²*Ib.* x. 17. 2 Chron. ii. 5. Ex. xviii. 11. ³*Ib.* xxiii. 10, 23. Jud. vi. 10. Ex. xii. 12. Num. xxi. 29. ⁴1 Kings ix. 3.

SEC. 338. *Henotheism*.—¹Hittell ii. 171, 227.

SEC. 339. *Anthropomorphism*.—¹Gen. i. 26, 27. ²*Ib.* ii. 3. ³*Ib.* iii. 8, 9; iv. 6; vii. 1; xii. 1; xviii. 1; xx. 3; xxvi. 1; xxxii. 30. ⁴Deut. xxxiv. 10. Num. xiv. 14. Ex. xxxiii. 11, 13. ⁵*Ib.* xxiv. 9, 10. ⁶*Ib.* xxix. 45. ⁷Gen. xviii. 20-32. ⁸Num. xiv. 20. ⁹Ex. xxxiii. 7-14. Deut. ix. 14-28. ¹⁰Gen. vi. 6.

SEC. 340. *No Immortality*.—¹Gen. iii. 17, 22. ²*Ib.* xvii. 8; xv. 18. ³*Ib.* xxii. 17, 18. ⁴*Ib.* iv. 12. ⁵*Ib.* vi. 13. ⁶*Ib.* ix. 25. ⁷Deut. v. 33. ⁸Ex. xx. 12. ⁹Deut. xxviii. 11, 26. ¹⁰Ps. vi. 5. Eccl. iii. 19; iv. 5, 6, 10. Isa. xxxviii. 18. Job. xiv. 10, 12, 14. ¹¹2 Sam. i. 23; xii. 23. Ps. xxxiii. 19; xxxvii. 18. Job. xix. 25-27. Isa. lv. 3. Hosea xiii. 14. Amos. v. 8. On the other side are Ps. vi. 5; Job. xiv. 7, 10, 12, 14, 21; Eccl. iii. 19, 22; iv. 2; v. 12; viii. 15; ix. 5. ¹²Acts xxiii. 8. ¹³2 Tim. i. 10.

SEC. 341. *Jewish Morality*.—¹2 Sam. xxiii. 1. ²1 Sam. xiii. 14. ³1 Kings xi. 33, 34; xv. 5. ⁴2 Sam. vii. 9-16. ⁵*Ib.* xxii. 25. ⁶*Ib.* xxi. 1-14. ⁷2 Sam. xxix. 1-25. ⁸1 Kings xi. 11-25. ⁹Micah vi. 8. ¹⁰Lev. xix. 18.

SEC. 342. *Woman's Wrongs*.—¹Gen. ii. 24. ²Deut. xxi. 15. ³*Ib.* xxiv. 1. ⁴Eccl. vii. 28.

SEC. 343. *Slavery*.—¹Lev. xxv. 44-46. ²Ex. xxi. 2. ³*Ib.* 26. ⁴*Ib.* 20, 21.

SEC. 344. *Hatred of Aliens*.—¹Deut. xx. 10-14. ²*Ib.* 16. ³*Ib.* viii. 16. ⁴*Ib.* vii. 2. ⁵*Ib.* xxiii. 30, 20; xv. 23. ⁶Ex. xii. 35, 36. ⁷Deut. xxiii. 36. ⁸Ex. xvii. 16. ⁹Deut. xxv. 17, 19.

SEC. 345. *Criminal Law*.—¹Ex. xxi. 24, 25. ²Lev. xxiv. 19. ³Num. xxxv. 19. ⁴Num. v. 11-28.

SEC. 346. *Ecclesiastical Crimes*.—¹ Ex. xxx. 33-38. Num. xv. 35; xviii. 7. Deut. xiii. 5. Lev. xx. 26. Deut. xvii. 12. Lev. xxiii. 28, 29; xvii. 4; xxiv. 16. Deut. xiii. 6. ² Ex. xxxii. 18. Lev. xx. 26. ³ Deut. xxviii. 16-28.

SEC. 347. *Malignant Prophets*.—¹ Ps. cix. 6-12. ² *Ib.* lxxxiii. 13-17. ³ *Ib.* lxxix. 6. ⁴ Jer. xviii. 21.

SEC. 348. *Originality*.—¹ Ex. xxxviii. 1-19. Wilkinson iii. 358. ² 1 Sam. xxiii. 9-13. Wilkinson iii. 308. ³ For the Egyptian story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, see Brugsch i. 308.

The Babylonians had a story of creation similar in many points to that of the Jews and much older in date. They had a watery chaos in the beginning; they had a light which preceded the creation of the firmament, after which came the celestial bodies, and then animals; and the woman was made from the man. The word for chaos is the same in both stories. (See Records of the Past, Second series, i. 130, 132.) Eden was evidently in the basin of the Euphrates. The four rivers were the Euphrates, Tigris, Pison, and Gihon. The word "Eden" is Babylonish, and means field or garden.

The story of the deluge was of Chaldean origin, and was copied by the Jews, with some modifications. George Smith, in his Chaldean Account of Genesis, shows the points of similarity. So also does Schrader in his Cuneiform Inscriptions. The latter says (i. 50): "The Chaldean story of the dispatch of the birds when the flood subsided, has unquestionably greater claims to originality than the scriptural account." Sayce O. G. R. 53-57.

The story of Moses in the bulrushes is copied from an Assyrian legend. (Smith. Chaldean Genesis, 299.)

A number of phrases in the Old Testament are copied from the Assyrian books. Schrader i. 125, 129, 141, 174.

In the Assyrian tongue, Sabattuv means a day of rest for the heart. Schrader i. 20.

In the Chaldean religion seven was a sacred number, that of the planets and great spirits. It is also sacred in the Pentateuch.

Moses was the name of an Assyrian god. Schrader i. 23.

David is the name of an Assyrian god. Records of the Past, Second series, ii. 66. Sayce O. G. R. 53-57.

Jahve and Jahu, the same as Jehovah, names of an Assyrian god. Schrader i. 23; ii. 3, 26.

Wilkinson (iii. 441) says the ecclesiastical rites of the Egyptians "bore a striking resemblance," in many respects, to those of the

Jews, and calls attention to some of these similarities. Circumcision, which had been established in the valley of the Nile at least as early as 3,000 B. C. (Wilkinson iii. 385; Gen. xvii. 10), was commanded to the Jews as if other nations had never known such a custom; and it was to be the proof that the person submitting to it had made a covenant with Jehovah, and had thus become entitled to the benefit of the promises made to Abraham.

Jehovah means "he who lives," and an Egyptian divinity had a name with a similar signification. Brugsch ii. 377.

The Jewish ark resembled some shrines of Egyptian idols in having the shape of a boat. (Wilkinson iii. 355.) The cherubs, human heads and busts, or bodies with outstretched wings, were used on Egyptian shrines to represent the goddess of Truth. (*Ib.* 358.) The shrines were carried in procession by the Egyptian and also by the Jewish priests. 1 Chron. xv. 2, 15. Wilkinson iii. 355.

The Egyptian and the Hebrew priests were anointed when installed in office. Wilkinson iii. 360, 363; Ex. xxviii. 41.

The Egyptian judge, while trying cases, wore on his breast a plate with the figures of Ra, the god of Light, and Ma, or Thmei (Themis), the goddess of Justice (Wilkinson iii. 183), and the Jewish High Priest, on official occasions, wore a breast piece called the Urim and Thummim, the signification of which was not explained, and had been forgotten. Ex. xxviii. 30.

All the oxen selected for sacrifice in Egypt were red (Wilkinson iii. 399); and in Judea a heifer sacrificed on certain occasions must be red. Num. xix. 2.

The custom of the scapegoat was common to the Egyptians and Jews. Lev. xiv. 21.

A sacred fire was kept burning continually in the temple of Thebes, as well as in that of Jerusalem. Lev. vi. 12, 13.

The Jewish law says that "he that uttereth the name of the Lord [Jehovah] shall surely be put to death" (Lev. xxiv. 16); and the Egyptians had a fear of speaking the name of Osiris, as many savages have of pronouncing the name of a dead chief or father.

In her *Eastern Life* (chap. v.), Harriet Martineau gives a list of many points in which the Pentateuch adopts the older ceremonial observances of the Egyptians.

The Elohist and Jehovist portions of the Pentateuch are arranged in parallel columns in De Wette in such a manner that they can be compared very conveniently. Among the parallel passages are these:—

Creation. Gen. i. 1-ii. 3 *vs.* Gen. ii. 4-iii. 24.
 Genealogy. Gen. v. 1-32 *vs.* Gen. iv. 1-26.
 Deluge. Gen. vi. 9-22 *vs.* Gen. vi. 1-8; vii. 1-5.
 Noah's Covenant. Gen. ix. 1-17 *vs.* Gen. viii. 20-22.
 Abraham's Covenant. Gen. xvii. *vs.* Gen. xv.
 Sodom. Gen. xix. 29 *vs.* Gen. xix. 1-28.
 Sarah's Seizure. Gen. xx. *vs.* Gen. xii. 10-19; xxvi. 1-11.
 Birth of Isaac. Gen. xxi. 1-21 *vs.* Gen. xvi.
 Abimelech. Gen. xxi. 22-34 *vs.* Gen. xxvi. 26-33.
 Abraham's Temptation. Gen. xxvi. 1-13 *vs.* Gen. xxii. 14-18.
 Jacob in Mesopotamia. Gen. xxvii. 46; xxviii. 9 *vs.* Gen. xxvii.
 41-45.

Quails. Ex. xvi. *vs.* Num. xi.

Moses' Rock. Num. xx. 1-33 *vs.* Gen. xvii. 1-7.

SEC. 349. *Historical Inaccuracy*.—¹ I Sam. xxiv. 1. ² I Chron. xxi. 1. ³ I Kings v. ii. 2 Chron. ii. 10.

SEC. 350. *Mosaic Authorship*.—¹ Ex. xxxii. 19. ² *Ib.* xxxiv. 1, 27, 28. ³ The place of worship. Ex. xx. 24; Deut. xii. Lev. xvii. The religious festivals. Ex. xxiii. 14-17; Deut. xvi. 1-17; Lev. xxiii. The priests. Ex. xxviii. Num. iii. Deut. xviii. The tithes. Num. xviii. 21-32. Lev. xxvii. 32, 33. Deut. xiv. 22-29; xxvi. 12-15. The firstlings. Ex. xxii. 29, 30; xiii. 12, 13; xxxiv. 19-20. Deut. xv. 19-23. Num. xviii. 15-18. The emancipation of slaves. Ex. xxi. 1-6. Deut. xv. 12-18. Lev. xxv. 39-43. These references are from Kuenen 25. ⁴ Deut. xxxi. 9. ⁵ *Ib.* ix. 12; x. 1.

The following are dates of some notable events in the history of the ancient Jews:—

1053-1013 B. C. Reign of David.

973. Division of Hebrew Monarchy.

621. Publication of Deuteronomy.

597. First deportation of Jews.

585. Second deportation and destruction of Jerusalem.

536. Return of Jews under Zerubbabel.

535. Foundation of second temple.

517. Completion of second temple.

459. Composition of Leviticus and publication of Pentateuch.

63. A. D. Jerusalem taken by Romans.

The dates of the creation, the flood, the migration into Egypt, and the exodus from Egypt can be calculated from the number of generations as given in the first chapter of Chronicles.

The periods of confusion which accompanied the overthrow of

the Jewish monarchy, and the re-establishment of a Jewish government in Jerusalem, were favorable to the establishment and amplification of an ecclesiastical system. In the thirteen years that Josiah reigned, after the publication of Deuteronomy, Hilkiah and his subordinate priests of Jehovah had exclusive control of the temple and public worship. All the heathen altars had been destroyed and all the heathen priests slain or driven into exile. Every year the principal men were brought together at Jerusalem and compelled to listen to the reading of a book which was called the sacred law of their ancestors. The result is a remarkable confirmation of the opinion of Plato in the following passage: "The lawgiver can obtain belief for any fiction which he pleases to circulate, as may be seen by the implicit belief obtained for the Theban myth about the dragon's teeth, and a thousand other myths equally difficult of credence. He must proclaim the doctrine as an imperative article of faith, carefully providing that it shall be perpetually recited by one and all his citizens in the public hymns, narratives, and discourses, without any voice being heard to call it in question." Grote P. iii. 333.

SEC. 352. *Hellas*.—The best history of Greece and the best of all national histories is, in my opinion, that of Grote. The histories of Greece, by Curtius and Thirlwall, are excellent.

The best descriptions of Greek life are given by Felton and Mahaffy; and further details can be found in Guhl and Koner, Becker, Stoll, Goell and St. John.

He who wishes to get a general idea of Greek poetry, should read Felton, Mahaffy, and Symonds.

The management of the theatrical stage is explained by Haigh and Moulton.

The merits of the Greek philosophers are well explained by Grote, Lewes, and Donaldson.

SEC. 356. *Greek Aristocracy*.—¹Some historians, including Grote and Freeman, give the name of "oligarchy" to such governments as those of Sparta and Corinth. I call them "aristocracies."

SEC. 357. *Constitutionalism*.—¹Grote H. G. iii. 17.

SEC. 358. *Small States*.—¹Aristotle E. 294.

SEC. 362. *Spartan Army*.—¹Grote H. G. ix. 352.

SEC. 364. *Helots*.—¹Grote H. G. ii. 378.

SEC. 365. *Spartan Policy*.—¹Macaulay v. 25.

SEC. 366. *Greek Despots*.—¹Aristotle P. v. 4, 8; viii. 48. ²Grote H. G. iii. 20.

SEC. 367. *Theseus and Draco*.—¹Freeman H. E. ii. 120.

SEC. 369. *Athenian Assembly*.—¹Aristoteles 11.

SEC. 370. *Citizenship Dignified*.—¹Grote H. G. iii. 137.

SEC. 371. *First Jury*.—¹Grote H. G. v. 401. ²*Ib.* 389. ³*Ib.* 405.

SEC. 375. *Isagoras*.—¹Grote H. G. iv. 175.

SEC. 376. *Persian War*.—¹Thus Curtius (ii. 251) explains the ease of the victory and the silence of Herodotus about the Persian cavalry.

"This contest of the Greeks with Persia was the one supreme battle of history; and to the triumph of the Greeks, we owe what ever is most great and glorious in the subsequent achievements of the human race." Symonds i. 33.

SEC. 377. *Platæa*.—¹Herod. viii. 144. ²The Greek army at Platæa included 38,700 hoplites and 71,300 light armed men.

SEC. 378. *Aristides*.—¹Aristoteles 68.

SEC. 379. *Pericles*.—¹Aristoteles 38. ²Grote H. G. v. 364.

SEC. 380. *Political Education*.—¹Aristoteles 68. ²Freeman F. G. 47. ³Grote H. G. iv. 177. ⁴Fiske 307. ⁵Freeman F. G. 40. ⁶Grote H. G. iv. 140. ⁷*Ib.* 154. This was written during the troubles that led to the Sonderbund civil war in Switzerland.

"This transient phase of Attic culture is unexampled in the history of the world for its clear and flawless character, its purity of intellectual type . . . and its plenitude of powers matured but unimpaired by use." Symonds i. 439.

"If enlightening the people with regard to those things in which they are most concerned, ought to be the object of a political establishment, Athens was unquestionably the most enlightened city throughout the whole world. Neither Paris nor London, neither Rome nor Babylon, and still less Memphis, Jerusalem, Pekin or Benares, can enter into competition with it." Herder 375.

"The incomparable intellectual qualities of the Athenians of that brief blossom-time, have so far dazzled modern critics that we have come to identify their spirit with the spirit of the Greek race." Symonds i. 438.

Freeman (F. G. 88) calls Athens "that glorious vision of the world's youth."

SEC. 381. *Direct Democracy*.—¹Grote H. G. iv. 178.

SEC. 383. *Drill and Sway*.—¹Mahaffy O. G. E. 81. ²Grote H. G. v. 328. ³Curtius iv. 17. ⁴Freeman H. E. ii. 142.

SEC. 385. *Epaminondas*.—¹This paragraph is a condensed paraphrase of a passage in Freeman H. E. ii. 144.

SEC. 386. *Timoleon*.—¹Grote H. G. xi. 188. Grote's account of Timoleon's career is one of the most charming portions of his great book.

SEC. 388. *Alexander*.—¹The reports that the catapult was invented by the Syrians, and the ballista by the Phœnicians (Dodge 161, 162) are probably without good foundation. A more credible rumor, current in antiquity, attributed these inventions to the army of Dionysius I., of Sicily. ²Dodge (137) says, "The Macedonian phalanx will always remain in history as the ideal of shock tactics;" and he might have added as one of the farthest from the ideal of a military body competent to defend itself against an unexpected attack in flank.

SEC. 389. *The Achæan League*. ¹Freeman F. G. 287. ²*Ib.* 139.

SEC. 390. *Aratos*.—¹Freeman F. G. 639. "The league had given to a larger portion of Greece, than any previous age had seen, a measure of freedom, unity, and general good government."—*Ib.* 109.

SEC. 391. *Bœotia, etc.*—¹Freeman F. G. i. 157.

SEC. 392. *Pœtic Myths*.—¹Muller D. i. 345. ²Gladstone 179. ³Grote H. G. i. 357. ⁴Cox H. G. ii. 125. Mahaffy (S. L. 345) considers it difficult to discuss seriously many of the theories of Cox stated in the *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*. The abuse of mythology is called "a disease of language." ⁵Mahaffy S. L. 368.

SEC. 393. *Greek Worship*.—¹Guhl 200. ²Felton i. 450. ³Aristoteles 3. ⁴Coulanges 200.

SEC. 394. *Greek Monotheism*.—¹Felton i. 457. ²Elton i. 253. ³*Ib.* 379.

SEC. 395. *Delphi*.—¹Grote H. G. ii. 254.

SEC. 396. *Various Responses*.—¹Herod. iv. 97. ²*Ib.* 148. ³*Ib.* i. 156. ⁴Grote H. G. xi. 143. ⁵Herod. i. 229.

SEC. 398. *Homer*.—¹Paris 20. ²Grote H. G. ii. 206. ³*Ib.* 117.

"The Greeks instinctively dropped the Eastern practice of writing from right to left," says Thirlwall (i. 107), and by so doing rendered a great service to education and literature.

SEC. 399. *The Greek Drama*.—¹Grote H. G. viii. 322.

SEC. 400. *Socrates*.—¹Grote P. i. 89. ²Jowett's Plato 343.

SEC. 401. *Socratic Philosophy*.—¹Grote A. ii. 157. ²Grote H. G. viii. 424. ³Grote P. i. 239. ⁴Brocker, quoted in Grote P. i. 496. ⁵Grote H. G. viii. 457. ⁶Grote P. preface. ⁷Grote H. G. viii. 345.

SEC. 402. *Plato*.—¹Lewes A. 19. ²*Ib.* 90.

SEC. 403. *Aristotle*.—¹Lewes A. 17. ²*Ib.* 324, 330, 355. ³*Ib.* 99, 138. ⁴*Ib.* 179, 261, 281, 283, 306, 312, 317. ⁵*Ib.* 380.

SEC. 404. *Epicurus*.—¹Grote A. ii. 437. ²Lewes B. H. P. 278. ³Grote A. ii. 438. ⁴*Ib.* ⁵Lewes B. H. P. 275. ⁶Masson 63. ⁷*Ib.* 77. ⁸*Ib.* 8, 13, 176. ⁹*Ib.* 94. ¹⁰Grote A. ii. 435. ¹¹Masson 7, 189.

SEC. 405. *Stoicism*.—¹Marcus Aurelius 210. ²Grote A. ii. 449. ³Epictetus 385. ⁴*Ib.* 10. ⁵*Ib.* 72. ⁶*Ib.* 449. ⁷*Ib.* 392. ⁸Lewes B. H. P. 183.

SEC. 406. *Greek Science*.—¹Draper 142.

SEC. 408. *Greek Music*.—¹Felton i. 139. ²Mahaffy Rambles, 443, 445. ³*Ib.* O. G. E. 72.

SEC. 409. *Greek Architecture, etc.*—¹Felton i. 298.

SEC. 412. *Greek Commerce*.—¹For plans of Greek ships, see Guhl. 260.

SEC. 414. *Greek Children*.—¹Grote P. iii. 232.

SEC. 416. *Athletic Games*.—¹Muller's Dorians ii. ²Mahaffy O. G. E. 33. ³Stoll 197. ⁴Thirlwall i. 281.

SEC. 417. *Greek Morality*.—¹Mahaffy S. L. 153. ²Sophocles in Symonds i. 448. ³Euripides Suppliants, 399-464. ⁴Grote H. G. ii. 256.

SEC. 418. *Oration of Pericles*.—¹Grote H. G. vi. 144, 147.

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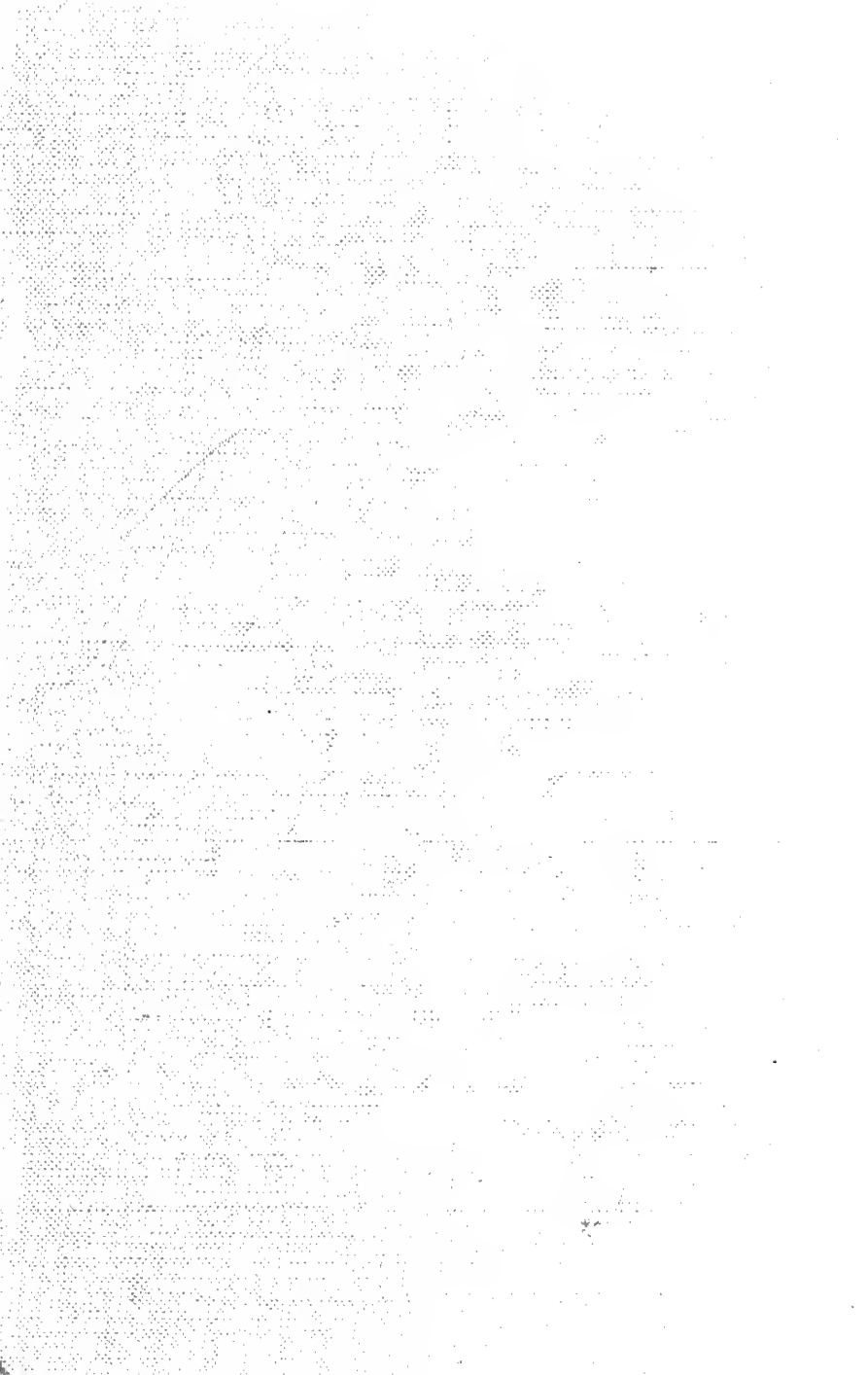
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A HISTORY
OF THE
MENTAL GROWTH OF MANKIND
IN
ANCIENT TIMES

BY
JOHN S. HITTELL
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VOLUME IV.
ROME AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY



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A HISTORY OF MANKIND.

Pagan Rome and Early Christianity.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LEGENDARY ROME.

SECTION 421. *Rome in Culture*.—Of all nations, ancient Rome fills the most prominent place in the history of culture. To her belongs the exclusive credit of having held sway over all the countries that, in her time, deserved to be called civilized. In the combination of extent with duration, her empire has been unequalled. She conceived, formulated, and practically applied the greatest of all codes of civil law, and established its authority over the most progressive portions of the three continents in the Old World. She made her tongue the common speech of western Europe, of northern Africa, and of medieval, and until recently, of modern scholarship; and by her influence, it became the mother of the languages of France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Roumania, and Wallachia, as well as of Italy. She preserved Greek literature. She created a valuable literature of her own, which, next to that of Hellas, until the last century, was

the most valuable of all national literatures. She connects the Europe of antiquity with that of our own day.

She inherited and completed the task of Alexander the Great, in giving political unity to the regions bordering on the Mediterranean. She established peace and uniform government under one official language from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. She substituted civilization and Latin for barbarous customs and tongues in extensive regions of western Europe. She converted the heterogeneous and hostile Sabines, Volscians, Hernicans, Samnites, Umbrians, Etruscans, Campanians, Italians, Greeks, Ligurians, Gauls, Iberians, Illyrians, and Dacians into a homogeneous and harmonious people. She absorbed, assimilated, and consolidated many nations, far more than any other state ever did. Besides civilizing extensive regions previously barbarous, she gave to the whole civilized world one nationality, one system of municipal institutions, and one religion. Great as is Athens in the history of the human mind, ancient Rome is still greater in many respects. In her laws, her affiliated tongues, and her daughter nations, she continues to reign over much of the most enlightened portion of the globe.

It was mainly by the aid of her polity, including her military system, that she acquired vast power and influence. In this department of culture she showed much originality and surpassed every other state of antiquity. In this she became eminent while she was still crude in literature, in ornamental art, and in religion. By this she was enabled to conquer, to hold, to govern, and to unite a hundred other nations into one harmonious empire. In her successive struggles for life with Etruria, Samnium, Epirus, Carthage, Macedonia, and Gaul, the

most formidable states with which she came in conflict, her superior polity was the main cause of her ultimate triumph.

Of all national military careers, that of ancient Rome is the most brilliant. She made more campaigns, fought more battles, won more victories, slew and enslaved more enemies, and conquered, annexed, and permanently held more countries than did any other state. In military power, as compared with coeval nations, no other has approached her. Her drill was not so thorough as that of Sparta, but her army was much larger, her sphere of operations far more extensive, her high military efficiency of much longer duration, and her political basis much more solid. Among ancient monarchies, the only one that rivaled Rome in area and population was Persia, which was loose and heterogeneous in its political and military organizations, and short in its life as an extensive empire. In successful assimilation of conquered regions, and in the introduction of a higher culture into subject states, the most notable rival of ancient Rome has been the Quichuan empire. The modern nation which, by the wide dominion of her tongue, her arms, her original system of law, the magnitude of her homogeneous colonies, and the multitude of her heterogeneous subject provinces, most frequently suggests comparison with ancient Rome, is England; and the comparison is creditable to both nations.

SEC. 422. *Site*.—The Italian peninsula is about five hundred miles long and one hundred wide, divided into eastern and western slopes by the Apennines, which extend through its whole length, and, with their spurs, occupy half its width, rising along their summits to an average height of about four thousand feet. This penin-

sula, besides covering a greater area, is richer in agricultural resources than Greece, having a larger proportion of valley land, and more fertility in its tillable districts. The two countries, however, are near together and similar in situation, climate, and productions. In both the olive is a characteristic fruit.

When civilization had its origin in Greece, Italy was unfavorably situated for commerce and culture. It was remote from Asia Minor, Babylonia, Phœnicia, and Egypt, where industry was most skillful and traffic most active. But when the Roman republic was founded, about 500 B. C., the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, southern France, and northern Africa were occupied by Phœnician and Greek colonies; Carthaginian and Etruscan merchants traded regularly with the British Isles and the shores of the Baltic; the silver of Spain and the tin of Cornwall were mined extensively; and Italy was in the geographical center of the maritime commerce of the time.

Since then it has lost that position. The intervening centuries have made vast changes in the industrial world. The nations now most eminent for refinement, for wealth, for manufactures, and for shipping are in the basin, not of the Mediterranean, but of the north Atlantic; and the central position which, twenty centuries since, was held by Rome, is now occupied by London. We cannot understand the past without measuring it by, and comparing it with, the present.

The largest stream of the peninsula is the Tiber, which flows down the western slope of the Apennines and reaches the Mediterranean about half way between the Alps and Sicily. For sixteen miles from its mouth, this river has a width of about a hundred yards and depth of more than

ten feet. It was navigable for the ancients, to whom water transportation was much cheaper, relatively, than it is to us; they could make profitable use of smaller boats for freight than we can. On the southern bank of this river, near latitude 42° , fifteen miles from the sea, where the ascending navigator finds the first hills near the water's edge, and where he also encounters an island, there Rome was built. Its situation combined military and commercial advantages. Its hills and its island were admirably suited for fortification; and it was at the head of navigation, on the largest stream of Italy's western slope, which, being much nearer than the eastern slope to Carthage, Sicily, Spain, Gaul, and Sardinia, was destined to possess the leading cities of the peninsula.

The territory of the Romans was bounded on the north by that of the Etruscans, on the east by that of the Sabines, and on the south by that of the Latins. Beyond Latium to the southward was the land of the Volscians; east of Latium was that of the Æquians, and east of the Æquians and Volscians were the Samnites. All these nationalities seem to have been divided into numerous city states, or petty republics.

SEC. 423. *Legendary Period*.—The history of Rome may be divided into four periods: first, the legendary, from 754 to 280 B. C.; second, the historical republic, from 280 to 30 B. C.; third, the pagan empire, from 30 B. C. till 300 A. D.; and fourth, the Christian empire, a remnant of which maintained its independence until 1452 A. D. The last of these four periods does not come within the scope of this volume.

The legendary period includes almost five centuries, nearly equally divided between monarchy and republic.

The story of Rome, under the kings, as accepted until

the present century, is mythical. It has no connected thread of trustworthy narrative. It abounds with impossibilities. It may be compared with the tale of a notorious falsifier, relating to a matter in which he is interested, containing a multitude of indubitable misrepresentations, without evidence enabling us to verify such of his statements as are in themselves credible.

According to legend, the city of Rome was laid out on a large scale and founded by Romulus, whose father was a god, whose mother was a Latin woman, and whose foster mother was a she-wolf. He collected a large number of followers, mostly Latins, from neighboring states, and, with their aid, built the houses and walls of his capital. He became its first king, and he established a formidable military power. Instead of ruling despotically, as did other monarchs of his time, he transferred the supervision of his government and all legislative authority to a senate of three hundred nobles, collected in a regularly organized deliberative body. After a long reign, nearly all the years of which were spent in triumphant war, he made the throne elective, and gave the election to the senate. According to this story, Rome never had a hereditary monarchy. His successor, Numa, was not his son or relative, but a Sabine, who devoted his energies, during a long reign, to the arts of peace, and especially to the organization of an ecclesiastical system, in accordance with divine revelations given to him immediately. The fifth king, Servius Tullius, who was the son of a slave, transferred the highest political power from the senate to the free-men, or all those who formed the army of the republic. Under his reform, the popular assembly elected the king, enacted laws, and authorized peace and war.

In all there were seven kings, who belonged to three

different nationalities—Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan. They occupied the throne for two hundred and forty-four years, an average of thirty-four years—incredibly long average reigns for elective monarchs. The story of the Roman monarchy abounds with impossibilities and improbabilities, and it lacks every kind of authentication that should entitle it to our acceptance.

The overthrow of the royal government is attributed to the popular indignation at an outrage committed by Sextus Tarquinius, son of the last king, on Lucretia, wife of the noble Collatinus. In the main events of this revolution, as reported by Livy, there is nothing incredible, but our faith is overtaxed when we find that twenty-five years later, in 485 B. C., Rome was saved from destruction by the intercession of Veturia, mother of the traitor Coriolanus, at the head of a Volscian army; and that after thirty-six years more, in 449 B. C., the government of the decemvirs was overthrown in a revolution provoked by an outrage threatened to a Roman maiden, Virginia; and that about a century later an important constitutional amendment, providing that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian, proposed by the plebeian tribune, Licinius Stolo, was suggested by a desire to pacify his wife, who was offended by the higher honor paid to her brother-in-law, the patrician, consular tribune, Sulpitius.

States are not saved and constitutions are not changed so often in authentic history as in Roman legend. The story of Lucretia, or that of Virginia, that of Veturia, or that of the wife of Stolo, if it stood alone, might deserve our faith, but the four are too many for a brief period in the life of a small city, especially when we observe that their marvelous combination is associated with a number of other wonderful incidents which are introduced like

the surprises in a dramatic plot. We are told that even if it be admitted that these statements are historically untrustworthy, they are, nevertheless, "so rich and so beautiful that they give us an insight into the early genius of the people which would never have been divined from the imitative literature which has been handed down as Roman."¹ Unfortunately for this theory, the early genius of a people cannot be understood from the fictions of some one exceptional romancer among them, especially if that man should happen to be, as is possible, of foreign blood and education. There is a considerable share of Greek influence, and, perhaps, of direct participation, in the earliest literature of Rome; and the Roman legends are rather Greek than Roman in their character.

Our only record of the events of the four hundred and seventy-four years in the legendary period, is made up of myths and legends, that are of no value, mixed with traditions that have a historical basis. These traditions are inseparably entangled with the legends, and, besides, are conflicting and so confused in their chronological arrangement and in the connecting explanations that no critical acumen can now draw the line between the true and the false. We have no contemporaneous authority to guide us; no history of this period written by an ancient author who had much regard for historical truth with capacity to find and transmit it to later times. Records were kept in legendary Rome, the most notable being the annals of the Pontifex Maximus, or chief priest of the state, who had charge of the calendar, and made brief mention, under their respective dates, of such events as consular elections, eclipses, pestilences, famines, floods, and droughts, and, perhaps, also of glorious victories and disastrous defeats. These pontifical annals were destroyed in 390 B. C., when

Rome was captured and burned by the Gauls, and whether they had much historical value for later years is doubtful. No author known to us quoted their language or expressed an opinion of their merit.

In historical times, many patrician houses preserved copies of the orations delivered at the funerals of their distinguished men, with laudation of the achievements of their ancestors. Such family records, traces of which are observable in many chapters of Livy, cannot be regarded as trustworthy sources of history; they have not been preserved to our time; nor while they were in existence were they subjected to careful examination by any critical historian.

Another source of information for the later historians was the popular ballads, which recited the achievements of the early Romans in a manner suited to entertain their descendants and to heighten their pride in their ancestry. Like the funeral orations, all these ballads have been lost, and they are not even mentioned as of historical value by Livy or Dionysius. It may be presumed that the best of them were far inferior in poetic effect, as in historical suggestion, to the substitutes for them offered to modern readers by the fancy of Macaulay in his *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

SEC. 424. *Literary Poverty*.—The poverty of republican Rome in literature is as astonishing as her wealth in political and military capacity. A generation after she had acquired dominion over all of peninsular Italy, and two centuries after Athens had reached the height of her glory under Pericles, Rome had not yet one poet, dramatist, historian, philosopher, or other author whose name has been preserved to our time. Her earliest historian was Fabius Pictor, who was a contemporary of Hannibal,

and whose works are lost, as are also those of all later Latin historians who wrote in the century and a half between Fabius Pictor and Julius Cæsar.

It is wonderful that in the century of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes; and in the next century of Epicurus, Zeno, Archimedes, and Ptolemy Philadelphus; and in the following century, that produced Polybius, Hipparchus and Ptolemy;—it is wonderful that in these three centuries, made illustrious by so many glorious achievements in literature and science by the Greeks, not one historical book worthy of preservation was written in a large city not far from Syracuse, in a city possessing a constitutional government, a steadfast foreign policy, a great army, a proud aristocracy, and the energy required to conquer and to rule all the nations fronting on the Mediterranean. Ancient Rome is scarcely less remarkable for the unparalleled preponderance which she held in culture through six centuries than for the unexampled poverty of her historical records.

The only comprehensive history of the legendary period of the republic, written by a Roman and preserved to our time, is that of Livy. He was an admirer of republican institutions and a patriotic citizen, and, therefore, in love with his subject. He had much literary talent and was a great master of Latin style. Enjoying the favor of the Emperor Augustus, and dwelling in the capital, we may presume that he had access to all the state documents and family records of known value. But he was primarily a story teller. His purpose was to amuse rather than to instruct; to please the fancy rather than to educate the judgment. He had little critical acumen. He neither discussed nor cited authorities. He did not see improbabilities. He had the work of Thucydides

before him, but did not profit by its lessons. He had no distinct conception of the development of Rome's constitutional or civil law, or of the condition of either in his own time. While covering us with darkness, he wrote as if he were leading us into light. He had so little sense of historical propriety or of literary integrity that he appropriated considerable portions of the work of Polybius, without acknowledgment.

Our other chief authority for the history of legendary Rome is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Livy, far inferior to him in literary talent, and equally deficient in historical acumen and in comprehension of constitutional law. So incompetent were these men for their task that the exposure of their blunders is a large part of the work of those historians who in this century have examined the first period of republican Rome, covering two hundred and thirty years.

In the story of the legendary republic we find a traceable thread of credible facts, mixed, however, with so many impossibilities that we must reconstruct the narrative in accordance with the rules of historical analogy. This process is beset with many difficulties, but we must adopt it as the only middle course open to us, between a disgraceful credulity and an unsatisfactory rejection of every historical idea for this important period.

Not only did Rome lack a good history of her growth before 280 B. C., and also the materials from which such a complete history might have been compiled at a later time, but she never had an author who gave a comprehensive description of her republican government in any stage of its growth. Nor did she leave materials from which such a description can now be compiled with confidence in its accuracy. No author described the con-

stitution of Rome as Aristotle described that of Athens. As it was to her polity that she was mainly indebted for her pre-eminent influence in culture, so the defect of our knowledge on this point deserves mention as a subject of special regret.

Livy and Dionysius, our chief, and, indeed, our only authorities in regard to most of the history of the legendary republic, disagree as to many of the events; and this disagreement considered in connection with their equal lack of historical judgment and of trustworthy historical material, weakens what little faith we otherwise might have had in them. One must be false, and we have no reasonable assurance that either is true. They not only contradict each other, but on many points they are contradicted by other ancient authors who are quite as trustworthy as either.

A remarkable feature in the story of the legendary republic is the frequency with which events are duplicated. Thus there were two secessions of plebeians to the Sacred Mount; two instances in which the senate violated the promises made by a dictator or consul, that if the plebeians would defeat the alien enemy, the oppressed debtors should be relieved from their burdens; two cases in which the plebeian army, composed of men suffering under patrician oppression, showed their resentment, not by overthrowing their domestic tyrants, but by permitting themselves to be defeated in battle by alien enemies, a partisan trick never practised in any other state; two mobs caused by peculiar wrongs done to enslaved debtors; two riots in which nine persons were burned for opposition to the interests of the multitude; two acts of treason to injure Siccus Dentatus; and three instances in which Decius Mus, first the father and afterwards the

son, and finally the grandson, devoted himself to death in battle to secure victory for his country. Before reaching the historical period, these legends had become so vague that their dates and the names of the principal actors in the events to which they referred, were lost, and there was no test for distinguishing the false from the true version, if either was true.

The doubt as to many of the important events as told by Livy and Dionysius is accompanied, in both authors, by much fullness of trivial detail about unimportant occurrences, and even verbatim reports of speeches. It is evident that the deficiencies in the research of the historian are counterbalanced in many passages by the fancy of the romancer.

Dr. Thomas Arnold remarks that "in the life of Camillus there meet two kinds of fiction, equally remote from historical truth, but in all other respects most opposite to one another; the one imaginative but honest, playing, it is true, with the facts of history, and converting them into a wholly different form, but addressing itself also to a different part of the mind, not professing to impart exact knowledge, but to delight, to quicken, and to raise the perception of what is beautiful and noble; the other lame and fraudulent, deliberately corrupting truth in order to minister to a national or individual vanity, pretending to describe actual events, but substituting in the place of reality the representations of interested or servile falsehood."

In reference to the mutiny which broke out in 341 B. C., towards the close of the legendary period of the republic, the same author says: "Had we any history of these times, events so important and notorious as the great disturbances of the year 413 [341 B. C.], must have

been related in their main points clearly and faithfully. But because we have merely a collection of stories recording the great acts of particular families and individuals, and in each of these the glory of its own hero, and not truth, was the object, even matters the most public and easy to be ascertained are so disguised that nothing beyond the bare fact that there was a disturbance and that it was at length appeased, is common to the various narratives."

SEC. 425. *Roman Aristocracy*.—The monarchy was overthrown in 510 B. C., to give place to an aristocracy. This change occurred in the regular course of political evolution. Two centuries had elapsed since it was made by many of the Greek cities. In the early aristocracy of Rome, the commoners were not only excluded from office but also from the privilege of intermarrying with nobles. Livy says that they were admitted into the army and into the popular assembly; but political analogies indicate that these privileges were not granted until some time after the establishment of an aristocratic government.

The state was an aristocratic republic, and was officially designated as "The Senate and People of Rome;" in Latin, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*; and in initials, S. P. Q. R. The word people, or *populus*, in the official title meant the nobility; the commoners were the *vulgus* or rabble, who had no share in the political power. The nobles met in the clan assembly (*comitia curiata*) to elect consuls, and to vote for or against proposed laws, treaties, alliances, and declarations of war, submitted to them by order of the senate. In the three hundred clans there were thirty clan groups (*curia*), each of which had one vote for a consul or for any proposition submitted, that

vote being controlled by a majority of the nobles in the group. In case of an equal division of nobles, or of the groups, the lot decided. The nobles could not legally meet in their clan assembly until called together by a consul, nor vote in them except when requested to do so by that magistrate.

The consuls and the senate had presumably—and it must be recollected that we know of the existence of this strictly aristocratic government by presumption only—the same or nearly the same respective authorities as under the later mixed aristocracy, to be described in succeeding sections. Since the number of senators was the same as the traditional number of clans, it is supposed that originally the senate consisted of the heads of the clans.

In the course of their constant and arduous warfare, the nobles found themselves compelled to call upon the commoners to supply the great majority of the soldiers, and then to concede to them a share in the government, which was changed from a strict to a mixed aristocracy, and so remained until the overthrow of the republic. The story of the manner in which the plebeians were permitted to share the political power, would be interesting and instructive, but in historical times, the Romans had lost all that portion of their national record.

The people were divided into four ranks: first, the nobles or patricians, who had an exclusive right to the high offices; second, the commoners or plebeians, who could vote and hold some minor offices; third, the half freemen, comprising aliens, freedmen, and sons of freedmen; and, fourth, the slaves. Nobility descended by inheritance to all the legitimate children of a patrician. He could not contract a legal marriage out of his rank;

he alone could contract a sacred marriage, consecrated by the priesthood. He could have only one wife, and she could have only one husband. He had the exclusive right to keep the images of his ancestors in the male line in his house, to exhibit them at the funerals of the men of his family, and to make offerings to them in his domestic worship. He alone had a right to hold an ecclesiastical or high political office, to represent the state in public worship, to consult the gods in the auspices, and to declare whether the omens were favorable to military projects or political propositions; and he only had the legal right without special order of consul or senate, to occupy public land taken from conquered enemies.

Though the commoner might, and in many cases did, possess considerable wealth, he could neither marry a patrician, nor hold a senatorial, consular, or sacerdotal office, nor have a domestic worship, nor keep the images of his ancestors in his house, nor be united to his wife by a sacred marriage. In the eye of the law, his matrimony was a mere cohabitation, a matter of profane usage.

SEC. 426. *Clients*.—In historical times some of the plebeians were clients or dependents of patricians, as probably all had been in an early age, when, perhaps, no man was safe unless he had some powerful protection, such as that of a noble clan. After the commoners obtained arms and admission into the legions, many felt strong enough to defend themselves with the aid of others of their own class, and then took opportunities to get rid of the burden of dependence with the consent of their patrons. Other clients were emancipated by the extinction of the noble families to which they had been attached. Many Latins settled in Rome and acquired franchise there as plebeians, who never had patrons. Thus there

came to be many independent plebeians. But clients were numerous in Rome until she was conquered by the barbarians.

The bond between patron and client was sacred, with an obligation of protection on one side and of service on the other, under conditions which are not clearly and fully explained by any Roman author. The client could not legally bring suit, nor testify against his patron, nor take part in any act of violence against him. If the patron was held in captivity, the client must aid in his ransom; if the patron's daughter was to be married, the client must contribute to her dowry; if the patron wanted a retinue to accompany him on any important public occasion, as at an election, a triumph, a funeral, or a riot, it was the duty of the client to be in attendance. On the other hand, the patron owed assistance, protection, and advice to his dependent. If the client needed shelter, clothing, or food, he applied to his patron for it. If the client left a minor child, the patron was its guardian. Every emancipated slave became the client of his late master. The freedman was not a plebeian citizen, nor was his son, but the grandson was, if he and his father were born under Roman law. The freedman who became indebted to his patron or was guilty of ingratitude might be re-enslaved.

SEC. 427. *Senate*.—The senate had exclusive control in matters of revenue, disbursement of public funds, levying armies, directing where they should be used, assigning high military commands, distributing certain classes of booty taken in war, and granting triumphs in the city.

It also had the initiative in declaring war, making peace, and enacting laws. It had the authority to try high officials for misconduct in office, and through this power could secure their obedience. It could suspend

any law which did not seem suitable to an unforeseen emergency; and could enforce, as laws, its resolutions which had not been submitted to or rejected by the people, whose action on senatorial propositions was usually a mere matter of form. In their sacerdotal capacity, various members of the senate had supervision of certain departments of the state religion, and could declare that measures adopted by the popular assembly were void because the sacred ceremonial had been violated or the omens had not been properly observed. Ecclesiastical trickery was a source of much political influence in Rome, as well as in some other countries.

The members of the senate were appointed by the consuls, and held office for life. Every ex-consul was entitled to the senatorship as soon as there was a vacancy. Custom required that other appointments should be given to those men who had held the highest offices in the army with credit, and thus the senators, as a class, were the men of the most approved courage and the highest experience in the public service. Nearly all were men over forty years of age; and, as a body, they comprised nearly all the military talent and official experience of the state.

The three hundred senators were divided into ranks with different privileges and strict rules of precedence. The first class consisted of the two consuls. The presiding consul for the month had the exclusive rights of introducing business, of making the first speech on the question before the house, of giving the right of speech to senators of the lowest rank, and of inviting outsiders to be present and to speak. The consuls could not vote.

In the second rank were the ex-consuls who had been appointed senators, precedence among them being given first to those who had enjoyed triumphs, and to those of

the major clans. Every ex-consul had the right of addressing the senate, and when a question was to be decided, he must be called upon by name, with a request to give his vote, and if there was a division he was requested by name to take his place on one side or the other of the hall. The senators of the third rank were those who had not been consuls. They could not make motions, nor, unless specially invited by the presiding consul, could they address the senate. They were not called upon by name when a vote was taken, but were invited in a body to express their opinion in the customary method. As the divisions were frequent, and their vote was then indicated mainly by their movements and not by their voices, they were called pedestrian senators.

In capacity and governmental experience, no other legislative body has ever been equal to the Roman senate. The Athenian senators held office for only one year, were chosen partly by lot, and had no independent legislative authority, being merely a committee of the assembly. They were always subordinate to the generals or archons. The Spartan senators held office for life, as the Romans did, but their advanced age, the youngest being sixty years old, made them inactive, and they, too, were merely a committee and were subordinate to the kings and ephors. The hereditary character of the Venetian senate prevented that body from being distinguished for ability. In the range and amount of its governmental authority, the British House of Commons approaches the Roman senate, but is much inferior in the average capacity and political experience of its members. Mommsen observes that the senate embraced "all the political intelligence and practical statesmanship" of Rome, and was "in consistency and political sagacity, in unanimity and

patriotism, in grasp of power and unwavering courage, the foremost political corporation of all times."¹

The senate never elected or designated a building for its exclusive use, nor did it ever, for any long period, limit itself to one place of assemblage. Its migratory habit appears remarkable when considered in connection with the facts that its meetings were frequent and very important; that its three hundred members required considerable room; that its officers had charge of the archives of the government, and frequently needed convenient access to their records; that its proceedings were always secret; and that with its control of the public funds, it could, at any time, have provided a building suitable to its numerous and important wants. It assembled in different temples and halls, supplied with chairs or benches but not with desks.

The days for assemblage were fixed, not by a general rule, but by special order of the senate or by special call of a consul, announced either in the forum by a crier, or to the individual senators by messengers. The usual hour was sunrise.

SEC. 428. *Consuls*.—The chief political, military, and judicial power of the state was intrusted to two consuls, elected by the people in the autumn or winter for a term of one year. They were clothed with equal authority and each was authorized to annul any official act of his colleague, or of any subordinate official. Custom required that no person should be elected to the office until he had served with credit in at least ten campaigns; and as the voters were nearly all soldiers, many of whom had risked their comfort and their lives under command of the consular candidates, they usually gave the office to a man of well-known courage and capacity.

As the classification of citizens for the purpose of voting depended on the amount of their property, it became necessary that a complete assessment roll of all freemen should be made, and that it should be revised at brief intervals. The work was intrusted to a consul designated by lot. The consul was also the custodian of the treasury, taking care of the public funds in accordance with the orders of the senate. As supreme judge, the consul could sit in person, or could designate a person to hear the evidence and render judgment in accordance with instructions.

When acting in his official capacity, the consul was accompanied by his lictors, or bailiffs, who were the carriers of his messages and the executors of his orders. When out of the city they carried rods and axes, as symbols of his power to scourge and kill those who should resist his authority. Until 457 B. C. each consul appointed a quæstor to act as the custodian of the public funds under his care. After that year these officials of the treasury were elected by the people.

The Roman consuls were equal in authority. They shared with each other the presidency of the senate, the presidency of the assembly, the command of the army, and the supreme judicial office. Like the nominal kings of Sparta they were subject to the orders of the administrative council and of the popular assembly; but in their presence no motion could be submitted to the senate for vote or discussion, without their consent, nor at an election could any person receive a vote until he had received consular recognition as a suitable candidate.

It being impossible that two consuls should command the same army or preside in the same meeting at one time, the law provided that the power should be held for

alternating periods, which were one day in the field and one month in the city, arranged by lot, that is, if the two consuls were together. If there were two armies, the senate assigned a consul to each; and sometimes one consul remained in the city while the other was absent campaigning.

The exclusive right of introducing bills and resolutions, of submitting propositions for consideration and decision, and of giving the privilege of speech to low class senators and to outsiders, gave to the consul an influence over the Roman senate greater than that held in any legislative body of modern times, by the presiding officer. Without consulting the senate or reporting to it, he appointed all the committees, directed their work, and accepted or rejected it at his pleasure. Besides he had authority to issue decrees, which, unless canceled by his colleague, or set aside by the senate, had the force of law until the end of his official term. He filled all the vacancies in the senate that occurred during his term; and after its close, he was entitled to the first vacant senatorship, for which he rarely had to wait more than a year or two.

The commanding consul had almost absolute power over his army in the field, and over the conquered enemy. He appointed all his subordinate military officers. He had complete control of the money furnished to pay the expenses of his army; and he could levy such contributions as he pleased on vanquished foes. He enforced discipline and distributed booty. He could conclude truces, and had general authority to make treaties valid until rejected by the senate.

The consuls could appoint a dictator, and the senate could confer dictatorial power on the consuls. The dictator or dictatorial consul possessed absolute and irre-

sponsible power for a term, which could not exceed six months, nor extend beyond the close of the current consular term. He was above the trammels of the civil and criminal law. After the close of his term he could not be called to account for any official act. When the tribuneship of the people had been established, with a sacred and inviolable character, it was powerless before the dictator.

SEC. 429. *Centuries*.—Under the system of a mixed aristocracy, the sovereign political authority previously exercised by the clan assembly (*comitia curiata*), controlled exclusively by the nobles, was transferred to the centuriate assembly (*comitia centuriata*), comprising all the adult male citizens not more than sixty years of age. This centuriate assembly was timocratic in character, or, in other words, was under the control of men whose political power was based on their wealth. For the purposes of electing their consuls, and of voting on laws and on questions of war and peace, the citizens were distributed into groups, or centuries, so classified, according to their wealth and their age, that the votes of the rich and old should have much more weight in proportion to their number than those of the poor and young.

Of these timocratic groups there were one hundred and ninety-three, divided into six classes. The first class comprised all citizens, whether patricians or plebeians, worth 100,000 asses or pounds of copper, and this class contained eighty-two centuries. Those citizens worth between 75,000 and 100,000 asses filled twenty groups in the second class; the third class, of those worth between 50,000 and 75,000 asses, made up twenty groups; the fourth class, of men worth between 25,000 and 50,000 asses, filled twenty groups; the fifth class, between 11,000

and 25,000 asses, were distributed into thirty groups ; and all those citizens worth less than 11,000 asses were comprised in one group of the sixth class. Since there were one hundred and two centuries, and a majority of the whole number in the two highest classes, which probably did not include one-twentieth part of the citizens, it is evident that the poor were at a decided disadvantage.

There has been much discussion about the value of the Roman *as*, or copper pound, in the early years of the republic. Like the English pound and the French *livre*, the Roman *as* was repeatedly debased, but when that governmental fraud began in Rome we cannot now ascertain. Mommsen, who is not surpassed as an authority in Roman archæology, thinks that 100,000 asses were equal in value to \$5,000 of our money, or to one thousand cows, in the beginning of the historical period.

Each class was divided into equal numbers of senior and junior groups. Thus in the twenty centuries of the second class there were ten of the elder and as many of the younger men. The seniors were those between forty-five and sixty years ; the juniors were those between seventeen and forty-five. Now, in consequence of the high mortality in the constant and arduous warfare of the republic, added to the deaths from natural causes, there were nearly three times as many junior as senior voters ; but the seniors controlling as many groups, exercised, in relation to their number, three times as much influence as the juniors. Besides, the old men were relatively more numerous among the rich than among the poor classes ; and, again, the richest classes had the privilege of voting first, and the others, under the influence of current superstition, which accepted the first vote as a sacred omen, usually took it for their guide,

When ninety-seven centuries—a majority of the whole number—had declared for one side, and had thus secured a majority to it, the count was closed and thus the public could not learn officially the opinion of those groups which had not yet recorded their votes. No report was made of the number of persons voting for either side in any century; and there was no legalized method of ascertaining the opinion of the majority of the people.

The system of Roman timocratic groups was the most unequal method of taking a vote of all freemen ever adopted by a great nation. And, at first, the action of the centuries was not final in any part of the governmental business. The war or peace authorized by them could not officially be declared without a subsequent order of the senate. The bill prepared for and submitted to them, after approval by them, went back to the senate for final enactment. The consul elected by them could not take his office until he was installed by order of the clan assembly, though this installation was never denied and soon became an empty formality.

The centuriate assembly could not be called together for any purpose save that of voting, nor could they assemble at the call of any person save the presiding magistrate, nor when assembled could they be addressed by any person except him or some person appointed by him; and the exceptions were rare. The vote on a bill or on a proposition of war, peace, alliance, or law, was called a "questioning," or rogation, to which the people were requested to make a simple reply of "aye" or "no," without the privilege of discussing, amending, offering a substitute, or laying over for further consideration.

The place for the meeting of the centuriate assembly was not in a building within the city, but in the open air

outside of the walls on the parade ground; and there the vote of each group was counted in a pen bounded usually by stakes and ropes. Until the close of the war with Hannibal, the votes were given by voice, but a few years later the ballot was introduced.

Besides the assemblies of the people for the purpose of voting on the propositions of the senate, there were also meetings (*conciones*) called by the magistrates on other days for the purpose of discussing measures to be submitted to vote. On such occasions the magistrate who issued the call presided and designated the speakers. The main reason why the discussion was on one day and the decision on another was that the counting of votes was a tedious process; and it occasionally required a whole day. Those who heard the argument were often only a small proportion of those who rendered the decision.

SEC. 430. *Roman Army*.—Her military system was an important part of the constitution of Rome. She was pre-eminently a conquering state, nay, the conquering state. During the first four centuries of her republican government, all her leading citizens were soldiers, who had each served in as many as fifteen campaigns. Her army was the school in which her young men were trained for political life. The city was a permanent camp. Ten years of military service were generally considered indispensable to qualify a man for the lowest magistracy.

The maintenance of an efficient army was one of the chief purposes of the state. Every freeman between the ages of seventeen and sixty was subject to military duty; but until the decline of the republic, men without property were not enrolled as regular soldiers. The man of suitable age, and able to provide himself with arms, was

assigned to a squad, company, and legion, was required to attend regular drills, and might be ordered into the field at an hour's notice. Those soldiers between the ages of forty-five and sixty, called seniors, were reserved for duty near home, or in garrisons, unless, as many did, they demanded permission to participate in campaigns. Men more than sixty years of age, those who had served in twenty campaigns, state officials, priests, army contractors, and members of certain colonies, could claim exemption from military duty.¹

The main original features of the military system of the Romans were the combination of the javelin and sword for offense, the large size of the regiment (or legion), the fortification of the camp every night, and the establishment of strongly fortified military colonies in conquered territory. Their defensive armor did not differ in any notable respect from that of the Greeks, and, therefore, requires no description here. Instead of a Greek spear, from seven to ten feet long, or a Macedonian spear, twenty feet long, to be kept in the hand during the charge, the Roman soldier had two javelins, six feet long, to be thrown from a distance not exceeding twenty steps, and when he closed with the enemy, his only weapon was a short, heavy sword, two feet long, including the hilt, and about two and a half inches wide, with cutting edges. The soldier was taught to rely chiefly on the point of the sword for execution; and dependence upon it taught him to seek the closest contact with the enemy, and, after a little experience, gave him that confidence which is the greatest aid to victory. Since the introduction of long-range firearms into armies, the sword and shield have lost all their value, and drill has decreased greatly in importance. In their arms the Romans were

superior to all other ancient nations; in their tactics they were superior to all except the Spartans.

The javelin, or *pilum*, as the Roman called it, had a wooden shaft an inch and a half thick, and an iron head, the whole weighing about two pounds and a half. The point was soft, so that if it struck hard metallic armor it would bend and thus be unfit to be thrown back. In many cases the javelin was cast to fasten it in the wooden shield, which was thus loaded down so that it became unserviceable. The enemy, unable to draw out the javelin in the midst of the battle, and unwilling to fight without his shield, usually fled. For the purpose of using the javelin advantageously the ranks were open. The first rank having thrown their missiles stepped back to let the second rank deliver their fire, and then the third; and finally, drawing their swords and closing their ranks, they rushed upon the foe. By no other army well known to us was the javelin used with so much efficiency as by that of Rome.²

SEC. 431. *The Legion*.—The legion, or regiment, in early times comprised four thousand two hundred, and in the late republic, six thousand men. These were divided into ten cohorts, each of which had three companies; and a company was divided into two half companies, each commanded by its captain or centurion. The legion had sixty captains, of whom no two held the same rank. Every cohort, each company, and each half company was numbered, and the centurion in the first half company, in the first company in the first cohort, outranked all the other centurions in his legion. He had served in all the inferior captaincies of his legion, and was a member of the military council. Usually, in historical times, at least, the centurions were plebeians, and did not expect to ob-

tain any higher command. They were appointed by the consul or general. The regimental staff of the legion consisted of six military tribunes, who were usually selected from nobles who had served in the ranks through at least five campaigns. In the early republic they were appointed by the consuls; in later times some were elected by the people and others appointed.

The Roman legion had what may be called a regimental organization, but was much larger than any other regiment known to us, except the Macedonian phalanx. Its number implied a considerable population and a policy of conquest. It included some cavalry and in this respect resembled a modern army corps more than a regiment, but in most of its features it was the equivalent of the latter body.

There were various changes in the arms of the legions, but their history is not well known. Until the time of Marius, who gave javelins to every man, one-third of the men in each legion carried spears eight feet long. According to Sallust, Cæsar, who is the best of authorities, said the Romans copied the arms of the Samnites; whereas another report says they adopted the Spanish sword in the second Punic War.

Great importance was attached to the encampment. An engineer, sent in advance, selected the site and marked off the lines of the walls, streets, and lots. An established system fixed the relative positions of the headquarters of every legion, every company, and every half company, of the camp followers, artillery, pack animals, and baggage. The same system prescribed the duties of every man when going into, and when leaving, camp, and for many of these duties well-known signals were given by trumpet.

The camp must always be fortified, even in a friendly country, by a ditch and wall, each of which, in the proximity of a formidable enemy, must have a width of at least twelve feet, with an equal depth or height, and the wall must be surmounted by a strong palisade, rising six feet above the ground. This system of fortification imposed much labor on the Roman armies, but enabled them to select their own time for fighting, a matter of very great importance when, as often happened, there was serious difficulty in getting supplies of food. A proverb of the Romans said that they conquered by sitting down. Besides his arms, armor, provisions, and bedding, the Roman soldier on the march had to carry three or more stakes, each three inches thick and eight feet long, for palisades. The total weight was sixty pounds or more.

A political adjunct of the Roman military system was the custom of establishing colonies of Romans or allies in the conquered regions. The colonists were supplied with arms, slaves, cattle, lands, walls, and superior political privileges, so that they enjoyed a kind of nobility, ruling over the subordinate natives. The sites of the colonies were selected with special regard to their military advantages, and their fortifications were among the chief sources of the strength of Rome in war.

Every legion had engineers, who selected the camping-places, directed the fortifications, and the work in the trenches and mines in sieges, and took charge of the artillery. It is probable that every army had its surgeons, but no mention is made of them by any Roman author.

The cavalry of the Romans was neither good nor numerous. Its inferiority to that of the Numidians, Gauls, and Thracians was admitted. About three hundred horsemen belonged to every legion. The Romans

disliked the sea, and for the construction and management of their war ships, depended mainly on allies, mercenaries, and slaves. In the first Punic War they gained some important naval victories, for which they were more indebted to their valor as soldiers than to their skill as mariners.

The war ships of the Romans were mostly quinqueremes, or vessels with five tiers of oars. The length was one hundred and seventy feet; the width at the water line, eighteen feet. Each tier had thirty rowers on a side, so that the complement for the vessel was three hundred. The Romans allowed one hundred and twenty soldiers to a quinquereme in addition to the oarsmen. Many of their naval officers were Greek freedmen.¹

SEC. 432. *Main Features.*—The main features of the Roman constitution, as it is reported to have stood soon after the establishment of the mixed aristocracy, have been explained in preceding sections. The true legislative authority of the senate, with the customary right of initiating and finally confirming legislative enactments, had, so far as we know, no parallel in the contemporaneous cities of Greece, though it probably existed among the earlier Hellenic aristocracies. Its possession by a body which comprised all the tried and experienced political and military talents of the state, secured the adoption of a steadfast policy in foreign and domestic relations. This and expansive citizenship were the two main original features and distinguishing characteristics of the Roman constitution. The division of the chief executive authority between two officials of equal power may have been copied from Sparta, and their annual terms from Athens; the life tenure of the senators, from Sparta and the Areopagus of Athens; and the

transfer of all ex-consuls to the senate may have been suggested by the promotion of the ex-archons of Athens to life membership in the Areopagus.

The limitation of the high magistracy to a single year, and the customs of choosing new men for every term, and of considering ten years of creditable military service as an indispensable qualification for the consulship, provided for the senate a good supply of men who had held the highest political and military offices, and who by their official experience and personal dignity would be protected against the danger of falling under the control of petty cliques, the influence of which is one of the chief evils of legislative bodies and administrative boards.

The popular assembly of Rome was far inferior in dignity and influence to that of Athens. Its members were not a homogeneous body like the Athenians, but a collection of distinct classes more or less hostile to each other. The measures proposed to it were prepared by an independent senate, and on many occasions were not explained, but were simply submitted with a statement that the welfare of the republic required the enactment. The division of the people into separate groups, which were to be counted, while the number of citizens on either side were not; the custom of voting upon important bills by an assemblage which had heard no discussion of the principles and interests involved; and the exclusion of the people from the privileges of initiating and finally enacting laws, were aristocratic features of the constitution. In Athens all, but in Rome relatively few, of the political orations were addressed to the multitude. In the former city the political control was held by a majority of the people; in the latter, by a majority of the nobles,

According to her traditions, Rome began her career by consolidating people of different nationalities into one state; and, in later times, she adhered to the same policy, giving to the inhabitants of conquered provinces equal political rights with her older citizens, until finally she conferred her full citizenship upon every freeman under her dominion. This system of naturalization was one of the chief sources of her power. Among ancient republics Rome alone adopted the rule of annexing territory, with the condition that its free inhabitants should possess equal political rights with her own freemen.

SEC. 433. *Sacred Mount*.—We are told that soon after the establishment of the republic, in 495 B. C., there was a rebellion of the plebeians. Their discontent, provoked by oppressive laws of debt, broke out in a succession of disturbances extending through several years. About the beginning of the trouble, the Volscians invaded the Roman territory, and were welcomed by the plebeians, who declared that they preferred slaughter by foreigners to enslavement by their patrician fellow-citizens. Livy says that they were “overwhelmed with debt,” and he conveys the idea that they were almost unanimous in their determination to resist the noble creditors. Under these circumstances, the patricians besought the consul Servilius, who was popular with the plebeians, to conciliate them, and he did so in a speech which has been reported to us, and which should not have had the least influence on men oppressed as, it is said, they were. He told them that “the senators desired to protect the interests of the plebeians;” and they, satisfied with this unmeaning promise, enrolled themselves in his army, and defeated the invaders.¹ When the victorious army returned, the debtors were immediately seized and impris-

oned or enslaved as before, and the senate refused relief. The next year there was another invasion by Volscians and Sabines, acting in concert. The peril was so great that a dictator was appointed, Valerius being selected because of his popularity with the commoners. He appealed to them to enter the army, repeated the assurance of Servilius about the good intentions of the senate, and the plebeians were foolish enough to be satisfied with this, instead of exacting an explicit promise of relief. They enrolled themselves in the army, and conquered the enemy. When peace had been restored, the money lenders had influence enough to prevent the senate from granting any relief to the debtors, whereupon Valerius resigned the dictatorship and gave a decided expression to his dissatisfaction with the violation of the promises made to the commoners.

The army of 18,000 plebeians openly rebelled. Encouraged by the approval of the general public, it remained in camp for several days on the Aventine Hill, determined to insist upon the protection of plebeian rights. Then in utter disregard of the plainest rules of common sense, this army, in possession of the city which inclosed their homes, families, and temples, their ancestral city, which had strong walls and an excellent military and commercial situation, this army, holding a position in which they could dictate terms to the patricians, marched out three miles to the Sacred Mount, a low hill near a small tributary of the Tiber, and there they camped and threatened to build a new city of their own. Their new site was not well chosen for either fortification or trade. It had no cliff or high elevation like that of the capitol hill in Rome; and its stream, besides being too small for navigation, entered the Tiber above the old city, where

all ships could be stopped. And even if the site had otherwise been excellent, it was evident that while Rome stood no formidable city could be built within three miles. Those who were unable to maintain themselves when in possession of the fortifications, surely could not build a hostile city on the Sacred Mount, a place not suitable for either defense or commerce.

However astonishing their withdrawal may appear to us, the subsequent conduct attributed to them is still more unreasonable. According to Livy they returned to their homes and their Roman allegiance without release from their debts, without limitation of the rate of interest, without the abolition of debt slavery, without the right of holding office, and marrying into patrician families; and, in short, without anything save a promise that they were to be protected against the consuls by tribunes. But the power of these tribunes was not explicitly defined, and they were to be elected by the centuries which were under the control of the patricians. A greater justification, a more formidable organization, and a more pitiful achievement of a revolutionary party, are not to be found in history. According to Dionysius, the debts were canceled, but even if such a concession was made, it was entirely inadequate to the provocation and to the power of the plebeians.

There is reason to doubt whether the oppression of debt was ever publicly announced by rebels as the main motive of their rebellion. Such an outbreak is unknown in authentic history. If the debtors ever undertook to throw off the political yoke of the creditors, mainly because of the debt, they gave some other pretext for their action. In disorders that had their origin in other sources, debtors have frequently done their utmost to in-

crease the confusion for the purpose of obtaining relief from their pecuniary burdens. Such occurrences, however, have been observed not in poor communities, but in great and luxurious cities, such as Rome was in the time of Cicero, and the leaders have been not poor plebeians, but nobles like Catiline, who had squandered fortunes and were willing to die in the attempt to become masters of the state.

In a rude and warlike community, as Rome was about 500 B. C., the plebeians generally would not have credit enough to borrow much money, and, indeed, at that time the Romans had not yet begun to coin money. The great majority of the debtors among the plebeians would naturally be not borrowers but tenants unable to pay their rent, a class which Livy and Dionysius do not mention as having anything to do with this revolution. Nor do these authors say anything of patricians, either insolvent or embarrassed by their debts, though we know that the nobles of ancient Rome, like those of modern England, frequently borrowed large sums.

We have now examined both the motive and the method of this revolution of republican Rome in 495 B. C., and we have found that neither deserves credence. We cannot safely say more of it than that perhaps there was a revolution in that year, and that in it perhaps the office of tribune of the people had its origin.

SEC. 434. *Tribunes*.—The office of plebeian tribune was treated as a concession to the commoners whom it was designed to protect. The tribune then or afterwards acquired authority to stop immediately and finally by his spoken order legislative action of every kind, either in the senate or in the centuriate assembly, and administrative and judicial proceedings of many kinds. His

power was so great that he could paralyze the government. He had extensive judicial powers ; he could arrest, try, and punish all, even consuls, who violated his legitimate orders. His person was inviolable, and it was a crime to interrupt him when speaking officially. His dwelling, which was also his office, was open at all hours of day and night, so that the plebeians should always be able to find a protector. His authority did not extend beyond the walls, and in the city was negative rather than positive. Its main purpose was to check the arbitrary conduct of the consuls. He could forbid the enactment of laws, or counting of votes in elections, and obstruct the execution of consular orders or regulations, but he could not prevent the enforcement of rights clearly defined in laws fully adopted by the senate and people.

The patricians could at any time deprive the tribunes of power by the appointment of a dictator, or by the adoption of a senatorial resolution instructing the consuls to provide for the safety of the republic, and both these measures appeared frequently in the history of Rome. In either case martial law became dominant, and the presiding magistrate acquired an authority in the city similar to that which he held at the head of an army in the field, and with less responsibility, for he could not be called to account subsequently for his official acts.

The tribunes were attended by bailiffs, who executed their orders and were assisted by plebeian ædiles, who had charge of the official records of the plebeians' assemblages, including those resolutions of the senate transmitted to the plebeians for their official approval.

SEC. 435. *Agrarianism*.—The first agrarian excitement of Rome, in 486 B. C., was succeeded by many others, which occurred at intervals for more than three centuries

and a half. About these troubles, as about many other events in the historical as well as in the legendary period, no Roman historian wrote with fullness and precision, and, therefore, we must depend for our information mainly on inferences and conjectures.

Rome confiscated one-third or more of the territory which she conquered in Italy, and then granted this confiscated portion to her citizens as owners in fee, or tenants at will; the tenancy being accompanied with the obligation of paying rent, which was in coin, or cattle, for the use of common pasture, one-tenth of the crop for land in grain and one-fifth of the crop for vineyard, or olive orchard. The rent charges were so low that they left a good profit to the tenants. But the state lists of the confiscated tracts were so defective that in extensive districts there was no official record of the limits of the public property, and the claims of the occupants that they were owners could not be disproved.

The rule of the old aristocracy, that the public land was reserved for the use of the nobles, remained in full force in the early years of the mixed aristocracy, but was afterwards repeatedly modified by special enactments, called agrarian laws, which provided that small tracts, usually three or five acres, should be assigned to such commoners as wished to settle on them. These laws diminished the areas open to the nobles, but did not otherwise reduce their privileges. Without direct permission from the legislative department of the government, and with some informal approval of a local official, the noble could take possession of a large tract, a thousand acres or more, while the commoners could not get a score of acres without a special law, a precise survey, and careful supervision by state commissioners.

A district of public land when first thrown open to citizens was usually on the border of the state, near to foreign territory, and still occupied in part by the former inhabitants, who had been vanquished, and in part, at least, despoiled of their possessions. Many of these people took every safe opportunity to injure the new settlers. Neither life nor property was secure. The Romans could not venture to dwell in small families remote from each other. For protection against marauders and invaders, it was important that there should be numerous strongholds in which the women and children should be kept, or to which, on brief notice, they could be transferred; and that the land should be used rather for pasturage than for tillage. Herds could be driven away on the approach of an enemy, while grain, fruit trees, and vines, because of their stationary character, were in greater danger of destruction. The noble estate of a thousand acres could be used advantageously for pasturage; the commoner's lot of five acres could not.

After a generation or two the property became more productive. The houses destroyed, and the orchards and vineyards cut down, at the time of the conquest, were restored. The hostile inhabitants had disappeared. The frontier having moved forward, perhaps fifty or a hundred miles, there was far less danger of invasion. When the land became desirable to the small farmer, then the commoners claimed a share of the district which they or their fathers, as the bulk of the army, had conquered.

To such demands the nobles made bitter opposition. They were quite willing that any citizen should have a piece of public land, proportioned to his social rank, but wanted him to take it before it had become subject to the prescriptive right of patrician occupation. When the

nobles took the land on the frontier, they did it with much risk and with frequent serious loss to themselves; and by maintaining possession, they had rendered great service to the state. To deprive them of the property so soon as it became the source of secure profit would be highly unfair. The great inequality in the size of the tracts, the differences in the circumstances under which they had been originally occupied, and the varieties of the dangers which the occupants had encountered in early and late years, rendered it difficult to devise plans which would not be the source of much injustice to a considerable proportion of those dispossessed, while it was obviously unjust to entirely exclude the plebeians.

These remarks are intended as a general introduction to the agrarian agitations, the first of which, as was stated in the beginning of this section, is attributed in Roman legend to the year 486 B. C., when Spurius Cassius, as consul, proposed to give tracts of public land to plebeians. His scheme was met by the patricians with angry denunciation, and he was silenced by murder. Of the situation or quantity of the land which he wished to divide, or of the other details of his scheme, we know nothing. No measures were taken to punish his murderers; and more than a generation elapsed before anything was again heard of an agrarian law.

SEC. 436. *Tribal Assembly*.—In 471 B. C. some bills in the nature of constitutional amendments, proposed by Publilius Volero, were adopted. One of them provided that the tribunes of the people, five in number, should be elected, not by the centuriate assembly as before,¹ but by an assembly of the tribes, which was controlled by, if not composed exclusively of, plebeians. It is probable that the election of plebeian ædiles, who were officers of

some streets and markets and had charge of certain public buildings, was given at the same time to the tribal assembly which now took a permanent place in the government.

The legend says that another in the series of Publilian laws gave a share of the legislative authority to the tribal assembly; but this statement is doubtful, because such a concession should not be expected in this stage of political development, and because the next twenty years were not marked by the events which might have been expected if the plebeian assembly had been admitted in 471 B. C. to participate equally with the centuriate assembly in the law-making power.

There have been instances, as in the English *Habeas Corpus*, in which certain rights have been guaranteed to the people in a succession of official documents; but those are not analogous to the bestowal of a large share in the government on a popular assembly previously provided with the means and the motives of defending and increasing its privileges.

To observe the natural course of development in a political society somewhat similar to that of the Roman republic in the first two centuries of its existence, we must go back to Athens, the mother of democracy. The first important concession which that city, after establishing the strict aristocracy, made to popular rights was the reform of Draco, who compiled and published the laws previously the secret possession of some few nobles. Her next concession was the reform of Solon, who abolished enslavement for debt; opened the highest offices to rich commoners; admitted all adult male citizens with an equal vote into the popular assembly, which possessed exclusive legislative power and supreme and direct con-

trol over all branches of the government; and the establishment of a senate, annually chosen from the citizens generally, with power to prepare bills, and supervise the administration, as representatives of the assembly, when the latter was not in session. The third important reform in Athens was that of Cleisthenes, who provided for regular and frequent meetings of the assembly so that it could exercise its powers efficiently; and who made a new apportionment of voters in such a manner that the nobles could no longer control the votes as they had done previously. The fourth and last reform, establishing a complete equality of all political rights in Athens, was that of Aristides, who threw open all the offices to all adult male citizens.

In Rome, according to Livy, the corresponding order of events comprised, first, the admission of all plebeians to a vote in the popular assembly under such restrictions that the poor citizens, who were a large majority, had very little influence in the government; second, the creation of the office of tribune, who, though selected under patrician control, was to protect the plebeians against patrician oppression; third, the transfer of the election of tribunes to the plebeian tribes, and the endowment of those tribes with a share in the legislative power; fourth, the compilation and publication of the laws; fifth, the opening of all offices to the plebeians, but under such circumstances that poor citizens could very rarely be elected; and sixth, the abolition of enslavement for debt. In Rome the poor plebeians never had an equal vote in the election of the highest officers, and the tribal assembly never acquired exclusive legislative authority or direct and continuous control of the administration.

The disparity in the march of liberal institutions in the

two leading republics of antiquity does not prove that the less trustworthy story of Rome is false, but it suffices to strengthen our doubts in regard to Livy's statement that the tribes were permitted in 471 B. C. to participate in legislation.

SEC. 437. *XII Tables*.—In 449 and 448 B. C. a series of written laws, known as the XII Tables, prepared by the decemvirs, were enacted. They were a summary of the main principles of civil and constitutional law that in the opinion of the leading men of Rome needed explicit statement. The first table, or chapter, treated of proceedings preliminary to trial; the second, of trial; the third, of execution of the judgment; the fourth, of paternal power; the fifth, of inheritance and guardianship; the sixth, of ownership and possession; the seventh, of real property; the eighth, of torts; the ninth, of public land; the tenth, of sacred law; the eleventh, of marriage; and the twelfth, of sacerdotal affairs.

Many fragments of these laws have been preserved, but we have no complete copy of any one table; and in regard to many of the sentences and sections there are reasons to doubt whether portions may not be missing. The portions now in our possession have been arranged in paragraphs, of which there are one hundred and five; on an average, about nine to a table. Of these paragraphs some are here copied from Hunter.¹ The chapters, or tables, are indicated by the Roman, and the paragraphs by the Arabic numerals.

I. 1. "When summoned in a civil suit by the plaintiff, the defendant shall go with him to the magistrate; and if he refuses, the plaintiff, calling a bystander to witness, may take him by force."

I. 6. "If the parties do not agree, the plaintiff shall state his case to the magistrate before noon."

I. 7. "If one of the litigants has not appeared by midday [on the second day of the hearing], the magistrate shall render judgment for the other."

II. 2. "Theft may be the subject of compromise."

III. 5. "A delinquent debtor may be kept in chains for sixty days, in the course of which he must be brought before the Prætor in the forum on three successive market days, and the amount of the debt shall be publicly declared. After the third market day, the debtor may be punished with death or sold into slavery beyond the Tiber."

III. 6. "After the third market day, the creditors [if there be more than one] may cut [off] their several portions [respective proportions] of his body; and anyone who cuts more or less than his just share shall be held guiltless."

IV. 2. "During his whole life the father shall have absolute power over his legitimate children. He may imprison or scourge his son, or keep him at work in fetters, or sell him, or put him to death, even though the son had been famous for his public services and had held the highest offices in the state."

V. 3. "The provisions of the will of a father of a family concerning his property and the guardianship of his family shall be enforced."

V. 4. "If the father of a family die intestate and without near heirs, the property shall pass to his nearest relative in the male line."

V. 5. "If he has no such relative, the property shall pass to his clansmen."

VI. 3. "A prescriptive title is acquired after two years' possession in the case of realty; after one year's possession in the case of other property."

VIII. 2. "If a man break the limb of another and do not compromise the injury, he shall be liable to retaliation."

VIII. 3. "For breaking the bone of a freeman the penalty shall be three hundred pounds of copper; of a slave, one hundred and fifty pounds."

VIII. 8. "A man shall not remove his neighbor's crops to another field by incantation, nor conjure away his corn."

VIII. 17. "Title to property in stolen goods cannot be acquired by prescription."

VIII. 22. "If anyone, after consenting to be a witness of a contract, refuses to give his testimony in an action based on the contract, he may be declared infamous, excluded from the witness stand, and deprived of the right of having evidence given on his behalf."

VIII. 25. "For practicing incantations, or administering poisons, the punishment is death."

IX. 1. "No law shall be passed to affect the rights of a single individual."

IX. 2. "The centuriate assembly shall have exclusive authority to take away the life or franchise of a citizen."

IX. 4. "There shall be a right of appeal from every decision of an arbitrator, and from every penal sentence."

X. 2. "The wood of the funeral pile shall not be smoothed with the axe."

X. 3. "Not more than three mourners wearing the mourning veil, one mourner wearing a purple tunic, and ten flute players may attend a funeral."

X. 5. "Women shall not tear their cheeks, nor indulge in wailing at a funeral."

X. 7. "The bones of a person shall not be preserved for a later funeral unless he died in battle or in a foreign country."

X. 8. "No person shall have more than one funeral or more than one bier."

XI. 1. "Patricians shall not intermarry with plebeians."

XII. 4. "While a thing is in litigation it shall not be consecrated to religious purposes, under a penalty of double its value."

The twenty-seven paragraphs of the XII Tables above quoted are in number of words about one-fifth, and, in significance, the most important portions of all that have come down to us. It is supposed that the extracts now in our possession covered more than half the space on the original plates.

SEC. 438. *Rude Justice*.—These passages from the XII Tables contain conclusive proof that in 450 B. C. the Romans were a very rude people, without extensive commerce, refined manners, well organized courts of record, or any high conception of human dignity. The powers of the creditor over the delinquent debtor, and of the father over the son, the money penalties for breaking bones, and the privilege of retaliating for a broken bone not compromised, are indications of barbarous rather than of civilized culture. Under this code there was no written complaint, no clerk required to issue a notice to the defendant, and no bailiff to serve such a notice or to summon witnesses. A lawsuit did not begin until both parties were in the presence of the magistrate. He who was not strong enough, with the aid of his friends or adherents, to drag his adversary to the Forum was not secure of getting a hearing. The force which the plaintiff might use lawfully in taking the defendant to the magistrate included not only the physical strength of his retinue, but the application of their weapons needed to overcome resistance. The law allowed each side to use its

power. The rich patrician, who never ventured into the street without a large troop of clients, could always force his adversary to trial, and never could be forced except by some other patrician who had a still larger retinue.

In a civil suit the judgment was rendered not against the property but against the person of the debtor. If the latter refused, or failed to satisfy the judgment, he could be sold, and he was allowed two months' time before a valid sale could be made. It was supposed that in that period he and his friends would do their utmost to pay the debt. If there were several creditors, the insolvent debtor might be cut to pieces, each taking what he considered his share; and even if he took more than his fair proportion, he was not held responsible for the error. This is the most barbarous provision in any written code of law preserved to our time, but we have no account that it was ever enforced. Some modern authors have asserted that the cutting of the body of the delinquent debtor meant merely the division of his estate, but this interpretation is rejected by the leading authorities. There would have been no serious difficulty in dividing the estate in proportion to the various debts; and the law would not have permitted one creditor to take more than his share of money or land.

As the defendant was dragged to the court, so, after the judgment against him, he was dragged away by the creditor, who, in his own house, and in his own manner, imprisoned, and, if he saw fit, enchained his victim. There was no public prison for the delinquent debtor, no official supervision of the method in which he was treated, during the sixty days which must elapse after judgment before he could be legally enslaved or executed.

The right of appeal from a judicial sentence of death

was equivalent to the abolition of capital punishment for citizens. Never was a tribunal less fit to hear lawsuits attentively, and to decide them with a proper regard to the public welfare, than the popular assembly of Rome, acting through its timocratic groups. The great majority of the voters, who numbered more than 80,000, if Livy be correct, could not hear any witness or advocate, and they were too coarse to care much for any case in which they had not some pecuniary or partisan interest. Neither consuls nor people wanted to be bothered with trials of ordinary murders. If appeals were taken in such cases, they usually never came to a hearing, and the accused was not noticed afterwards by the officers of the law, on account of the sentence hanging over him. The judges, seeing that they were unable to inflict capital punishment, condemned the worst criminals to banishment from Rome.

The exemption of the Romans from capital punishment had a demoralizing influence on them. Assassinations were frequent. Since the law would not punish murder adequately, relatives and friends made a practice of using their daggers. There was no efficient police. Wealthy men and influential politicians, usually, went about the streets accompanied by armed dependants, ready for the fray, and when engaged in angry controversy, their meetings with enemies frequently led to riots.

Persons not citizens, whether aliens or allies, had no right of appeal; and their inferiority in legal privileges stimulated the ruder class of Romans to treat them with habitual insolence and with frequent outrage. The rights of citizens were declared to be sacred, but were very inadequately protected because there was no efficient punishment for those Romans who committed crime,

Still more inadequate was the protection accorded to allies and aliens.

The provision in regard to retaliation for the breaking of the limb makes no exception for unintentional injury, as the law of retaliation among savages makes none; but it is possible that the paragraph as we now have it is incomplete or that judicial interpretation supplied the defect in the phraseology. Severe personal injury inflicted maliciously might be compromised, and so might theft. The state did not concern itself with such matters except upon complaint.

The provisions in relation to funerals are of sumptuary character, and indicate that the Roman people in the Vth century B. C. made extravagant shows of their pretended mourning. The methods of instituting civil suits, of delivering the insolvent debtor into the custody of the creditor to be imprisoned for two months and then sold into slavery or slain, and of treating mayhem and theft as private and not public offenses, are very remarkable features in a code of written law, which was praised by some of the Latin authors (who, as a class, knew little about the laws and cared little about the rights of other countries) as "the source of all public and private justice," as Livy styles it; and as the statement of "the soundest principles of government and morals," according to the extravagance of Cicero. The latter author lauds their superiority over the "rude and almost ridiculous jurisprudence" of Solon, a comparison that furnishes one of the most signal proofs of the untrustworthiness of the great Latin orator as lawyer and historian.

Among the new principles introduced into the Roman law by the XII Tables, were the provisions that property might be conveyed by will; that a son became his own

master when he was liberated after his father had sold him into slavery a third time; and that a son who was independent of paternal control should not be an heir of any portion of his father's estate under the general law of inheritance.

SEC. 439. *Formulas*.—Though there was no written complaint, answer, or demurrer in civil cases, custom required compliance with a precise oral formula. If, for instance, the suit was for 10,000 pounds of bronze, the plaintiff, in the presence of the magistrate, said to the defendant: "I declare that you owe me 10,000 pounds of bronze." The defendant replied, "I declare that I do not owe you 10,000 pounds of bronze." The plaintiff said, "I challenge you to a bet of 500 pounds of bronze that you do owe me the 10,000." The defendant responded that he accepted the bet. Each then deposited the amount of the bet or gave security; and the trial was either held immediately, or on some other day then fixed. If the plaintiff proved his averment, he got judgment for his claim and the stakes; if he failed, the defendant took the stakes. And he failed if the proof showed a debt less, by the least fraction, than the whole sum claimed.

In many respects the procedure was highly technical. The XII Tables authorized suit to recover damages for injury to "trees;" and the courts held that the trees included vines; but the complaint must say that the suit was for damage to "trees." If it said "vines," the plaintiff would be non-suited; if it said "trees," the averment would cover evidence relating to vines.

To get a legal title to a cow, a horse, a slave, a house, or a piece of land, it was necessary to go through a process called manual seizure (*mancipatio*), which required the presence of the seller, the buyer, the object of sale,

and of six Roman citizens, adult males, as witnesses, of whom one held a scale. The buyer, while resting his hand on the slave, if a slave was to be bought, struck the scale with a coin or piece of metal, and said: "I declare that this slave is mine by Roman law, and that I have purchased him with this money and scale." Without this formula, the legal title did not pass. Its use implied that it had its origin when the medium of exchange was uncoined metal, the value of which was ascertained by weight; and its application to the sale of land and houses implied a time when real estate was owned by clans, not individuals, and was not an object of sale. Written certificates of title and bills of sale were rare if not unknown in Roman law until a late period of the empire. Agreement and payment were sufficient to give title to things not mentioned among those transferred by manual seizure.

A will was not valid unless made under a form similar to that required for the sale of a slave. After the testator had declared the provisions of his will in the presence of the six witnesses, the executor, who was an indispensable party,—though his functions were not the same as those of the executor under the English law,—after striking the scale with the coin said: "In so far as you, by public law, have the right to make a will, let your estate and money be brought into my charge, guardianship, and custody, being purchased by me with this piece of brass."¹

A contract of sale conveyed with it an implied guaranty that the thing sold was serviceable and as good as it appeared to be. As Hadley expresses it, "the buyer was entitled to have an article as good as he supposed, and might reasonably suppose, he was getting when he bought,

If he failed in this, and the defects were so great as to make the article practically worthless for him, he could claim the annulment of the bargain. If the defects were less serious, he could insist on a diminution of the price, or if he had paid, on the return to him of part of the purchase money." ²

It was the duty of the vendor to declare all the defects which he knew in the thing sold; and he was responsible for any serious fault which he did not know, unless he protected himself by an explicit declaration that the buyer made the purchase at his own risk. The Roman law said practically, "Let the seller beware;" as the English law says, "Let the buyer beware."

Contracts for the future payment of money or delivery of merchandise were not made by written agreement but by oral stipulation, according to a precise form, with question and answer, the latter following the former without modification except by changing interrogation into affirmation. Thus a promise to pay 10,000 sesterces on the first day of the next month would be preceded by a question, "Do you promise to pay," etc. The response and the question taken together made the legal obligation. If the response was a promise to pay a larger or smaller sum or to pay that sum on another day, there was no legal contract.

Though brief, the decemviral code was comprehensive. It included constitutional provisions, definitions of civil right, methods of civil procedure, criminal law, and ecclesiastical regulations. On account of its crudeness and of the growth of the Roman people, it was soon amended; and within three centuries nearly all its clauses were repealed or seriously changed. But its tables were still exposed in the Forum to the inspection and veneration

tion of the public, while the hundreds or thousands of repealing or modifying laws were stored away in vaults, where they were hidden from the general public; and each of these laws related to some one subject of narrow scope and of no interest to anyone save the professional jurist or the exceptional litigant. For more than five centuries the XII Tables continued to be the only comprehensive collection of legal rules enacted by the state as of durable authority; and for this reason they were praised and venerated far beyond their merits.

SEC. 440. *Decemvirs*.—The XII Tables grew out of an agitation among the plebeians for the publication of the laws, and for more liberality in the constitution. The law had been a secret possession of the patrician, and in many cases the commoner could not learn its requirements until judgment was rendered against him for debt or crime. Such law as existed was, to a large extent, a matter of opinion, vague custom, and judicial discretion; and before patrician judges, the plebeian was at a great disadvantage.

The constitution was amended by abolishing the consular and tribunitian offices, and by creating in their place, the offices of the decemvirs, or ten ministers, who were to be annually elected by the centuriate assembly, and were to have the powers similar to those of the consuls. The plebeians expected that some of their order would be chosen to the first board of decemvirs, but in this hope they were disappointed. The successful candidates chosen in 450 B. C. were all patricians. They compiled ten tables of laws, which, after adoption by the senate and centuriate assembly, were engraved on ten copper plates, and posted up in the Forum for the information of the people. Their administration gave

satisfaction to all classes, and they retired with credit at the end of the year. At the second election for decemvirs, five plebeians and five patricians were elected. The new men soon assumed despotic power. They did not convene the senate or the popular assembly. They divided all the high functions of the administration among themselves, under an agreement that each should have exclusive control of his own department. They compiled two additional tables of law, and without enactment by the people, declared them in full force, and published them on copper tables.

At the end of the year for which they were chosen they did not order a new election. They continued to exercise their power as if they had been elected for an indefinite term or for life, and as if the senate and the centuriate and tribal assemblies had been abolished. Their usurpation gave great offense to the patricians, who, instead of undertaking to defend the privileges of their order, merely left the city to make their homes on their rural estates. The readiness to engage in civil war to defend their class interests shown by the senators in historical times did not appear on this occasion.

The plebeians had almost as much reason for dissatisfaction as had the patricians. The usurpers had not adopted the policy, usual among tyrants, of protecting the poor against the rich. They had recognized slavery for debt, the exclusion of the plebeians from office, and the prohibition of intermarriage between the two classes of citizens—the greatest grievances of the plebeians. They had deprived the commoners, as well as the nobles, of a voice in enacting laws and electing rulers. But the patricians were as submissive as the plebeians. Armies were organized and sent away to meet invading enemies

without the least movement against the domestic tyrants. Quiet prevailed until Appius Claudius, the leading man among the decemvirs, and the one who held the position of chief judge, undertook, with lustful motives, to use his judicial authority for the purpose of enslaving Virginia, a beautiful and virtuous maiden of a respectable plebeian family. Virginius, her father, unable otherwise to defeat the scheme of the tyrant, slew her in the Forum, and then, appealing to the multitude, gained their approval, and started a revolution which brought about the overthrow of the decemvirate.

Livy's story, which has been accepted in nearly all the histories of Rome, and the main points of which have been given here, abounds with improbabilities. It requires us to believe that, without receiving any guaranty of compensation, the plebeians consented to the abolition of the tribuneship and the tribal assembly; that though all the decemvirs chosen in 450 B. C. were patricians, half of the number elected on the next year were plebeians; that this change was made without any known reason; that for several years afterwards no plebeian was elected to or was qualified to hold the consular office; that the five plebeian decemvirs consented to the clauses excluding their order from office and forbidding the intermarriage of their order with the nobles; and that the ten decemvirs, instead of quarreling about their respective shares of usurped power, agreed as to the manner of its distribution, and then exercised it harmoniously for month after month!

The conduct of the legions in this revolution was not less wonderful, according to the story of Livy, than that of the patricians and decemvirs. Two armies, nearly all plebeians, numbering together 30,000 men, having heard,

while in service against foreign enemies, of the affair of Virginia and of the outbreak in the city, returned to Rome, for the purpose of overthrowing the tyrants. These armies entered the city without resistance, remained there several days in idleness, and then, though the tyrants had no military force, imitating the conduct ascribed to their fathers and grandfathers in 495 B. C., deserted their city, houses, wives, children, provisions, and fortifications, for the Sacred Mount, where they camped. Thither they were followed by the other men of their own order, leaving Rome almost without male inhabitants. The decemvirs perceiving that their rule was at an end, convened the senate, which body deputed Valerius and Horatius, two of their number known to be in favor with the plebeians, to make a compromise. These deputies went to the Sacred Mount and induced the plebeians to return to their homes by promising that the tribuneship and the tribal assembly should be restored; that the enactments of the tribal assembly should be accepted as laws by all classes; and that Appius Claudius should be punished. The plebeians are here represented as having separated themselves completely in a territorial and in a political sense from the patricians, and as possessing unquestioned power to dictate their own terms, and as having made no effort to abolish slavery for debt, or to open the highest offices of state to all citizens, or to repeal the prohibition of marriage between plebeian and patrician. If this be truth, then truth may be more incredible than fiction. Authentic history records many instances of civil war between nobles and commoners, but not one in which the poor, when they acquired the power, neglected to put themselves on a complete political equality with the rich; and it records

many cases in which the commoners, besides depriving the nobles of their superior political privileges, banished them, confiscated their property, or declared them incompetent to hold office. Legendary Rome is a solitary exception.

Although we are told that the first ten tables were framed by the good board of decemvirs, and the last two by the bad board; yet the most barbarous section in the whole code and the one that was the source of the greatest misery to the plebeians as a class, was the one on the fourth table authorizing the enslavement of the insolvent debtor. We are told further that the last two sections never were adopted by the people, and yet they were recognized as valid, and were treated with the same honor and reverence given to the other parts of the decemviral code. Historians and jurists never spoke of "the Ten Tables," nor of any attempt to repudiate or repeal them.

The statements of Livy about the decemvirs and their code are, as Arnold says of a portion of the Roman history two centuries later, "as perplexing and incongruous as a dream."¹ More probable are the conjectures that the decemviral office was not organized as a concession to the plebeians; that all the members of two boards were patricians; that the revolution of 448 B. C. was provoked, not by the tyranny of the decemvirs but by the harshness of the XII Tables to the plebeians; that a civil war ensued; and that peace was restored by a compromise providing for the establishment of the tribuneship and the tribal assembly. These conjectures harmonize, as Livy's statements do not, with the general tendency of political development in Rome, previous to the establishment of the empire.

SEC. 441. *Valerian Laws*.—Valerius and Horatius, who had acted as representatives of the patricians in making the compromise with the plebeians, were chosen consuls at the first election after the overthrow of the decemvirate, and, in accordance with their promises, they induced the senate and centuriate assembly to adopt certain measures which were known as the Valerian or Valerian-Horatian laws. The tribal assembly was re-established, with some modifications, perhaps admitting all members of the tribes, patricians as well as plebeians, and excluding all save freeholders from a vote. It is possible, too, that the centuriate organization was changed at this time so as to divide the groups on the basis, not of wealth, but of residence, giving to every tribe or district five senior and five junior groups. Such a change was introduced at some unknown time, and perhaps shortly after the middle of the Vth century B. C. The number of tribes in the late republic was thirty-five, so that then there were three hundred and fifty centuriate groups, or group votes.

The amendment conferring the power to enact laws on the tribal assembly was an important change in the constitution, but its phraseology is not quoted, nor is its precise effect described in any ancient book, and much doubt prevails in regard to it. Further remarks about the participation of the plebeians in the legislation of Rome will be reserved until we reach the Hortensian amendment, which was adopted in 286 B. C., as a re-enactment, or an amplification, of the Valerian law.

The compromise of 448 B. C. was the beginning of an active movement to enlarge the political privileges of the plebeians. The organization of the tribal assembly gave so much influence to the commoners that the

patricians were compelled to yield point after point in rapid succession. About this time the tribunes acquired, if they did not previously possess, authority to convene the senate, to take seats in the senate chamber, and to call the people together in the Forum for the purpose of listening to addresses on public questions. Only five years after the adoption of the Valerian amendments the law prohibiting marriage between patrician and plebeian was repealed, notwithstanding the angry protests of many patricians that the reform was sacrilegious.

In this matter of matrimony, as in many others, the patricians were unable to see their own interests. The bill was beneficial, not hurtful, to their class. It was a step towards depriving them of their great preponderance in the government, but it saved them from extinction. A close nobility dies out, even in a state of peace, and rapidly disappears in a community like that of Rome, engaged in arduous and destructive warfare every year, with its leaders always in the front rank, and in the most dangerous posts. The repealing bill imposed no burden on the nobles; and it offered them great privileges. It gave their young men opportunities to get rich wives, in families of superior energy and intelligence. It supplied them with a large re-enforcement of numbers, money, and brains, points in which they needed additional supplies.

SEC. 442. *Censors, etc.*—One year after the law was enacted legalizing marriage between patrician and plebeian, in 444 B. C., a law was enacted giving commoners the right of election to the consular tribuneship. Under Roman law there were three kinds of tribunitian office, those of the military tribune, of the tribune of the people or plebeian tribune, and of the consular tribune. The military tribunes were regimental officers, each legion

having six of them, with authority somewhat similar to that of the modern colonel, and without political functions. The plebeian tribune was a political official, without military functions. The consular tribune was elected in place of the consul, and had all his authority. He commanded the army, presided in the senate and popular assembly, and was the chief judge of the state. There might, however, be three, four, or six consular tribunes at one time (each to preside four, three, or two months in the senate), while there could not be more than two consuls. When the patricians found that they could no longer exclude the plebeians from the consular office, they proposed to compromise by consenting to the election of plebeians, under the condition that when one was elected, he and his colleagues should be called consular tribunes. If before the election the majority of the centuriate groups declared themselves in favor of electing consular tribunes, then plebeians were eligible. The office of consular tribune existed from 444 till 366 B. C., and then was finally abolished.

When the office of consular tribune was created and made accessible to the plebeians, some of the functions previously held by the consul were conferred on the new office of censor, which was open only to the patricians. There were two censors, elected once in five years, though their active duties were limited to the first eighteen months of their term. They prepared a list of all citizens, classified according to their rank, as senators, patricians not senators, and plebeians; and this list was presumptive evidence of certain important political rights. The man whose name was stricken from the list of senators by the censors ceased to be admitted to the senate until he had been re-instated by that body; and an order of re-

instatement was rarely made, because the censors were usually careful to exclude none save those who had brought disgrace on their rank. The censors could deprive the citizen of citizenship, and it was their duty to designate the centuriate, or tribal group, in which he could vote. These powers, and the custom of selecting censors from men of high reputation who had previously served as consuls, gave great dignity to the office, and made it an object of high ambition for the older senators. The censors could not change the political status of a citizen, unless they agreed, and custom required that they should not make such a change without a careful examination of the case, so that they could offer a plausible justification of their act if it were called in question.

Besides holding authority to fix the political condition of all citizens, the censors had general control over the regular revenues of the state, including rents from its public lands, tribute of all kinds paid by subject provinces to the imperial city, and dues levied on shipping for imports and wharfrage. This control of the revenues carried with it a general supervision of all public property from which the state derived an income.

SEC. 443. *Licinius*.—In 366 B. C. the tribune Licinius Stolo proposed and carried a series of bills, some of which were constitutional amendments. They provided that the office of consular tribune should be abolished; that two consuls should be elected annually, one of whom must be a plebeian, and the other a patrician; that the judicial authority previously held by the consul should be conferred on an official to be called prætor, to be elected annually from the patrician order; that the office of curule ædile with jurisdiction over certain public buildings, roads, streets, markets, and police justice should be

created to be filled by patricians at the annual election for consuls; that no citizen should hold more than three hundred and twenty acres of public land, nor keep more than five hundred sheep or one hundred cows on the common pastures; that on every large estate of public land a certain proportion of the laborers, or tenants, should be freemen; and that all interest on unpaid debts should be remitted.

Under the Licinian laws there was only one prætor, who was next in authority to the consul, and in the absence of the latter presided in the senate and commanded in the army. Custom soon required that the patrician candidate for consul should have been prætor, and that the candidate for prætor should have been curule ædile. Although the office of prætor was created mainly for a better administration of justice, yet knowledge of law was not made a necessary qualification for it, and few of the prætors considered it their duty to devote any time to legal study. They could appoint commissioners to take testimony and they could take the advice of jurisconsults about the law, while they themselves gave their time and their ambition to political and military affairs.

There were four curule ædiles, to each of whom a ward of the city was assigned as his special territory. The plebeian ædiles, who were the subordinates of the tribunes of the people, had charge of the city festival until 355 B. C., in which year they refused to provide such an entertainment as the senate demanded, giving it as an excuse that they were not provided with enough money from public sources, and they could not afford to pay the expense from their own money. Under these circumstances the management of the city festival was trans-

ferred to the curule ædiles, with the understanding that, whether fines levied in their courts were sufficient or not, they must provide entertainments that would please the multitude. The acceptance of this rule by the people implied that the ædile who contributed most to the show, should, other things being equal, be preferred at the next election for the prætorship, and afterwards for the consulship. Thus the high offices were reserved for the rich men who would spend their money freely to please the people. This was a great departure from the course of constitutional liberty and indicated the spirit in which the Roman republic was conducted in the historic period of its existence.

The requirement that every large tract of the public land held by any one person should have some free occupants implies that already the multiplication of slaves had become an evil, and that fears were entertained that with the enlargement of the state, its military power, which was made up of freemen, would grow relatively weaker.

The provision in reference to the limitation of estates was not enforced. No commission was organized with instructions and powers to measure and map out the public domain. Such a survey might perhaps have been made by the censors without transgressing the bounds of their authority, but they did not see fit to undertake such a labor without explicit orders. Probably most of the consuls and censors themselves, and certainly their friends and near relatives, held possessions which exceeded the limit fixed in the law.

Within a score of years after the adoption of the Licinian bills, all the political offices were thrown open to the plebeians. A commoner might become censor,

consul, prætor, or curule ædile; and by election to either of those offices, besides being entitled to the first vacancy in the senate, he became a noble, with the right of transmitting his nobility to all his descendants in the direct male line. The patricians continued to be nobles, but were compelled to submit to the political and social precedence of the ex-consuls of plebeian descent.

SEC. 444. *Plebeian Priests*.—By their authority to forbid the accomplishment of official acts proposed in methods condemned by the sacred traditions or at times when the omens were unfavorable, the priests of Rome, who in the first century and a half of the republic were all patricians, had much influence in the government. And this influence was used systematically against the demands of the plebeian party. Three sacerdotal boards were especially powerful. The pontiffs had charge of the calendar, with authority to fix the sacred, the common, and the unlucky days when certain things might and others might not be done; and also to determine the beginning and the end of the year; for the Roman years were not uniform in length, and the board of pontiffs could add a month to, or subtract a month from, the term of a consul. The augurs had charge of a large class of omens, which they alone could properly observe and interpret, and their explanations of the divine will were conclusive. The custodians of the sibylline books were exclusively authorized to examine those writings, to quote their language, and to explain their meaning. When an important enterprise was to be undertaken, one of the first things to be done was to inquire whether these books contained any predictions applicable to the case; and if so, the interpretation of the custodians controlled the conduct of the officers of state.

As the plebeians believed that the sacerdotal authority was often used against them unfairly, they demanded representation in these boards, and in 360 B. C., succeeded in obtaining the adoption of a law that five of the ten custodians of the sibylline books should belong to their order; and when, in 300 B. C., they gained half of the boards of pontiffs, and also of the augurs, they could congratulate themselves on having an equal right of appointment or election to all the legislative, judicial, sacerdotal, political, and military offices.

Some few wealthy patrician families got much more than an equal share of the high offices of state. In the period of one hundred and ninety-three years, between 366 and 173 B. C., there were three hundred and ninety-six consuls, or consular terms, counting two terms to each year; and of these terms, thirty were held by the Cornelian clan; eighteen by the Valerian; fifteen by the Æmilian; twelve each by the Claudian and Fabian; ten by the Manlian; eight each by the Sulpician and Postumian; seven by the Servilian; and five by the Quintian. This gives an aggregate of one hundred and twenty-five consular terms to ten clans, and an average of more than twelve to each.¹ Between 123 and 109 B. C. "four sons and probably two nephews of Quintus Metellus gained the consulship; five of them gained triumphs, and one was censor, while he himself had filled all the highest offices of the state."² The commoners were probably nineteen-twentieths of the free population, but they did not obtain more than half of the offices.

The Licinian law that of the two consuls chosen every year one should be a plebeian, fell into desuetude, and it became the custom to take all the candidates from the patricians or from those families which were formerly

plebeian and had been ennobled. When Cicero became consul in the last half century of the republic, it was said that he was the first commoner who had reached the consulship in a generation, and the first who had ever reached it in the first year of his eligibility.

SEC. 445. *Veii, etc.*—The tradition given in Livy that under King Servius Tullius, about 550 B. C., Rome had 80,000 adult male citizens, is not entitled to unqualified acceptance. When Athens was at the height of her prosperity, when her fleet was the most formidable in the Mediterranean, and when her power was feared at Persepolis and Thebes, she had not 40,000 citizens of military age; and it seems scarcely credible that Rome, while still nearly at the beginning of her career, with independent cities not ten miles from her walls, should have twice as many.

But she may have been already the strongest city in central Italy, and perhaps in the peninsula. Besides the advantages of her site for defense and commerce, and of her larger population, she had the other great advantages of unquestioned pre-eminence in the Latin kinship, which, in the number of citizens, in political coherence, and in military discipline, surpassed that of the Etruscans on the north and that of the Italian Greeks on the south. This Latin kinship included the Latin, Sabine, Volscian, Hernican, Samnite, Umbrian, and Picenite nationalities.

Notwithstanding frequent quarrels among themselves, each of these nationalities of the Latin kinship had a league for resisting attacks by other nationalities; and Rome had an alliance with the Latin league with a preponderant voice in its management. This league was witnessed by a treaty stipulating that "there shall be peace between the Romans and all communities of the

Latins as long as heaven and earth shall endure. They shall not wage war with each other, nor shall they call enemies into the land nor grant passage to enemies. Help shall be rendered by all in concert to any community assailed, and whatever is won in joint warfare shall be equally distributed." The treaty provided that Rome should not make a separate contract with any Latin city, but must deal with all of them on the same terms through the general league. This alliance proved to be far more beneficial to Rome than to the Latin cities; indeed, it enabled her to use them in reducing, first their neighbors and then themselves to subjection.

During the first century of the republic, Rome had a war every summer with some city in her near vicinity, and usually her campaigns added a little to her strength and wealth. But her gains were slow; in three generations she had made only two conquests of territory, one that of Ardea, twelve miles to the southwestward, and that of Fidenæ, five miles to the eastward, on the southern bank of the Tiber. Both of these states had walled towns, so small however that scarcely any traces of their existence can now be found on their abandoned sites, and so small that we cannot comprehend how, during three generations or more, they could have maintained their independence within half a day's march of a city with 80,000 fighting men.

In 396 B. C. Rome doubled the area of her subject territory by conquering the Etruscan city of Veii, twelve miles distant to the northward, after a siege of ten years. The Veiians were avenged in 390 B. C., by the Po-basin Gauls, who, after overrunning Etruria, followed the Tiber down to the plain, defeated the whole military force of the Romans in a pitched battle at Allia, took their city,

despoiled and burned it, and after failing to capture the citadel, accepted a thousand pounds of gold as an inducement to leave the country. Although they had impoverished and weakened Rome, it is probable that they inflicted much greater injury on Etruria, which was then the chief obstacle to the development of the Roman power. Some years afterwards a great naval defeat was inflicted by the Syracusans on the Etruscans, and this combination of disasters, on land and sea, prepared the latter people to become the victims of their southern neighbors, as they did in a succession of petty aggressions, no one of which occupies a prominent place in history. Before 350 B. C. a large part of Etruria was under Roman control.

Having subdued her nearest neighbors on the north, Rome turned her arms southward, and in the first Samnite war, which began in 343 B. C. and lasted two years, she obtained possession of the important city of Capua, with a considerable area of fertile territory. Her next war of note was with the Latins. Its cause, not satisfactorily explained, was perhaps that the Latins threw obstacles in the way of the increasing power of Rome; or, possibly, that they demanded a share of the booty proportioned to their soldiers in the allied army; but more probably that Rome thought the time had come when she could safely reduce Latium to subjection. The last of these explanations presumes that Rome followed the policy which she usually adopted towards those whose services were no longer necessary to her.

The Latin war began in 339 B. C., and continued two years, ending with the subjugation of most of the Latin cities and of some Volscian cities which had sided with them. The men taken in arms were slain or enslaved,

and the noncombatants were spared and made tributary. Several Latin cities which had sided with Rome were rewarded by admission to her citizenship. The second Samnite war began in 326 B. C., and lasted twenty-two years. It tried the strength of Rome severely, but she came out victorious, with the satisfaction of having reduced her most formidable enemy on the peninsula to a defensive position. The third Samnite war, from 298 to 290 B. C., closed with the complete conquest of Samnium. Five years later the Senonian Gauls on the basin of the Po and some Etruscan cities which had entered their alliance, were subjugated; and now Rome held dominion over nearly all the peninsula of Italy. The only independent city was Tarentum.

SEC. 446. *Hortensius*.—The year 286 B. C. witnessed the last secession of the commoners, who, on this occasion, acting as a body of unarmed citizens, camped on the Janiculum Hill, just outside of the walls, and stayed there till promises were made of concessions, now known as those of the Hortensian laws. These provided that debts should be reduced, that nine acres of public land should be assigned to every citizen applicant, and that the tribal assembly should have authority to enact laws binding on all citizens. As in 495, in 449, and in 366, so in 286 B. C. the commoners left the city without civil war or a serious riot. Though they were a great majority of the citizens, and were all, or nearly all, well trained soldiers, and were well supplied with arms, they angrily, and yet peacefully, abandoned their families, their dwellings, and their fortifications, for the purpose of compelling their noble oppressors, who were a small minority, to make concessions as to debts, public lands, and a share of political power.

No ancient author gives us the precise phraseology of any constitutional provision relating to the legislative power in the Roman republic; nor did any one of them write a treatise, preserved to our times, with clear definitions of the legislative functions of the senate and of the centuriate and tribal assemblies. It seems probable that in some time of civil discord the senate promised that the tribal assembly should possess complete power to enact laws, but gave the promise in questionable phraseology, or with vexatious conditions.

That the concession was made in a riot or civil war is indicated by its incompleteness. If adopted in time of peace, it probably would have been comprehensive enough to secure harmony among the different legislative bodies, and would have been expressed in language worthy of quotation, discussion, and laudatory comment by historians and orators. The intention of the senators to keep control of the legislation is evinced by the facts that they retained the management of the administration; that in all subsequent generations they systematically refused to execute those tribal enactments which they disliked; that by refusing to execute they practically repealed them; and that the tribal assembly never called the senate to account for its disregard of the constitution, nor tried to take away the legislative power of the rival centuriate assembly. The latter organization being under the influence of the patricians, and having control of the election of consuls, prætors, and curule ædiles, who after the close of their executive terms became senators, presented an insuperable obstacle to any steady domination by the plebeians. The tribal assembly seems to have had little power except during brief periods of popular excitement.

The rules recognized by the courts that a law became

void by neglect; that the order of the consul, whether based upon legislative authority or not, unless vetoed by his colleague, was law during his term; that he could not be called to account before the end of his term, for any illegal act; that the resolution of the senate was law for a year, unless sooner rejected by the centuriate, or tribal assemblies; and that the senators were not responsible to any tribunal for refusing to enforce any law;—all these indicate the predominance of aristocratic influences in the government.

Of the discord and even bitter hostility between the senate and the tribal assemblies, there are many reports. Indeed, the domestic history of the republic is made up, to a large extent, of the outbreaks of such hostility. The secessions of the plebeians, the assassinations of popular leaders accused of aspiring to royal power, and the refusals of the senate to execute agrarian laws, and to fulfill promises of relief to the debtor class, could not have occurred under a government that was administered harmoniously.

SEC. 447. *Nobles United*.—In a state that permits a struggle between aristocratic and democratic tendencies, statesmanship and selfish ambition combine their forces to drive many of the noble and wealthy political leaders into the popular party. While national strength and greatness shall depend mainly on the multitude, it will be the duty of a wise ruler to educate the populace, and gradually confer on them larger shares in the government, until they become fit for complete equality. If the contest between the two parties be peaceful and healthy, the progressive side will gain strength continuously, and thus will be able to confer increasing rewards on its leaders. Under such influences, Solon, Cleisthenes, Aristides,

and Pericles were potent in Athens; Russell, Brougham, and Gladstone in England; Stein in Prussia; Mirabeau Thiers, and Gambetta, in France; and Victor Emanuel, and Cavour in modern Italy. But no man deserving a place in this list belongs to ancient Rome. That state, at least in the period of the historical republic, had many revolutionists, but no great political reformer who labored to make the government more liberal.

In most other countries possessing a nobility and an active political life, a considerable number of the nobles have sided with the commoners, and labored with them steadily for generation after generation in a healthy and consistent struggle for liberal constitutional amendments. It was so in ancient Athens, and it is so in the Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Austria of our time, but it was not so in ancient Rome. There no body of patricians sided with the plebeians. If a noble showed democratic leanings, he stood alone in his order. The political struggle was not steady and healthy, but convulsive and violent. When an important amendment was adopted, it was the result of a riot. To pacify the multitude, the nobles made a promise of concession, and in many cases violated the promise. The senate was not one of the fields in which the two political parties contended for the mastery; it was the organized representative of the aristocrats. When an official proposed or favored an agrarian bill, the people and authors, like Cicero, Sallust, and Livy, said he had taken side against the senate. Such remarks were made about Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus, Caius Marius, and Julius Cæsar.

In the Roman senate there were no famous parliamentary debates on questions of constitutional law, no

eloquent pleas for the enactment of additional guaranties of popular freedom. Of the orations delivered in that body, and preserved to our time, not one relates to the contest between the progressive and conservative sides of government. It may be considered characteristic of the political life of Rome that the most notable senatorial orations of Rome known to us are devoted to the conspiracy of Catiline; not to a project of peaceful reform, but to a plot for a malignant and blood-thirsty revolution.

The unanimity of the Roman nobles for century after century, in their opposition to democratic ideas, was perhaps caused by the association of these ideas with rudeness and disorder. The plebeians, as a class, were the coarsest populace ever admitted to a share in the government. Their secessions, riots, political murders, their devotion to war as their main occupation, their fondness for gladiatorial shows, their system of demanding such shows as bribes for votes, and their custom of living, not by their productive labor, but by the plunder taken from their conquered provinces,—these together characterize them as entirely different from the multitude in any other constitutional state. Such a coarse populace could not offer an attractive partnership to a great statesman, and therefore it was that the ablest ancient Romans, including Sulla, Cicero, and Cæsar, were enemies of democratic institutions.

If the Roman constitution had been constructed upon a logical plan, the two forms of the popular assembly would each have had a distinct function. Each would have had the duty of expressing the opinion of the multitude upon a certain class of measures. But the constitution was not logically constructed, and there was no

division of labor between the tribal and the centuriate organizations. Those bills prepared by the tribunes were submitted to the tribal groups; those prepared by the consuls, to the centuriate groups. The author of the bill sought the approval of the body which he convened, over which he presided, and in which he had the most influence. Since nearly two hundred group votes, a majority of the whole number, had to be counted in the centuriate assembly, and only eighteen in the tribal assembly, the latter was the more convenient of the two modes of obtaining an expression of the popular will. Except in times of excitement which amounted almost to riot, the taking of the popular vote on bills was a matter of empty form.

Whatever the Publilian, the Horatian, or the Hortensian law may have said, we know that, practically, unless when frightened by a furious plebeian mob, the senate held firm control over the legislation as well as over the administration of the state till the time of Sulla. The tribal assembly was democratic in its feelings, but it never acquired a predominant influence in the government except during spasms of popular excitement, too brief and disorderly for the enactment of comprehensive reforms. There was no well-devised scheme of democratic government; no well organized democratic party; no democratic side in the senate; no Cleisthenes or Pericles among the Roman nobles; no systematic agitation, even among the plebeians, for the transfer of the elections from the centuriate to the tribal assembly, or for the reconstruction of these latter groups, so that they should be of equal size approximately, or for the abolition of the rules practically excluding the poor men from office. When the people were assembled to hear an address about some

question to be decided by a vote of the tribal assembly, the speakers turned their backs to the multitude and their faces to the senators on the opposite side of the forum, and this habit was maintained until the beginning of the disorders which filled the last century of the republic with almost continuous confusion and frequent civil war.

Polybius, who wrote only a few years before that period of disaster, who had resided in Rome for twenty years as the companion of the second Scipio, who by his capacity and official experience was far better qualified than Livy or Dionysius to understand the Roman constitution, whose history of Rome is the only one written in the IInd century B. C. and preserved to our time,—Polybius leads us to believe that during the century and a half of which he wrote, the most prosperous period of the republic, the senate controlled the legislation and the administration. He tells us that the consuls “convene general assemblies,” to which they “submit the resolutions of the senate for ratification;” and he adds that “to the people belongs the power of approving or rejecting bills,” thus clearly conveying the idea that no popular body or bodies had general legislative authority independent of the senate.

The predominance of aristocratic influence showed itself in the foreign as well as in the domestic policy of the republic. No city under the control of Rome, in any period of her career, was permitted to maintain a democratic government. So soon as the Romans could dictate terms, they required the establishment of an aristocracy. The Roman consuls made friends with the nobles in the allied cities and not unfrequently with those in neutral and hostile cities. Such a policy would not have been pursued under plebeian control.

If the commoners had ever obtained peaceful and secure control in the legislation of Rome, they would have lost no time in abolishing the aristocratic features of the constitution. They would have commenced by superseding the centuries, and reorganizing the popular assembly in such a manner that the vote of every citizen should have an equal weight in the passage of laws and the election of magistrates. They would have taken from the senate all its independent authority, all its control over the finances of the state, and all its privileges in suspending laws, in enforcing its resolutions as laws, and declaring martial law. The majority of the commoners everywhere want democratic government, and they never fail to establish it when they obtain political control. As they did not establish it in Rome, we know that they did not have the power, which they could not have exercised with credit to themselves or benefit to the state. They did acquire enough influence to throw Rome into the most disastrous period of anarchy known to history.

The republican government of Rome had passed through all the stages of its peaceful growth, and had reached its most complete development in the dimness of the legendary period. No material modification was made between 280 and 130 B. C., in which latter year began the century of anarchy, in which there was no peaceful political progress.

The long contemporaneous existence of the two rival popular assemblies—the centuriate and the tribal—both possessing and occasionally exercising the power of enacting laws, without any known attempt by either to abolish or to co-operate with the other, cannot be understood without the aid of the suppositions that ordinarily both were under the influence of the senate, and that

there was such political discord between the different classes of citizens that the leading statesmen did not consider it advisable to propose reforms that might have brought the different parts of the constitution into harmony with one another.

We have now reached the end of the legendary period of Rome. Most of the leading events and dates in it, as handed down to us by tradition, may be true, but we must not forget that the evidences to support them are unsatisfactory, that the connections between them are doubtful, and that many of the incidents accompanying them are improbable.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HISTORICAL REPUBLIC.

SECTION 448. *Mythical Virtue*.—It is necessary to divide history into definite chronological periods, the boundary lines of which, in many cases, must be drawn arbitrarily; and such a case occurs here. Fabius Pictor, the earliest historian of Rome, whose book though now lost was known to later writers including Livy, may have written about 230 B. C., and may have obtained information from men who had a personal knowledge of public affairs in 280 B. C., which date is therefore fixed as the beginning of the historical period of Rome.¹

With the close of the legendary era the character of Roman history changed. The supernatural gave way to the natural; probability succeeded to improbability. The gods ceased to take an active and prominent part in Roman life. They were no longer responsible for the paternity of the children of vestal virgins; they did not lead the Roman armies in battle; they did not come instantaneously from distant fields to announce victories; they did not command Roman heroes to save the republic by leaping into yawning chasms or by offering their lives in sacred sacrifice; and they did not dictate Roman laws. The time had passed when all the plebeians were in debt to the money lenders; when they seceded peaceably until their debts were canceled; when

they abandoned fortifications to strengthen their military position and to exact political concessions; when they did not take all the privileges within their easy reach; when, to spite the patricians, they allowed themselves to be defeated in battle by alien enemies; when the women were all chaste; when all the great patricians were honest and many of them were poor.

The stern consuls who had executed their valiant sons for violating petty rules of camp discipline had disappeared. Junius Brutus and Manlius Torquatus had no successors in historical times. Poverty and extreme simplicity of life had ceased to give luster to the most successful generals and the most influential statesmen. The hovel and the humility of Cincinnatus were succeeded by the palace and the pride of Scipio.

The wonderful displays of Roman magnanimity to enemies were limited to the legendary era. When in 390 B. C. a schoolmaster of Fidenæ delivered all his pupils, the sons of leading citizens, to Camillus, the latter tied the hands of the traitor behind his back, liberated the boys, supplied them with sticks, and told them to drive the villain back to their town. The citizens of Fidenæ, overcome by the generosity of Camillus, surrendered to Rome. The Volscian city of Privernum was treated, according to the legend, in 330 B. C., with an indulgence unknown in historical times. Having been conquered by the Romans, it revolted, and was taken a second time, whereupon it was ordered to send deputies to Rome to hear the order of the senate. The consul said to them, "What do you deserve?" They replied, "The treatment due to people who love freedom." Again the consul said, "If we spare you, what can we expect?" The reply was, "If you treat us well, peace; if not, war." The

senate admired the independence and courage of these replies so much that they not only spared Privernum but immediately conferred full Roman citizenship on all its freemen. After 280 B. C. no city was vanquished by generosity as was Fidenæ, and none conquered by arms was welcomed like Privernum with honor into Roman citizenship.

SEC. 449. *Pyrrhus*.—Having gained control of all peninsular Italy, save Tarentum, the Romans made war on that city. Pyrrhus, who was king of Epirus, and a distinguished general, possessing an army armed and drilled in Macedonian style, was induced to come to its aid. He landed in southern Italy in 281 B. C., with an army of 25,000 men, and after inflicting several disastrous defeats on the Romans, started northward for the purpose of plundering their territory, threatening their capital, and enticing their allies to join him. While on his way, he sent an ambassador to them, offering them peace on the conditions that Tarentum should be left free, and that other Greek cities of Italy, and parts of Samnium and Apulia should be liberated. As Rome had no general equal to Pyrrhus in strategy, and no army that could meet him in the open field, and as he was able to plunder much of their territory, most of the senators were disposed to accept his terms. They were shamed out of their purpose, however, by Appius Claudius Cæcus, then a blind and very old man. He had been consul and censor, and in the latter capacity had built the first great military road (the Appian) leading from the capital, and also the first aqueduct (the Claudian) to supply it with water. On account of his age, his distinguished public services, his strong character, his influential family connections, and his vigorous eloquence, he was regarded with much

reverence. When he heard that a session of the senate was to be held for the purpose of considering the terms proposed by Pyrrhus, he summoned his four sons and his five sons-in-law to take him to the senate hall, where he carried the day by his emphatic protest against peace on any terms with an invader of Italy. The ambassador returned with a message of defiance to Pyrrhus, who continued his march until he arrived within eighteen miles of Rome. He met with no encouragement among the Latins, and little among the other allies of Rome, and he encountered a large number of walled towns, which he could not stop to take, which were not rich enough to reward long and costly sieges, but which he could not safely leave behind if he wished to maintain his communications with Tarentum. He therefore returned to Campania, followed by the Romans, who, discouraged by previous defeats, refused to meet him in pitched battle, but watched his movements, surprised his foraging parties, and compelled him to be constantly on his guard. This situation soon became tiresome to his army, and he and they were glad to accept an invitation from the Sicilian Greeks to help them against the Carthaginians. Pyrrhus spent two years in Sicily, without achieving any great result, and in 276 B. C. returned to Italy, where he remained a year, and then crossed over to Epirus, leaving his Tarentine, Lucanian, and Samnite allies to the mercy of the Romans, who, three years afterwards, took Tarentum, and thus established their dominion over all of peninsular Italy.

In the Tarentine war the Roman legions were twice defeated, in pitched battles, by the Macedonian phalanxes; but these defeats were not decisive, nor could they be credited to the superior excellence of the phalanx. The

skill of Pyrrhus as a general, and his possession of elephants, which the Romans then met in battle for the first time, had much influence on both occasions. It has been the general opinion of military authorities that the Macedonian spear was better for meeting an enemy in front, especially on level open ground, but that the Roman javelin and sword were better for the average requirements, which include preparation for attacks in flank, in the rear, in broken ground, and in brush or timber.

SEC. 450. *Hannibal*.—The first difficult war in which Rome engaged after her acquisition of Tarentum was the conquest of Sicily, undertaken under the pretext of protecting the Greeks of that island against the aggressions of Carthage. This first Punic war, as it was called (*Punica* being the Latin for Carthaginian or Phœnician), lasted twenty-three years, from 264 till 241 B. C., and after many victories and defeats on land and sea, for each side, it ended with the triumph of Rome, though she, as well as her enemy, was nearly exhausted by great losses of men and great expenditures of money. For the sake of peace, Carthage consented to withdraw all her troops from Sicily, and pay an indemnity of \$3,500,000, which at that time was considered a very large sum. One result of the war was that Carthage, which had been the most formidable naval power in the Mediterranean, had, after its close, no navy of note; but she retained her pre-eminence in commerce, shipping, and manufactures.

Sardinia was acquired by Rome in 238 B. C. Having been part of the Carthaginian dominion, and held by garrisons of mercenary troops, these, after the close of the first Punic war, revolted, and then, fearing punishment by Carthage, they delivered the fortresses and

cities to Rome, which took them under the pretense that, as they had become independent, their acceptance was not a violation of the treaty of peace. Carthage was not strong enough to punish this perfidy, and therefore submitted quietly to the violation of her rights.

After resting from difficult wars for nineteen years, in 222 B. C. Rome attacked the independent Gallic tribes in the Po-basin, and, having subjugated them, her authority was undisputed in subalpine as well as in peninsular Italy. The vanquished Gauls were not satisfied with the new dominion, and their discontent stimulated the activity of Hannibal, then the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Spain, a young man (born in 247 B. C.), who had made it the purpose of his life to conquer Rome. After a long and difficult march, in the course of which he had to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps, he reached the valley of the Po in October, 218 B. C., with an army of about 26,000 Spaniards and Africans. These were well drilled troops, full of confidence in their general, whose courage, tact, and military genius had become apparent on many occasions. On the bank of the Trebbia, Hannibal was attacked by a Roman army of 40,000 men, whom he defeated, leaving 20,000 dead on the field. This great victory gave him the alliance of all the Gallic tribes in the basin of the Po, a large number of recruits, and comfortable and secure quarters for his soldiers through the winter. When mild weather permitted him to move, he started for the south, with perhaps 40,000 men, and in April, while passing Lake Trasymene, about ninety miles north of Rome, he attacked a pursuing force of 30,000 Romans, and defeated them, slaughtering 15,000 and capturing one-third as many others. His victory was so complete, and his loss so small, that the Romans

perceived his vast superiority in generalship, and determined to avoid pitched battles as far as possible, and to worry him out by defensive strategy.

Having neither siege artillery nor a body of skillful engineers to construct it, Hannibal did not feel confident of being able to take Rome; and, besides, he thought the better policy for him would be to present himself to the allied states and gain them to his side. He therefore continued his southward course until he reached the fertile valleys east of Naples, presenting himself before a number of subject or allied cities, but not one of them opened its gates to him, or showed any disposition to aid the cause of Carthage. The people disliked his Spaniards, Africans, and Gauls, and feared that at some later time any defection from Rome would be punished unmercifully.

SEC. 451. *Cannæ*.—After Hannibal had spent a year in Southern Italy, in June, 216 B. C., the Romans thought that they could venture to give him battle. They had an army of 96,000 men, and he had only 50,000. They were among their friends, and he among his enemies. He was living at their expense, exhausting the patience of their allies, and gradually weakening their military credit. They chose their own ground at Cannæ, and their own time, but he inflicted upon them the greatest defeat in history. He slew 72,000 and captured 20,000 men. All who escaped alive were not sufficient to make up a full legion. Among the dead were eighty senators. Such are the numbers given by Polybius, who is the best authority in regard to this war.

Many distinguished military authorities have expressed the opinion that Hannibal should have marched upon Rome immediately after gaining this victory. The peo-

ple of that city were dismayed. Many of them wanted to sail away with their families and treasures to Greece. They had no army able to take the field, and in years they could not organize one that would confront Hannibal. That general was now admitted to be invincible. No officer and no legion wanted to meet him in the open field. Among the victors many entertained the opinion that the hard fighting of the war had been done; that Rome was now helpless. Maharbal, the Carthaginian commander of the Light Numidian Cavalry, said to Hannibal: "If you will let me lead the horse forthwith, and follow quickly, you shall dine in the capitol in five days." But Hannibal rejected this advice, and his reasons for rejecting it are discoverable only by surmise. He knew that the allies were attached to Rome, which, having had 800,000 men fit for arms before the war, and having lost 150,000 men in battle, and having lost efficient control over 250,000 more—these are vague estimates—could still depend upon the fidelity of 400,000 others, strengthened by hundreds of walled towns. He made a round of the allied states, but could obtain possession of only one important city, Capua, which ranked next to Rome among the Italian cities, in population and wealth. But it did not add much to his military or other resources. The Bruttians and Lucanians declared for him, but they counted for little. He sent word to Carthage of his great victory at Cannæ, and of the necessity of further aid to enable him to take Rome. The aid solicited was promised, but did not reach Italy until after a lapse of nine years. During that period Hannibal sought to drive the Romans into a pitched battle on many different occasions, but without success. He moved about from place to place, plundering the districts faithful to Rome, gaining

many little successes, adding nothing to the strength of his army, and losing more than he gained in public credit and military position. Tarentum, an important seaport, surrendered to him, but he could make little use of it. Neither he nor Carthage nor any of his allies had a fleet able to meet that of the Romans. He was shut in. In 212 B. C., while he was at Tarentum, the Romans laid siege to Capua, and having built a fortification outside of their besieging camp, they defied Hannibal. He marched upon Rome, expecting that the besiegers would follow him, but they stayed where they were. He went within bowshot of the walls of the Eternal City, and gave its citizens a good scare, but could do no harm to them, and was compelled to withdraw, while he left Capua to its cruel fate. All its men who had been prominent by wealth, or office, or had rendered military service against Rome, were beheaded or starved to death in prison; their wives and children were sold into slavery; and the obscure and peaceful multitude were despoiled of what little property they had, and allowed to seek homes elsewhere, under penalty of death, if they should return to Capua. The city sank into an insignificance from which it has never recovered.

SEC. 452. *Zama*.—It was not until 207 B. C., nine years after the battle of Cannæ, that a second Carthaginian army, numbering about 50,000 men, mostly Spaniards and Africans, after crossing the Pyrenees and the Alps, made their appearance in the valley of the Po, under Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal. Unfortunately for him, Hannibal was not there to meet him, and, having been treacherously led into a disadvantageous position near the Metaurus River, his army was cut to pieces and he was slain.

After this disaster Hannibal had no hope of further

aid from his native city. She had lost her hold on Spain, she had no fleet, and she had no general to spare; and yet the Romans did not dare to meet Hannibal in the field. While near him they never felt safe unless they were behind fortifications. They could not do much injury to him, and they would not give him a chance to reach them. Three years after the death of Hasdrubal, in 204 B. C., they carried the war into Africa, by sending an invading army under Scipio to ravage the dominions of Carthage. That city, unlike Rome, had no multitude of walled towns filled with loyal citizens or allies trained to the use of arms; and she was unable to offer any effective resistance to the Roman invasion. Her only army and her only great general were in Italy. She was anxious for peace, and so was Rome, and a treaty was signed. In accordance with its provisions Hannibal and his army, or part of it, sailed from Italy, while Scipio and his army remained in Africa.

When their great enemy had withdrawn from their peninsula, the Romans felt secure, and their senate then refused to ratify the treaty. It is probable that many of the mercenaries who had served in the Carthaginian army in Italy remained there, and that Hannibal had to depend to a large extent on raw recruits at Zama, where he was disastrously defeated. The military situation of Carthage was hopeless. She had no army, no navy, no walled towns, no large territory from which she could draw supplies. She might, however, have made a prolonged resistance. She had a great general, great wealth, an extensive commerce, great industrial skill, abundant supplies of metal, timber, and other materials useful in warfare, strong fortifications, and a large number of energetic and brave people.

She was saved from destruction at this time, not by these resources, but by discord among her enemies. Scipio was unpopular in the senate. He had gone to Africa against the wish of that body. After his victory at Zama, the majority of the senators showed their purpose of taking the command from him, and thus depriving him of the main credit of conquering Carthage and closing the war. If some other man should get the army which he had accustomed to victory, and should take Carthage, and dictate the terms of peace, the victor of Zama would occupy a subordinate position. Scipio saw that to defeat his enemies in Italy he must make peace with Carthage. He made it, and with more regard to his own interests than to the habitual policy of his country, he granted the most generous terms ever given by Rome to a vanquished foe. He required Carthage to pay \$10,000,000 of war indemnity; to give up all her war ships save ten; to surrender all her elephants (these were regarded as valuable for war); to undertake no war without the permission of Rome; and to give a hundred young men of the leading noble families as hostages. He allowed her to retain her great general, her merchant ships, her own city government, and her dominion over those provinces which she had not taken from Numidia.

The senate disliked the treaty because it made Scipio the most influential man in their city, and because it saved Carthage from plunder and destruction; and they would have rejected it, if they had dared, but the people would not consent that Scipio, their idol, should be insulted and degraded. Under popular compulsion the senate ratified the treaty, and gave the most glorious triumph in the history of their city to Scipio.

SEC. 453. *After Zama.*—Among the results of Han-

nibal's war were the final exclusion of Carthage as a national power from Europe, and its ruin as a great military power; the elevation of Rome to unquestionable preponderance in the basin of the Mediterranean; the destruction of numerous influences in Italy hostile to Roman dominion; and much progress towards the consolidation of the Italians into one people. All those natives of the Po-basin, Etruria, Samnium, Campania, Bruttia, or Lucania, who, under the encouragement of Carthaginian victories, had joined the party of Hannibal, were either slain or sold into slavery; and when the war was at an end, the Roman power in Italy was far more secure than ever before. These results of the Hannibalic war contributed greatly to the foundation of the durable and extensive empire, homogeneous in general culture, civil law, and administrative institutions, and through many of its provinces, homogeneous also in its language and ecclesiastical system.

Carthage could not have built up a solid empire as Rome did. By her Semitic blood she was much farther than her rival from the Latins, Greeks, and Gauls. She might have established her authority over them, but it would have been brief; her government might have been relatively generous, but it would not have been thorough. Having no system of military colonies, and no considerable body of soldiers save mercenary aliens of mixed race, she could not assimilate foreign provinces. For the development of culture among Aryans, who occupied nearly all Europe, it was important that the dominion over the most advanced portions of their continent should be held by someone of their own nationalities. Far better for them was Aryan Rome than Semitic Carthage.

In the first Punic war Rome had taken most of Sic-

ily from the Carthaginians, but had allowed her ally, Hiero II., the Greek despot of Syracuse, to retain his dominion. He died in 215 B. C., leaving no heir competent to rule, and several revolutions, military rather than political in character, followed, ending in one that gave the citadel and afterwards the city to the Carthaginians. The Romans, at a time when they were unable to drive Hannibal out of Italy, sent an army to Sicily, and, after a siege of two years, took Syracuse. Although the people of that city had not invited the Carthaginians into their citadel, and had not willingly allowed them to occupy the fortifications, and were not responsible for the conduct of the garrison, the Roman commander gave up the city to be sacked by his soldiery. It was treated with the greatest cruelty, and never recovered its previous splendor.

Spain was conquered because, if it were left in the possession of Carthage, it might supply other armies as formidable as that with which Hannibal invaded Italy. Soon after he had crossed the Alps, two legions were sent to the Iberian peninsula, and Roman troops were kept there almost continuously. They were not numerous enough, however, to prevent Hannibal from organizing his army for the march to the valley of the Po. With his departure, the military power of Carthage in Spain was exhausted, and Rome met with no further resistance there of note save from native tribes in the higher mountains.

Rome was now the dominant power on the shores of the Mediterranean. Her chief superiority lay in her army, which in discipline and size was stronger than that of Macedonia, Syria, or Egypt. She also had the strongest navy, or the materials out of which, at brief

notice, the strongest navy could be supplied. She had the largest homogeneous population. The Etruscan, Samnite, Gallic, and Greek tongues and sympathies were rapidly giving way to the Latin speech, and if not to Roman patriotism, at least to zeal for the maintenance of Roman authority. The war with Hannibal had done much to break down provincial distinctions. The districts which had declared themselves in favor of the invader lost many of their inhabitants by enslavement and deportation; and new settlers came in to take the vacant places. In the districts inhabited by loyal allies, new fortifications were erected for occupation by military colonies. An assimilation for which there was no parallel in Greece or Asia made rapid progress in Italy.

SEC. 454. *Macedon*.—Early in the second Punic war, Philip V., of Macedon, made an alliance with Carthage, but sent no military aid to the Carthaginians, even when solicited, after Cannæ, to do so. The surrender of Carthage left Philip exposed to the animosity of the Romans, who never neglected an opportunity to gratify their vengeance. When Capua had fallen and the ultimate failure of Hannibal had become probable, Philip sought and obtained an alliance with the Romans, but their only motive in granting it, as implied by their subsequent conduct, was to be secure from his hostility at a time when he had much power to hurt them, and they had none to injure him. Having made peace in Africa, they turned upon him, and when they had defeated and humiliated him, they allowed him to retain his throne on the conditions that he should reduce his army to five thousand men, and that he should make no aggressive war without the consent of the Roman senate.

Having subjugated Philip, the Romans found their

next victim in Antiochus, king of Syria, who had refused to obey their command to liberate certain Greek cities from his dominion in Asia Minor. They claimed the right to issue orders and dictate terms to every state within reach of their ambassadors. Antiochus refused obedience, and they declared war. They invaded his territory, crushed his army, and then, in 188 B. C., granted him peace, exacting from him most of Asia Minor, \$15,000,000 as war indemnity, the reduction of his navy to ten ships, and the restriction of the use of those within certain geographical limits. Most of the territory in Asia Minor taken from him was given to Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had aided Rome in the war, and besides was considered incapable of becoming a troublesome enemy.

In 171 B. C. the Romans, perhaps for want of sufficient military occupation elsewhere, declared another war against the Macedonian Kingdom, and having conquered it, they divided it into four districts, the inhabitants of each being forbidden to dwell, to trade, to acquire land, or to marry in either of the others. Except along the northern frontier, where they were frequently attacked by semi-savage neighbors, the people were not allowed to possess arms. The mines of silver and gold were closed. All the men who had experience in important military or civil office were deported to Italy. Then the Roman senate gave instructions that each of the four divisions of Macedon should establish and maintain a republican government, and adopted a resolution declaring these republics free. The Romans made the hypocritical pretense that they had undertaken their wars against Macedon, not to gratify their own hatred or greed, but to advance the cause of liberty, "reserving to herself nothing

but the honor of victory.”¹ Having had no experience in republican government, having been deprived of their leading men, and been compelled to put dependents of Rome in office, the Macedonians found their new political system intolerable. They revolted, and were conquered and plundered, and their country was converted into a Roman province.

When the Achæan league, the leading government of Greece, was no longer needed as an ally against Macedon or any other Eastern enemy, the Roman senate, solicited thereto by Sparta, issued an order that the federation should be dissolved. This decree aroused general indignation throughout Greece, and in Corinth provoked a mob which beat some Spartans and killed others who happened to be there. Most of the federated cities refused to give up their league, and the Romans drew the sword. After a disastrous defeat, the Achæans submitted. In punishment for the conduct of its mob, Corinth was destroyed, and its site was condemned to perpetual desolation. The cities of the Achæan league and other Greek states generally were permitted to govern themselves, but were required to pay tribute to Rome, and were forbidden to engage in war.

SEC. 455. *Carthage Destroyed*.—The year 146 B. C. was stained by the destruction of Carthage as well as by that of Corinth. The former city had been subjected to almost continuous insults and substantial wrongs by the Romans during the half century which followed the close of the second Punic war. Scipio's treaty provided that Carthage should give up to Massinissa, king of Numidia, all the territory which it had taken from him or his predecessors, and should not wage war against any ally of Rome. Immediately after the conclusion of

the peace, Massinissa claimed and took possession of a number of provinces, without objection from the Carthaginians. Afterwards, at intervals, and acting presumably under encouragement from the Romans, he seized district after district, under pretense that they had at some time belonged to his predecessors. Carthage applied repeatedly to the Roman senate for protection, and for a definition of the limits of the territory which had belonged to Massinissa, and begged for relief in humble terms. In one of her petitions she said: "It would be better to live as slaves of the Romans than to possess a liberty exposed to the insolence of Massinissa. Nay, utter ruin is preferable to a condition in which we are dependent upon the grace of so cruel a tormentor."¹ But no relief was given. The senate was dissatisfied with the generosity of Scipio's treaty and wanted to enjoy another triumph over the Punic city, which continued to possess great wealth, and a very active trade in the midst of a large region famous for the excellence of its horticulture. This rural prosperity was a reproach to the inferior agricultural condition of Italy. The shipping and the shops of Carthage astonished the Romans, accustomed only to Italian industry. Cato, who visited Carthage in 157 B. C., came back full of fury against the Punic capital. He demanded its destruction, and whenever he spoke in the senate, no matter what the subject under consideration, he ended with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed." At last he persuaded the senate to adopt his policy, and war was declared, using a dispute between Massinissa and Carthage as the pretext. The Carthaginians offered to submit to the decision of Rome in that dispute. The senate sent a message to them "that because they had taken the right resolution, the senate granted them their

liberty, laws, territories, and all their property belonging either to the state or to individuals, provided that they should deliver three hundred hostages of their noblest youth to the consuls at Lilybæum," and further should "obey the commands of the consuls." The Carthaginian senate accepted these terms, notwithstanding the objection that the last condition was so vague that it might conceal some great danger. The most influential senators argued that these commands of the consuls must refer only to minor matters such as the manner in which the hostages should be surrendered and treated; the promise of the protection of life, liberty, and property was plain. The people approved the action of the senate, and the hostages were delivered. Having obtained possession of these, the consuls demanded all the arms and armor. The Carthaginians objected that they needed them for the defense of their lives and property against hostile Numidians. The consuls replied that they would furnish the needed protection. Although the possession of these arms had been promised to them by the Roman senate, the Carthaginians surrendered them, including two thousand catapults, and arms and armor for 200,000 men. When the city had thus given up her weapons, the consuls announced to the Carthaginians that they must move out of their city, which was to be destroyed, and find new homes at least ten miles from the site of Carthage.

This meant the abandonment, not only of their dwellings and workshops, but also of their temples and tombs. It required the surrender not only of most of their wealth, but of their seaport, which, by its advantages for maritime commerce and manufacturing industry, furnished the means of their support. To the majority of the Cartha-

ginians this command left no hope to escape starvation save by migrating not only from the city, but also from the district of Carthage.

For this order of exile against all the people of a great city, issued with so little provocation, planned with so much deliberate malignity and executed with so much perfidy, there is no parallel in history. The Carthaginians knew that there was no probability of success in resistance, but they could have no respect for themselves in submission. Almost unanimously they decided to resist. Having to choose between the danger of starvation in peace and that of slaughter in war, they preferred the latter. Though disarmed, they were numerous, rich, and courageous; and, besides, they had good walls. They demanded leave to send another appeal for mercy to Rome, and devoted all their energies to the manufacture of arms, armor, and machines of war. They built war ships, equipped armies, and for three years in the third Punic war beat off the besieging Romans. But at last Carthage fell, and as Punic Carthage it ceased to exist. Of its 700,000 inhabitants, 650,000 died by starvation, disease, or the sword in the siege; the surviving 50,000 were sold as slaves; the city was utterly destroyed, and a law of Rome forbade any person to make his residence there. The malice of the Roman senate had here obtained its highest gratification.

SEC. 456. *Pergamus*.—Thirteen years after the destruction of Carthage, a document purporting to be the will of King Attalus II., of Pergamus, was submitted to and accepted by the senate. It bequeathed to the Roman people his kingdom, which included a large part of Asia Minor. While living, Attalus had made no public announcement of a purpose to dispose of his realm in

this way, nor had he done anything indicative of an intention to deprive his heirs of their regal inheritance or his subjects of their national independence. All classes of his people, rich as well as poor, knew the evil repute of Roman provincial administration, and looked forward with sad forebodings to the time when it should be established in their country. The Roman traders resident in the kingdom, and the small class of natives who looked to the Romans for their profits, and for opportunities to plunder their richer neighbors, ardently desired that Pergamus should become a Roman province; and we may reasonably presume that by some of these, the document produced as the will of Attalus II. was forged. After the senate had declared the will to be genuine, and had accepted its bequest, the people of Pergamus understood that they must submit, and so they did. They had neither an able monarch to lead them in war, nor a large, well disciplined army, nor a well consolidated nationality, nor a powerful ally ready to protect them. Though resistance was hopeless, it was, nevertheless, made by several small popular outbreaks which were easily suppressed, and Asia Minor became a province of Rome.

The destruction of Carthage and the reduction of Macedon, Epirus, Greece, and part of Asia Minor to provincial subjection, made an important change in the position of Rome. Although more than a match for any one enemy, she was previously in danger from a combination of several. Pyrrhus and Hannibal had each brought her into imminent peril, and if the former had been aided with all her means by Carthage, or the latter by Macedon, Rome would have been crushed. After the second Punic war, Carthage still had large revenues, in

addition to her remarkable enterprise and organizing genius. Macedon, Asia Minor, and Egypt also were wealthy. The Numidian and Thessalian cavalry were of unsurpassed excellence. Greece, Epirus, and Macedon had military talent and considerable bodies of well drilled troops or of men whose martial spirit and hereditary feelings fitted them to become formidable after a little training. Greece, Carthage, and Asia Minor had good sailors and numerous ships, which might have had great influence upon the fate of Rome. All these nations were within convenient reach of one another, and being intimately connected by commercial relations might have formed an irresistible combination against the enemy that was to overwhelm them separately.

But after the close of the third Punic war, there was no serious danger from these nations. Egypt and Numidia had neither organizing talent nor good infantry; and infantry was the main dependence in ancient as well as in modern warfare. With her provinces, Rome had most of the seacoast, ships, and wealth in the basin of the Mediterranean. She could feel secure against any known enemy or any probable combination of enemies in Africa, Asia, or eastern Europe. The only formidable foreign foe was Gaul, which had remained quiet since the victories of Marius.

SEC. 457. *T. Gracchus*.—The Romans were a fighting and conquering people. In the middle of the IInd century B. C. plunder taken in war was, directly and indirectly, the chief source of their public and private wealth. They had few manufactures. They were not eminent merchants. Most of the ships trading on their ports were owned and manned by their Greek subjects. Pasturage was encroaching on their tillage. Their free

laborers and their middle class were decreasing; and their slaves were rapidly increasing.

In 133 B. C. Tiberius Gracchus, a grandson of the second Scipio, and, although only thirty years of age, already eminent as a soldier and orator, became one of the tribunes of the people. He seems to have been the first person who perceived that the tribunitian office in the hands of a man who could control the plebeians might be a position of predominant influence in the city. He had all the qualities needed for the acquisition and maintenance of that control. In the combination of fluency of speech, with plausibility, courage, readiness to express the prejudices and excite the passions of the mob, and skill in the partisan tricks needed for the management of an ignorant and violent multitude, Tiberius Gracchus has had few superiors in the history of the world. That he had abundant reason to complain of the senatorial government is unquestionable; but the mob which he proposed to make the dominant power in the state was far less competent to rule than the senate.

We have no means of ascertaining with certainty the main purpose of Tiberius Gracchus. He was cut off at the beginning of his political career, very soon after he had shown his capacity and his ambition to lead the plebeians. But we can see clearly what the end of his career would have been if he had continued to wield his influence over the people for ten years or more, and if he had carried, to its logical results, the policy with which he commenced. He would have founded a despotism on the ruins of a republic that had become anarchical and had outlived its usefulness.

He submitted to the people a bill to re-enact and enforce the general principles of the Licinian agrarian law;

to limit the amount of public land that any one individual could hold to three hundred and thirty acres; to take the surplus for state purposes; to create a commission of three persons to be elected by the tribal assembly, with authority to determine finally the limits of the public lands and to designate the tracts to be allotted, and the recipient of each. The bill provided that the tracts distributed should be inalienable; and that the grantee should derive no profit from the land except while he made his home upon it.

Having prepared his bill and posted it up where it could be read, he called numerous public meetings, which he addressed about the oppression inflicted on the plebeians by the patricians, and the benefits that would result from the adoption of his bill. His speeches aroused the rabble. They gathered to hear him; they applauded him; they followed him in crowds. In one of his speeches he said: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves and lairs, but to the men who fight and bleed for Italy nothing remains except the open air and the light of heaven. Bereft of home and shelter, they wander about with their wives and families. It is mere mockery and delusion in a general to exhort his warriors before a battle by bidding them fight for the graves of their ancestors and for their household altars, for not one of them owns an altar bequeathed him by his father, nor the ground where his fathers are laid. They fight and fall, that others may enjoy affluence and luxury; they are called lords of the earth, and have not a single clod which is called their own."¹

When the time came for taking the vote on the tribes, Octavius, one of the tribunes of the people, stepped forward and interposed his veto. Gracchus called upon the

tribes to meet the next day, when he would again submit his bill to consideration. On the second day, the proceedings were similar to those of the first, except that after the veto by Octavius, Gracchus announced that on the morrow he would move to depose Octavius from the tribunitian office if he should persist in his obstructive policy.

On the third day Octavius again interposed his veto, and Gracchus proposed that Octavius should be expelled from his office. Eighteen tribes, the only ones counted, all voted for the proposition. Then Gracchus submitted his bill to the vote and it was adopted. The commissioners elected under the bill were Tiberius Gracchus, his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, then only twenty-one years old. The selection of all the commissioners from one family, and that one the family of the author of the bill, indicates that the measure had no supporters among the influential citizens generally.

For the completion of its task the commission would require years. But there was a possibility that the law would be repealed. The senate was bitterly opposed to the scheme and its author. If he were to go off as commissioner into the provinces, there would be no one in the city able to lead the multitude. If he wanted to prevent repeal, he must stay in the capital, and he must be tribune. He announced himself a candidate for a second term.

He gave notice also that he would submit to the people a bill for the government of Pergamus, and another for the transfer of the treasures of Attalus to his commission for division among the grantees of homestead tracts under his agrarian law, for the purpose of enabling

them to build houses and buy cattle. These treasures had recently come into the possession of the republic under the will (probably a forgery) of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Another project of which Gracchus spoke was that of conferring full Roman citizenship on many of the allies.

The measures carried and the others proposed by Tiberius Gracchus were unmistakably revolutionary. Considered together, they indicated a purpose to completely subvert the government. The expulsion of Octavius from the tribuneship violated the well established constitutional principle that an officer could not be called to account during his official term for any, even for an unquestionable, abuse of power. But in this case there had been no abuse; at the worst it was an error of judgment, and perhaps it was sound statesmanship. Not only was the person of the tribune inviolable, but his office was sacred. If his authority could be destroyed legally, at an hour's notice, by an excited mob, and if the man who had led the mob in its destruction was to be encouraged in his course, the consuls and the senate were not secure.

The demand of Tiberius Gracchus for immediate re-election violated the rule of sound policy that after the close of his term the executive officer should be in a position to be held responsible for any misconduct in his official capacity; and therefore that he ought not to be elected to the same office or to any other, until after the lapse of a year.

The plans of Gracchus in reference to the treasures and government of Pergamus were contrary to those provisions of the constitution giving to the senate exclusive control over the finances and foreign policy of the

republic. The immediate re-election to the tribuneship demanded by him would have established a precedent that would enable him to secure office for life. The excuses for a second term would be equally good for a third, fourth, fifth, and so on. The labors of his commission might be prolonged for many years. His law and his policy might need his support in the tribunitian office until he should be an old man.

By his oratorical powers and political management he organized the rabble, rendered them active, and elevated them until they became the main source of political authority and law. They were his only support, and he was the only person then competent to lead them. He and they went into partnership to overthrow the aristocracy. He had ruled and he intended to rule without the senate. Having commenced with that policy, he must go on in the same course. Nobody understood better than he did that the Roman populace were grossly unfit to take charge of the government of a great empire, and while using them he must have despised them. With such understanding and feeling he doubtless aspired to establish, not a democracy, but a despotism, with himself as master.

He changed the character of the tribuneship. He transformed it from a defensive into an offensive institution. From an office for the protection of the commoners, he developed it into a device for controlling all classes of the population and all departments of the state. He showed how it could be used to supersede the consulship in all matters of domestic administration; and how, in alliance with the rabble, it could reduce the senate to insignificance.

But while the rabble applauded Gracchus, and served

as his escort, and voted for his measures, many were not entirely pleased with him. All classes disliked his project of extending the citizenship. Such concessions had been made in previous generations, probably only under the pressure of great danger; but there was no apparent necessity for such a measure now. A rabble dislikes the man who proposes to deprive them of a legal advantage, even if grossly unfair, especially if over those who are their superiors in intelligence, manners, and industry; and such a relation existed between the mob and the allies of Rome.

The majority of the poor commoners disliked the clause in the agrarian law forbidding alienation. Unwilling to till the soil or to live far from the city, they wanted grants which they could sell. They voted for the law, but would have amended it if they could, and doubtless hoped that it would be amended by a later enactment. But the chief objection to the course of Gracchus that must have presented itself to the more prudent men in the community, whether poor or rich, was doubtless the knowledge that he could not overthrow the constitution without civil war. The senators were not men who would consent quietly to be deprived of their political power. Some of them might be indifferent to the possession of office, but nearly all would fight to the last before submitting to either mob or despot. All the nobles, and all the rich men who, under the protection of the senators, shared in the plunder of the provinces, who hoped that their children would become nobles, and who feared the disorder and danger that accompanied civil war, were against him.

The senate could not check the revolutionary measures of Gracchus by constitutional means. It could not adopt

a bill or a resolution without his consent. It was powerless against him, while, by his veto, he could paralyze its action. Since the expulsion of Octavius, no tribune dared to resist the master of the mob. The nobility had to choose between submission and violence, and they chose the latter. On the day of the election for tribune, they raised a riot and slew Gracchus, with three hundred of his adherents.

This murder was neither punished nor made the subject of any serious governmental inquiry. The mob which had followed him did not find, and perhaps did not seek, a successor who would take up his plans. His agrarian law was not repealed, nor was it enforced. The two surviving commissioners did nothing to distribute, divide, or designate the public lands. The treasure and government of Pergamus were left to the senate, and no allies were admitted to citizenship in that generation.

SEC. 458. *C. Gracchus*.—Eleven years after the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, his brother Caius, then thirty-two years old, became tribune. In oratory, ambition, talents, courage, fertility of expedients, and all the faculties needed for the successful demagogue, he was the equal of Tiberius. He pursued the same policy with greater success. He profited by the experience of his brother. He began his official career by submitting to the tribes a series of measures, including one providing for a division of the public lands in small tracts to citizen applicants. Most of the clauses of this bill were copied from the obsolete law of his brother, but there were additional provisions, intended to make the measure more definite in acknowledgment of the rights of persons in possession, and also more precise in regard to various points of ad-

ministration. A second bill provided that every citizen should be allowed to purchase a certain quantity of grain from the public stores at about half the market price. A third bill provided that the juries in important criminal cases, especially those relating to abuses in office, should be made up, not from senators, as had been the law, but from the knights, or men of wealth not of senatorial rank. The exclusive right of the senators to sit as jurymen had added vastly to their power in the community; and the importance attached to it implies that it was frequently used corruptly. An honest exercise of a jurymen's duty would not have made the position very desirable. The main object of this measure was either to weaken the senate or to obtain a class of jurymen less subject than the senators to corrupt influences. A fourth bill required the senate to divide the provincial jurisdictions between the consuls, before the consular election. By waiting until after the election, as had been the custom, the senate could practice favoritism, which could not be done so well if the provinces were previously assigned to the senior and junior consul, the senior being the one who had the most votes, or who drew the first position in the lot. A fifth bill transferred the construction and supervision of the public roads from the censors to the tribunes.

All these bills were adopted by the tribes. Like his brother, Caius was an effective orator; like his brother, he organized the mob, and with its aid became the master of Rome. By giving the juries to the knights, he gained their aid, and thus had the encouragement of a majority of the wealthy men. He managed to work harmoniously with his tribunitian colleagues. He did not threaten to take the control of the financial or of foreign affairs from

the senate. He did not propose to divide the public coin among the plebeians. Thus he avoided some of the mistakes of his brother. Though not a candidate for re-election as tribune, he was re-elected. There were ten places to be filled, and not ten candidates, and the people, using their privilege in such a case to give their votes to any person, gave the office to Gracchus in such a manner that his enemies could not find fault with him.

As Tiberius had been the head of his agrarian commission, so was Caius, and as commissioner he had to spend much time away from Rome. The manner in which he and his colleagues performed their duties gave much dissatisfaction, and he repeated the mistake of Tiberius in declaring himself in favor of admitting the allies to citizenship, before he was in a position to carry the proposition. He schemed to be elected tribune for a third term, but was defeated, and was then accused of misconduct in office as agrarian commissioner. On the day set for his trial, he armed himself and many of his followers for the purpose of resisting the officers of the law. The result was that he and two thousand of his partisans were slain. After the death of Caius, as after that of Tiberius Gracchus, there was no judicial investigation of the facts of the massacre. Neither was there any further enforcement of his agrarian law. In 118 B. C. a bill was adopted to prevent any further agrarian agitations like those started by the Gracchus brothers. The state gave perpetual titles of the public lands to the people in possession, subject to the payment of certain rents to the treasury.

SEC. 459. *Marius*.—After the revolution which ended with the death of Caius Gracchus, the next event of much importance in the history of Rome was the con-

quest of Numidia. For year after year the king of that country, Jugurtha, succeeded in defeating the Roman armies, or preventing them from gaining any notable triumph over him. Having visited the Eternal City and learned the venality of the patricians, he used his knowledge and his money with so much skill that several campaigns had passed without endangering his throne or reducing his power. The bribery was so notorious and the popular discontent so great, that the senate was compelled to appoint a commission, which tried and executed two consuls, one ex-consul, and several other senators. The command was given to Q. Metellus, a respectable man with little military capacity. He took Caius Marius, an experienced and able plebeian soldier, then fifty years old, as his chief subordinate officer, and with his aid made four creditable campaigns, but did not succeed in crushing Jugurtha. In 105 B. C. Marius, with the contemptuous consent of Metellus, went to Rome to be a candidate for the consulship. By his manners, by his high reputation among the soldiers, by the hostility of the senators to him on account of his plebeian blood and by his promises and his complaints, he gained great popularity among the multitude, who could always elect their favorite when they were aroused and unanimous as they were on this occasion. The main promise of Marius, that if he were elected he would send Jugurtha dead or alive to Rome within a year, was rash, because the desert south of Numidia offered a secure refuge to the king after he should find himself unable to resist the armies of Rome.

Marius was elected, and then the senate adopted a resolution that Metellus, as proconsul, should continue in command till the end of the war. This was an insult to

Marius, and to the people who had elected him to take charge of the campaign. The tribal assembly ordered that the command should be given to Marius, and the senate and Metellus had to submit. Marius returned to Africa, and with the help of his quæstor, Cornelius Sulla, he was enabled to capture Jugurtha and deliver him in Rome within the year. His popularity was so great, and just then the need of an able general in Gaul was so urgent, that, contrary to the established rule, before the end of his first term, he was re-elected consul.

For ten years Italy had been threatened with invasion by a large community of barbarians, probably a combination of Gallic and Teutonic tribes, who, after ravaging southern Gaul, declared their intention of making their homes south of the Alps. At various times between 113 and 104 B. C., they had defeated the Roman armies with great loss, which, in one battle, according to report, amounted to 120,000 men. In 103 B. C., when these barbarians were about to enter Italy by two different routes, one crossing the Alps from the west, and the other from the north, Marius and his consular colleague, Catulus, each at the head of an army, went to meet the invaders. Marius encountered the Teutons near Aix, in southern France, and exterminated them. He then led his army to the valley of the Po, where the Cimbrians were advancing upon Catulus. These barbarians were exterminated, as their friends had been at Aix, and the apprehensions that had oppressed Rome for years were at an end. The Teutons were cured for centuries of the longing to invade Italy. Marius was recognized as the savior of the republic. He was the most influential man that had appeared in republican Rome. He was as popular with the multitude as either of the Gracchus brothers

had been, and he had succeeded in conciliating many of the senators. Without any military necessity, for after aiding to defeat the Cimbrians he made no campaign against foreign enemies, he was elected, without intermission, to his third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of consulship. But he was not competent to fulfill the political duties of his office with much credit, and his popularity declined. In the sixth year of his consulate he made a great mistake in giving his support to a base demagogue, Saturninus, who caused the tribal assembly to adopt an agrarian bill with a clause requiring the senators and consuls to take oath that they would observe it. All took the oath save Q. Metellus, who had been commanding consul in the war against Jugurtha. He went into exile. Saturninus induced the tribes to order that citizens should receive grain at the rate of five cents a bushel from the public stores in Rome; and at the consular election in 100 B. C., for the purpose of securing the success of a partisan friend, he brought on a riot, broke up the centuriate assembly, and, with some of his adherents, seized the capitol. The senate ordered the consuls to subdue the insurgents, and when Marius proceeded against them, they surrendered to him, expecting that, as their friend, he would save them. He shut them up, intending to keep them for trial; but partisans of the senate mounted the roof of the building used as a prison, tore off the tiles, and with them slew the prisoners. Marius was unable to prevent or to punish this outrage. He had given great offense to both parties, and he retired in disgrace from his sixth consulate. It was doubtless partly for the purpose of showing their dissatisfaction with him that the tribal assembly voted unanimously to recall from exile Q. Metellus, his political enemy. Marius

was much offended, and several years later his anger bore bitter fruit.

SEC. 460. *The Allies*.—After the war with the Gauls and Cimbrians, the next great struggle of Rome was with that class of her Italian subjects known as the allies, who occupied a large part of central Italy.

The Roman citizen had the exclusive rights of voting and holding office in the capital, of being exempt from corporal punishment, of appealing to the popular assembly from any sentence affecting his life or citizenship, of owning land and trading anywhere under the dominion of the state, of marrying a resident of any part of the state, of transmitting citizenship to his children by a legitimate wife, and of exemption from land tax levied by allied or provincial authorities.

All the freemen of the old stock of residents within definite bounds, which were enlarged on many different occasions, were Roman citizens. These boundary lines were not necessarily continuous, but might inclose separate districts. Outside of the territory which might be called Roman in the narrower sense, in allied or provincial countries, many Roman citizens made their permanent homes, and transmitted their citizenship to their children.

Next in political rank to the Roman citizens were the Latins, who had the rights of enacting their local laws, electing their local officials, coining money, and of being exempt from the jurisdiction of Roman magistrates in all affairs not of an imperial character. It is supposed that they could also settle, trade, hold land, and marry anywhere under the Roman dominion. Besides, the Latin could acquire Roman citizenship by holding a magistracy in his native town; by residing in Rome

while he left a son in his native town; by building a dwelling or a bakery in Rome, and residing there; by constructing a large ship; and by various other public services.¹ The policy of the senate was to divide the subject peoples into many classes, each possessing different privileges. Thus the Latins were divided. The people of one Latin town had higher rights in Rome than those of another town not ten miles away. Some of the Latins had all the privileges of Roman citizens except those of voting and holding office.

After the Latins were the allies, who occupied most of Italy. As a matter of favor they were allowed to enact and to administer their local laws, but they were not secure against the interference of the Roman authorities. They were divided into allied states, or districts; and the resident of one could not trade, hold land, marry, or settle outside of it. He could not become a trader in the provinces (out of Italy), and was thus cut off from many opportunities of profit. But he was required to serve in the army, and to contribute to its maintenance. He had one advantage over the provincial; the latter could not serve in the Roman army or possess arms.

SEC. 461. *Social War*.—In the midst of the second Punic war a motion had been made in the senate that those allies who had remained faithful to Rome, and had enabled her to maintain herself against Hannibal, should be admitted to the franchise. The mover was induced to withdraw his proposition, and the senators agreed to conceal the fact that the idea had been considered by them officially. Fears were entertained that the allies would be provoked to join Hannibal by knowing that the senate had refused to recognize their rights.

While the state had much to gain and nothing to lose

by extending its franchise to the allies, who furnished many of the best soldiers in the Roman armies, and in general intelligence and character were decidedly superior to the rabble of the capital, politicians perceived that he who could secure their admission to citizenship, would have the gratitude and support of a very large and influential body of new voters. Statesmen were induced by considerations of the public welfare, and demagogues by those of private interest, to become advocates of the rights of the allies. The majority of the senate and the rabble were bitterly opposed to the extension of the franchise.¹

Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus had both proposed to confer full citizenship on the allies, and both were murdered; but each had urged several measures very offensive to a large majority of the senators. Scipio *Æmilianus*, the destroyer of Carthage, who had approved the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, in 129 B. C. gave notice that he would deliver a public address in favor of giving the franchise to the allies, and he was murdered before he fulfilled his promises. Livius Drusus, tribune, submitted to the tribal assembly a number of bills, including one to admit the allies to citizenship, and his agitation was stopped by assassination.

Though the allies outnumbered the Romans and furnished more soldiers, and in that way contributed more than the Romans themselves to the Roman victories, yet, in many respects, they were treated unfairly. They got less pay and less booty. They usually had the less comfortable positions in camp and the more dangerous stations in battle. They had no representative in the highest command; no voice in the selection of the commander. They were not allowed to participate in the de-

cision of questions of war and peace. Their lives and property did not receive the same protection given to the Romans. In civil, political, and military relations they were of an inferior rank, and were exposed to daily insults as inferiors. Offenses which were usually overlooked in Roman soldiers were severely punished when committed by allies. Even commanders, who desired to be just, felt under compulsion to favor those whose political influence might control elections in which they and their relatives would be candidates. Even in his own town in time of peace the ally was not secure against the brutality of the Roman.

A Roman consul and his wife having arrived in the allied town of Teanum Sidicinum, the latter expressed a wish to use the public bathhouse, which was occupied at the time by a number of male bathers; and the consul requested or commanded the presiding magistrate of the place to order the men to leave the establishment. This order was not obeyed so promptly as the consul desired, and the local magistrate was publicly scourged for his failure to secure prompt compliance with the consul's wishes. The consul was never called to account in Rome for his crime.

A young Roman noble, while being carried through Venusia in a litter, offended at a jest made by a free peasant about the man who was too lazy to walk, took vengeance by ordering the peasant to be beaten to death. The murderer was not punished. He was a Roman, and the victim was an ally. Such acts of cruelty are numerous in Roman history, and the provincials suffered more than the allies.

In their indignation at their exclusion from Roman citizenship, and at the manner of their exclusion, the

allies organized an alliance. The Samnites, Marsians, Apulians, Lucanians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, and Vestinians sent deputies to a convention, which submitted a statement of their claims to the senate. They said they had furnished two-thirds of the soldiers in the armies of Rome and had conquered the world for her, and they had a right to full citizenship. The senate refused to make any promise to them. The allies saw that they could get nothing by peaceful means, so they resorted to arms. They were known as the allies, (*socii*) of Rome, and their war is sometimes called the Social war.

They established a federated government with their capital in Corfinum, a town about eighty miles east of Rome, and called it Italica. To their federated state they gave the name of Italia; they organized a senate of three hundred members; and they appointed consuls and prætors. Their government seems to have been a close imitation of that of Rome. They organized large bodies of troops, and acted with the energy of experienced soldiers. They defeated several Roman armies, and frightened the senate, which passed a bill to grant full citizenship to those allies who had remained faithful or had returned to their allegiance. This measure, having been adopted, was received with much favor in those towns which had not declared themselves; and after a few months it was followed by another, granting citizenship to allies, whether of Italian or other blood, residing in Italy, who, within sixty days, should register oaths of fidelity in the office of a Roman prætor. In 89 B. C. the generals of Rome were victorious in nearly all their battles, and before the end of the year the rebellion had collapsed. In the two campaigns 300,000 men, including those who fell on both sides, were slain.

SEC. 462. *Sulla*.—In 88 B. C. Cornelius Sulla, who had been the chief lieutenant of Marius in the Numidian war, and had gained much reputation in the campaigns against the Teutons, Cimbrians, and rebel allies, was elected consul. By the senate he was assigned to the command of the army of Mithradates, who had declared war against Rome, slaughtered all the Romans in Asia Minor, taken a large number of Greek mercenaries into his pay, and occupied much of Greece.

This assignment offended Marius, who, after commanding successfully in the war against the rebellious allies, had returned to Rome and regained much of his popularity. He thought that he was entitled to the command in Asia, and to the profits and honors that would easily be reaped there. He appealed to the tribal assembly, which adopted a resolution that he should command in Asia. The base trick by which the patricians attempted to deprive consul Marius of his command in Numidia was now repeated by the plebeians to deprive consul Sulla of his command in Asia. In both cases it failed. Sulla, in Rome at the time, made all haste to southern Italy, where his army was stationed. He explained to them what had been done; how he, after being chosen consul, was to be deprived of the province assigned to him by the senate; and how, if he did not go to Asia, they would get no share in the spoils of Mithradates. They understood the last point. Marius would not select the legions which had served under Sulla. They had great faith in Sulla; they had looked forward with confidence and pleasure to the Asiatic expedition, and its booty; and they replied that they were willing to stand by him, even if he wished to return to Rome. That was exactly what he wished. He started immediately with

35,000 men, and he was joined by his consular colleague, Q. Pompeius Rufus. Marius made a little resistance at the city gates, but, having no considerable military force, was easily defeated. He then fled, and Sulla took possession of the city. Under his dictation the senate declared Marius and eleven of his friends outlaws.

Sulla then went with his army to Greece, where he began to fight the armies of Mithradates. He found the task much more difficult than he expected. Mithradates had an abundance of money, of war ships, of fortifications, and of good soldiers; and the Greeks of Asia Minor, as well as the other residents of that region, preferred his rule to that of the Romans. In three years, however, Sulla succeeded in his task, at least so far that he compelled Mithradates to surrender all claim to those portions of Greece and Asia Minor which he had taken from Rome; to deliver seventy ships of war and pay an indemnity of \$2,000,000 in coin to Sulla. These terms were probably much more indulgent to the vanquished monarch than they would have been if Sulla had not been extremely anxious to return to Rome.

Before he left Italy to make war on Mithradates, in 87 B. C., Cornelius Cinna and an insignificant colleague had been elected consuls. Cinna, whose political opinions had not been clearly understood, gave notice of a bill to distribute the new citizens through all the tribes, instead of restricting them as before to a few tribes, in which they could exert little influence in the government.

When the bill was to be submitted to vote, several tribunes announced that they would interpose their veto. Cinna and his adherents threatened death to anyone who should undertake to defeat their measure in that way. Both parties were ready for violence, and a fearful riot

was the result. The dead numbered 10,000. and the senatorial party were victorious. Cinna escaped, and the senate, after declaring his office vacant, appointed an aristocrat to serve as consul in his place.

The senatorial party were hated by the multitude throughout Italy. They had tyrannized over the allied cities and over the provinces. They had treated the majority of the soldiers in the armies of the republic as if they were little better than slaves. They had excluded the Samnites, Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrucinians from citizenship. They had been responsible for the fearful slaughter and devastation of the Social war. And now they insisted upon depriving the new citizens of political influence proportioned to the number of votes.

Cinna fled to southern Italy, where the new citizens were most numerous. He was received with great demonstrations of popular favor. He asked for soldiers, and a multitude were ready to follow him. At the head of an army he returned to the capital. The senators and their dependents were a ferocious mob, but they were not anxious to meet disciplined troops. The gates were opened to Cinna, who was accompanied by Marius, furious against the senators who had declared him an outlaw. He had a band of ruffians, who murdered every man pointed out to them as an enemy of Marius. The man to whom their hero refused to speak in the street was slain at once. The slaughter and other violations of public order were frightful for day after day. For a time Cinna did not interfere; but after the disappearance of all the enemies whom Marius had denounced, Sertorius, with the approval of the consul, started out with his troops, and cut down all the marauders, several thousand in number. Then a semblance of order was restored. In January

86 B. C. the time came round for a consular election, but none was held. Cinna and Marius simply usurped the office, the latter now holding it for the seventh time. He had held it only two weeks when a natural death overtook him in his bed.

Without any known protest by the senate or popular assembly, Cinna, and his colleague, Carbo, declared themselves consuls in 85 and again in 84 B. C. In the latter year, after having been despot of Rome for three consular terms, Cinna was slain by some mutinous soldiers. In 83 B. C., when it was known that the conqueror of Mithradates was about to return with his army, determined, as he publicly declared, to take vengeance on his enemies, the leaders of the Marian party considered it advisable to hold an election for consuls. They chose two men of little note.

In the summer of that year Sulla arrived in Italy. Although he had announced that he would not interfere with "the rights of citizens new or old," he was regarded as the enemy of the newly enfranchised citizens, who looked upon the Marian party as their benefactors and friends. The consuls therefore obtained numerous recruits from Samnium, Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and other Italian districts recently admitted to Roman citizenship, and Sulla had a difficult task before him. The war resembled that against the rebellious allies six years previously. The Samnites did not lose their hereditary feelings. Though Roman citizens, they still hated Rome. An army of them, while opposing Sulla, attempted to seize the city, and their avowed purpose was to "destroy the lair of the wolves." If they had succeeded in getting possession, they might have taken vengeance for the ruthlessness with which their country had been treated.

But when Sulla found that they had started in the direction of the capital, he understood their purpose, and followed in all haste. The Samnites had already commenced to assault the gates before Sulla arrived. He ordered an immediate attack on both detachments of the Marian army, one on each side of the city. Sulla himself was opposed to the Samnites, and when darkness came, he was defeated. He had prepared to sell his life the next morning as dearly as possible, when he received news at night from his colleague, Crassus, that the Marian army on the other side of the city was routed. He then managed to escape from his uncomfortable position before dawn, and join Crassus; and when daylight arrived, the united forces attacked the Samnites and overwhelmed them. The dead of the two days numbered 50,000, exclusive of six thousand Samnites, whom Sulla captured, and massacred the same day in the Flaminian circus, soon after he entered the city.

SEC. 463. *Sulla's Laws*.—Sulla undertook to reform the government. Having the power, he used it energetically. His soldiers were ready to sustain him, and with their aid he was irresistible. They were not attached to the patrician party by their political opinions; their feelings and their family relationships drew them towards the plebeian party; but the time had passed when the Roman soldiers generally cared for any allegiance save that of the leader who gave them victory and booty. Sulla was the invincible general, and him his troops would obey in all things.

His remedy for the political evils of Rome had two parts; first, was a comprehensive reform of the constitution, and, second, was the slaughter of those men who would do their utmost to defeat the reform. He began

with the second part of his programme. He made out and published lists of all those persons whom he considered dangerous enemies of himself or of the senatorial party. He condemned them to death, and for the murder of each, he offered a reward of two thousand dollars, in addition to a share of the victim's property. The reward was to be paid to any murderer, even if slave, brother, son, or parent of the proscribed person. Everyone who sheltered a proscribed person was proscribed. List succeeded list. Those who wished to gain favor with Sulla called his attention to enemies whom he had overlooked, or of whose hostility he had not been informed. False charges were made so that the accusers could murder the accused, either to gratify hatred or to obtain the reward.

Having dispatched the dangerous class, he turned his attention to constitutional reform. He ordered the centuriate assembly to elect him dictator for life, and it obeyed. Having been thus clothed with absolute power, he issued a series of decrees. He confirmed his proscription list and his confiscation act. He excluded the descendants of the proscribed from citizenship, and confiscated their property. He distributed the land of numerous disaffected towns among 150,000 soldiers who had served under him.

Sulla was master of the city after it had been under the control of his personal enemies for four years, and after a period of fifty years, in which it had frequently allowed its brutal rabble to dictate the conduct of public affairs—fifty years of impotent law and intermittent civil war. This rabble, established in their dominant power by time and custom, could not be dethroned without radical changes in the constitution; and it was for the

purpose of securing the permanence of his projected reforms, that he had exterminated all those who had been active and influential leaders of the anarchical party.

He reorganized the legislative department of the government by abolishing the tribal assembly and giving to the senate the exclusive authority to originate bills to be submitted to the centuriate assembly for final enactment. The majority of the Roman freemen were a mob so base that they were unfit to have any share in the law-making power; but perhaps the time had not yet come when they could be excluded from it. As Sulla was a man of high political as well as military capacity, we may assume that his course was the best possible under the circumstances. Incomplete as his reform was, it was a great improvement on the previous condition. Under his system, no Gracchus, or Cinna, would again get control of the government.

He increased the number of senators to four hundred and fifty, and filled all the vacancies, taking most of his appointees from the old patrician families, but many also from the rich plebeians. His selections were so judicious that they added greatly to the strength of his reform as well as to his own popularity. He provided that no one should be consul until he had been prætor, nor should anyone be prætor until he had served a term as curule ædile or as quæstor; but this provision was a command addressed to the people, and was not accompanied by any adequate guaranty for its enforcement. There was no provision that the officer who counted the votes for an ineligible candidate, or that the person who, while ineligible, presented himself as a candidate, should be punished for crime. Sulla decreed that between any two terms of elective office, there must be an interval of one

year; and that between two terms of the same office, there must be an interval of ten years. Nobody was to be elected consul for two years in succession. He abolished the office of censor, and provided that a person once appointed to the senate should not be deprived of his senatorial dignity.

The authority of interfering in elections, in legislation, and in affairs of the public treasury, was taken from the tribunitian office, the acceptance of which was made a disqualification for the positions of quæstor, curule ædile, prætor, and consul. Senatorial rank was indispensable in the candidate for the tribunitian office, which was thus placed beyond the reach of demagogues who might hope to use it as a stepping-stone to the highest positions in the state.

Finally Sulla restored to the senators the privilege of sitting on juries in important state trials. This was not a reform, but a restoration of a great abuse. The senate distributed the provinces among its members, with the expectation that each would accumulate a large fortune within a year by extortion. The law forbade but custom permitted the most outrageous cruelty in the exaction of money from provincial subjects; and custom established the rule that the senators should protect one another in their extortion. The average senator was dependent on his colleagues for the fortune not only of himself but of his relatives and friends. All looked with indulgence upon the violation of the law for the protection of one of their own number; and the majority felt great resentment against a just sentence in a case of senatorial extortion. The number of senators was so small, the influence of a vote so great, the class feeling so strong, the fighting propensity so highly developed, the resent-

ment against any personal enemy so bitter, and the opportunities for assassination so frequent in their wars and riots, that it was highly dangerous for a senator, unless supported by a number of others, to vote for the conviction of an associate on a charge of extortion. When the jurymen were selected among the knights, there was more probability of an honest verdict, because there was not the same community of interest between the jurymen and the accused, and also because the class from which the jury were selected was much larger. The equestrian juries sometimes, and the senatorial rarely, rendered honest verdicts in cases of extortion.

Sulla retained the dictatorial office and despotic power for three years; and in 79 B. C. resigned and retired to private life, living without guards and without further participation in official business. He made his home on a magnificent estate at Puteoli, now Pozzuoli, near Naples, where he lived in a most luxurious style, devoting his leisure to the composition of his memoirs, which, unfortunately, have not come down to us. He died suddenly in 78 B. C., a year after his retirement; and his corpse was taken to Rome, where it had a more magnificent funeral than any ever before seen in the Eternal City. His companions in arms came from remote parts of the peninsula to attend his obsequies. Nobody dared to abuse the memory of Sulla.

SEC. 464. *Pompey*.—After the death of Sulla, the most influential man in Rome was Cnæus Pompeius, or, as his name has usually been written in English, Pompey; and he held this position for about twenty-five years. He was a great general and a weak statesman. At seventeen he began his service in the army, and at twenty-three he had become the second general of the republic in credit,

inferior only to Sulla, whom he assisted in subduing the plebeian party. He took command of the army of Sulla in Africa, and afterwards in Spain, where the most difficult work was to be done, and was successful in both his tasks. When only twenty-five years of age, and when he had not yet been elected by the people to any office, the senate granted to him a triumph, an honor without its parallel in Roman history. On his return from Spain with an army, he encountered five thousand gladiators, the last remnant of the forces of Spartacus, and exterminated them. At the age of thirty-six, while too young for the consulship, the senate, by a special resolution, relieved him from disqualification on account of years, and he was elected. Three years later, the scourge of piracy having become intolerable, Pompey was requested by the senate to give relief, and he accepted the commission, on conditions which he dictated, including the grant of a very large appropriation to provide ships and men, with the privilege of selecting all his subordinate commanders. His terms implied that, under the ordinary methods, favoritism, corruption, and incapacity would endanger success. The senate allowed him to have his own way, and within three months he had captured 20,000 pirates, and put an end to their business in the Mediterranean for a time.

Scarcely had he accomplished this task when he went to Asia, where he conquered Mithradates, king of Pontus, Tigranes, king of Armenia, and Antiochus, king of Syria, took twelve hundred walled towns, and doubled the revenues of the state. He returned to Rome to receive his third triumph, and he hoped to enjoy the popularity which he had earned.

But he was disappointed. While consul he had used

his influence with success to repeal the laws of Sulla, abolishing the tribal assembly and restoring the dangerous authority of the tribunitian office. These measures gave great offense to the patricians, who, after they had been relieved from the menaces of the pirates and of the Asiatic monarchs, did not hesitate to show their dissatisfaction.

SEC. 465. *Cæsar*.—Julius Cæsar, born in 100 B. C., was eight years younger than Pompey, but twenty years later in obtaining a high military or political position. At the age of eighteen he proved his courage by refusing to obey Sulla's order to repudiate his wife, the daughter of Cinna, the associate of Marius. His conduct on that occasion would have been fatal to him if some of his friends, who stood well with the dictator, had not interceded for him. Soon after the death of Sulla, Cæsar was generally recognized as one of the most distinguished young men of Rome. His appearance was prepossessing, his manners captivating, his speech ready and impressive, his tact great, his courage high, his confidence in himself great, and his oratorical talents brilliant. His paternal aunt, Julia, had married Marius, and after the death of that leader and of his son and of all the prominent men of the Marian party, Julius Cæsar was its natural leader and chief hope. But until he was thirty-five years of age, he showed no political ambition, but was dissipated in his habits, and was supposed to wish for nothing save a life of careless ease.

In 67 B. C., when he held the office of quæstor, he was called upon to deliver the funeral oration of his aunt Julia. Among the family images he exhibited the figure of her husband, Marius, whose name was so much detested by the senate that any show of honor to him was

considered worthy of punishment with death. Cæsar thus defied the nobles and informed the mob that he aspired to be their leader. The multitude hated the memory of Sulla, his work, and the senatorial rule; and they responded to Cæsar's signal with the most encouraging cheers. But they had been excluded from the government. The tribal assembly had been abolished. The tribunes had been deprived of their authority to convene the people, and to submit bills to vote. Cæsar had to wait for years before he could use the political power of the multitude in a constitutional manner to overrule the nobles.

After Pompey's return from his conquests in Asia, the senate made the great mistake of insulting him by delay in granting a triumph and by refusal to fulfill his promises of land grants to his veterans. As the chief lieutenant and successor of Sulla and the personal friend of many of the new senators appointed by the late dictator, Pompey was strongly impelled to be the enemy of Cæsar and of the rabble, but his wounded vanity and the folly of the senate drove him to look for help in some other direction, and Cæsar was the person who was able and willing to furnish the needed aid. These two made an alliance. One was the favorite of the mob, and the other of the army, the two most formidable powers in the state, though the senate had nominally the control. Pompey married the daughter of Cæsar, and the affection which both had for her was a strong bond of union between them.

Cæsar and Pompey admitted Crassus into their political partnership or triumvirate. Crassus, besides being the richest man of his time, was anxious to acquire political and military honors. For years the three worked

together harmoniously, neither one exposing, or perhaps cherishing, any project inconsistent with the welfare of the other two, or of the republic. A result of the formation of the triumvirate was that Cæsar was elected to the consulate, and one of his first measures in that office was to submit to the senate a bill to give the promised lands to the soldiers of Pompey. Bibulus, the other consul, acting with the approval of a majority of the senate, prevented a vote in that body; so Cæsar took the measure to the people in their centuriate groups. Bibulus and his senatorial friends resorted to force, and tried to break up the assembly, but Cæsar met them with greater force and carried his bill. Pompey addressed the meeting, at Cæsar's request, and said that if his enemies wanted to appeal to the sword, he was ready to meet them. Thus the senators by their own folly gave a second most serious offense to the man of whom they had the greatest need.

In its hostility to Cæsar, the senate ordered him to spend his proconsulate—the year after his consulate—in managing the forests and public pastures of Italy. This was an insult to him, his friends, and his office, but it hurt its authors more than its object. Compensation was given to him by a bill, proposed by a tribune and adopted by the tribal assembly, conferring on him the proconsular office for five years, and giving him Illyria and the basin of the Po as his province. Before he had started, news came that the Helvetians and Teutons were about to invade Gaul, and as the subjugation of those enemies was considered a difficult, tedious, and unprofitable task, the senate added Gaul to Cæsar's province.

He accepted the task assigned to him, and started with his army for the defile of the Rhone near Geneva,

where he compelled the Helvetians to give up their plan of entering France in that direction. They then turned northwards, crossed the Jura mountains, and followed the Doubs river down to the valley of the Saone, where Cæsar met them, slew most of them, and compelled the survivors to return to their ancestral homes. He had scarcely got rid of them before he was called by the Gauls in the northern part of the Saone valley to aid them in driving out a large invading army of the Suevi, or Suabians. Cæsar hurried to their assistance, and, after defeating the Teutons with great slaughter, drove their remnants back across the Rhine. His presence in Gaul was unwelcome to many Gallic tribes, which probably had good cause to complain of the conduct of his soldiers. War with the Gauls followed, first with one tribe and then with another, and then with a large confederation of many tribes. The generalship of Cæsar and the discipline of his soldiers were subjected to many severe tests; but together they triumphed over every obstacle, and all of Gaul was reduced to a Roman province. The task required eight years of arduous warfare, in the course of which 1,000,000 Gauls were slain in battle; and as many more were enslaved. In 55 B. C. a great number of Teutons crossed the Rhine, and Cæsar defeated them with a loss, it was said, of 150,000 men. When peace came, a very large proportion of the Gallic men had disappeared, and a large number of Italians had established themselves in possession of the lands and women of the greater part of Gaul. The religion, the language, and the national feelings of the Gauls gave way to Roman substitutes; and this complete change over most of the territory implies a very large admixture of Roman blood. With unimportant exceptions, the Celtic speech

disappeared everywhere save in the peninsula of Brittany, the most western part of Gaul. Notwithstanding the large size of the country, the great number of its inhabitants, the ardor of their military spirit, the zeal of their priests for the maintenance of their independence, and the numerous mountains and marshes which gave them strongholds easily defended, ten years put an end to all their hopes of a separate nationality, and all their thoughts of taking revenge upon their conquerors. Samnium, with not one-tenth of the territory, and a population not one-third so large as that of Gaul, though within two days' journey of Rome, and almost surrounded by her allies, fought with terrific desperation, and some great successes, more than a hundred years after it had been conquered. Not so did the Gauls, whose submission and fidelity could not be attributed to indulgent treatment. Indeed it may be said that never was a nationality so great treated with indulgence so scant. Cæsar was not cruel. He did not torture his captives, nor slaughter them to gratify his malice. But the interests of Rome demanded that the Gallic question should be settled forever by the destruction of the Gallic nationality.

For more than three centuries his countrymen had feared the Gauls as their most dangerous enemies. A large sum of precious metal was stored in the Capitol to be used only in case of a Gallic invasion; and so long as the Gauls were numerous and within a few weeks' march of the Tiber, that peril would continue to exist. Cæsar now found himself in a position to give final relief from that danger; and later times should not say that he had neglected his opportunity. He knew that, with its large population and richer agricultural resources, Gaul, if

once well organized in its political and military affairs, might become much more formidable than either Samnium or Carthage had been, and yet each of those states had brought Rome to the verge of destruction. If, after his time, any Gallic leader should appear before the walls of Rome, as Hannibal and Caius Pontius had done, the blame might be thrown on the memory of Cæsar. He saw that the interests of his country demanded that the decisive struggle should not be delayed; that it should be brought on before the Gauls fortified their towns; before they acquired a dense population; before they had made much additional progress in the accumulation of wealth; before they had learned to combine their forces; and before they had come under the control of some great military leader.

His personal interests harmonized with the interests of his country. He must conquer Gaul to obtain a large army, to get the affection of his soldiers, to acquire wealth, to gain a reputation that would put him on a level with Pompey as a general, and to give the Roman rabble such confidence in him that they would aid him to become dictator.

With such motives, it is highly probable that Cæsar purposely irritated the Gauls and drove them into hostilities, again and again, until he had slain 1,000,000 of their men, and deported as many slaves, out of a total population which perhaps did not exceed 4,500,000. The Gauls left in the country were mostly women and girls. Cæsar established a large number of Romans, who took possession of the lands and women; and the natural result was that the next generation had ceased to be Gauls in speech, manners, modes of life, and feelings.

SEC. 466. *Anarchy*.—The Roman republic had reached

the end of its career. Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus, Marius, Cinna, Sulla, and Pompey, had each held despotic power, and no one had established an orderly government on a durable basis. Two generations had lived in almost continuous confusion. The senate and tribal assembly could not work together in harmony, and neither was strong enough to abolish the other permanently. Nor was either fit to rule. There was no influential middle class to restrain them.

Excluded from trade and from every profitable occupation in the city, and yet required to live in grand style and to support a multitude of dependents, the nobles generally derived most of their income from booty in war and from provincial plunder in peace. These sources of wealth were demoralizing. They could not be used with much effect except by men who disregarded the rights and feelings of their fellow-men. The result was that the Roman nobles were among the most cruel rulers the world has ever seen.

In the late republic, the populace of Rome were worthy associates of the nobles. They were the most ignorant and most brutal rabble known to history. They had less industrial skill and they did less work than any other populace. They had less respect for themselves and less regard for the rights of others. Their greatest delight was to see their fellow-men slaughter one another. They were the largest mass of paupers ever brought together.

Republican Rome never had an efficient police force. Every curule officer had half a dozen men or more to serve as his attendants and bailiffs, but they were attached to the man, not to the state. They belonged to no common organization; they were not subject to any general rules emanating from a central authority. They

were appointed for brief terms, not long enough to give them a good official education. The criminal laws were very rude; and without a precise code of police regulations and permanently organized courts, there can not be a good police administration.

Partisan riots and political assassinations were very frequent, and were rarely, if ever, properly punished. Seldom, indeed, were they made subjects of judicial investigation. While Cæsar was in Gaul, two of the most prominent men in Rome, Clodius on the side of the mob and Milo on the side of the senate, kept bands of gladiators, to protect them in street fights. Cato, the younger, also had his similar band. No court interfered with these evils; the senate had no remedy for them. The republic could not protect its honor against such gross insults.

No government in any other great state, in any period of the world, has ever been so disorderly during so long a period as that of Rome from 130 to 50 B. C. Beesley says: "A more repulsive picture can hardly be imagined. A mob, a moneyed class, and an aristocracy almost equally worthless, hating each other and hated by the rest of the world; Italians bitterly jealous of Romans and only in better plight than the provinces beyond the sea; more miserable than either, swarms of slaves beginning to brood over revenge as a solace to their sufferings; the land going out of cultivation; native industry swamped by slave-grown imports; the population decreasing; the army degenerating; wars waged as a speculation, but only against the weak; provinces subjected to organized pillage; in the metropolis, childish superstition, wholesale luxury, and monstrous vice."¹

About 1854, while slavery still existed in New Orleans,

and the Papal government still held possession of Rome, Mommsen wrote that "if we conceive a London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police of Constantinople, with the non-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by politics after the fashion of the Paris of 1848, we shall acquire an approximate idea of the republican glory [of Rome about 45 B. C.] the departure of which Cicero and his associates in their sulky letters deplore."²

This is an impressive picture, but it conveys a very inadequate idea of the most frightful features in the social and political condition of the Eternal City. The slave population there was far more vicious and probably much larger relatively than in New Orleans. The political agitation should be compared to that of Paris, not in 1848, but in 1793, an agitation not limited to a struggle for bread and office, but embittered by the most horrid slaughter. The Rome of 50 B. C. was what Paris would have been in 1875 if the French republic of 1793 had continued for eighty years. No other great city has equaled or even approached the long continuation of the frightful disorders of Rome in the last century of the republic. The cruelty of Nero, and the fury of Commodus, were mild, and merciful, and brief in comparison.

No historian ventures to commend the government of the republic in its later years. According to Mahaffy, it was "the worst tyranny the world had ever seen." In the mind of Ihne it provoked "indignation and disgust." Merivale thought it "frightful in its political immorality." In the description of Mommsen it was "the saturnalia of the *canaille*," the frenzied fury of a degraded populace. To Savigny it was iniquitous. To Froude its treatment of the provinces suggested "the squeezing of a sponge."

Marquardt considered that its rule of conduct was general dishonesty.³

In Rome we find the highest development of the evils which accompany the acquisition of national wealth by war, and the lowest development of those blessings which grow out of the devotion of the mass of the people to productive toil. Even after the Romans had conquered and occupied and plundered all the countries from the Euphrates to the Irish Sea, and after they had had abundant opportunity to become familiar with all the knowledge of their subjects, they still continued to be a coarse and empty-minded people, incapable of appreciating the Greek literature and arts, which they used mainly as cloaks, to hide the detestable features of their gross sensuality. Early in their career, free labor was repressed among them by exhausting warfare, slaves became very numerous. The nobles and wealthy plebeians devoted themselves to money lending, government contracts, and trade; and in the last century of the republic, the rich men had become a band of robbers who held the offices, plundered the provinces, and the subject cities in alliance with the pauper multitude of the Imperial City, whom they bribed with free bread and free games.⁴

SEC. 467. *Success.*—It may seem singular that, with such a detestable government, the republic had succeeded in conquering nearly all of the known world. But her government did not become so corrupt until she had destroyed her most formidable enemies. In her earlier centuries her people were organized in clans, each of which preserved order within its own limits; the population of the metropolis was not very large; the army was composed of property holders, who were interested in maintaining a good administration; and the military dis-

cipline was strict. Notwithstanding serious abuses at home, the wisdom of the senate and the expansiveness of the citizenship gave Rome dominion abroad.

It is impossible to study the history of the Romans without being greatly impressed by their undaunted courage; by their admirable military discipline; by the consistency of their foreign policy; by their unparalleled series of victories; by their successive grants of citizenship to the freemen of all their conquered provinces; by their admirable systems of civil law and of city government; and by the vast influence which they have exerted and continue to exert on the languages, literature, and government of modern times.

Early in her career, Rome adopted the policy of using her neighboring states to destroy one another. Her maxim was to divide and conquer. Fortunately for her, all the enemies which she was compelled to encounter could easily be separated from one another. The Sabine, the Latin, the Etruscan, the Volscian, and the Æquian nationality was each a loose league, the cities of which frequently fought among themselves, and were then glad to obtain alien aid, which Rome was ready to furnish. She systematically instigated quarrels between nobles and commoners, between cities and between nationalities; and she used her powerful influence to prolong hostilities, and to prevent the restoration of confidence in peace. When two neighboring states were at war with each other, she sought an excuse to intervene, preferably becoming the ally of the weaker party. When the foe was subdued, she took a large part of the conquered territory, and planted in it a military colony, well fortified. The allied state which had ceased to be of service was insulted, driven into hostilities, vanquished, despoiled,

and occupied in like manner. Each was kept separate from all others which had a similar interest, until all were so weak that even united they could make no effective resistance. And yet Etruria, Samnium, Carthage, Macedonia, and Gaul had each been strong enough at some time, if aided by all the force of one of the others, to destroy the city on the Tiber.

After the peoples of Italy had been subdued, they were so insulted and oppressed that they were driven into frequent revolts, each of which was the occasion and the excuse for a new conquest, a new massacre, a new deportation of slaves, and a new distribution of confiscated lands in large tracts, to be occupied by slaves brought from a distance. The mixed population found that more of them knew Latin than any other tongue; and under such influences that language took possession of Etruria, Samnium, the Po-Basin, southern Italy, and much of northern Africa, Gaul, and nearly all of Spain. Merivale said that "the success of the Romans in assimilating to themselves the barbarian races of their empire . . . has been deemed one of the lost arts."¹ It would be more correct to say that their cruelty in exterminating, enslaving, deporting, and mixing together the people of their conquered provinces has had no imitators in later times.

The provinces were carefully separated from one another so long as they showed any traces of their hereditary national feeling. The people of one were not permitted to marry, to trade, or to buy land in another; and, after conquest, a country was sometimes divided into several provinces, each cut off from free commercial and social intercourse with the others. Such restrictions **not only** rendered military combinations against Rome

difficult, but gave to Roman merchants, who beside were exempt from certain taxes, many advantages in business. The modes of assessing and collecting revenue varied in the provinces, which also had different political privileges. These inequalities not only fomented provincial jealousies, but made the people feel that in any insurrection one town risked much more than another.

Rome systematically conciliated the local nobility in hostile as well as in allied cities. After conquering and annexing a province, she placed those cities which she did not destroy, under the control of Roman colonists or of native aristocrats; and the latter, in return for the power and wealth conferred on them, were required to oppress the populace, and thus make themselves dependent on the Imperial City, not only for the maintenance of their authority, but for the protection of their property and lives.

SEC. 468. *Ruin*.—The primary cause of the decay of the Roman republic in its last century was the lack of a numerous and intelligent middle class. The secondary causes, all of which grew directly or indirectly out of the primary cause, were the defects in the system of legislation and in the administration of the criminal law; the enlistment for long terms in the army of men without property, and without citizenship; the inequalities of political and industrial rights; the cruel system of plundering the provinces; the disagreement of the senate and the mob about the division of the plunder; the exclusion of the senators from industrial occupations that might have enabled them to earn an honest living; and the system of compelling candidates for high office to bribe the people with expensive shows. Neither luxury nor irreligion, nor disregard of the marriage tie, nor the

lack of a system of representation, had any appreciable influence in causing the ruin of the republic. The most chaste, the most miserly, and the most superstitious people, with an advanced system of representation, could not have saved a government while afflicted with vices such as those of republican Rome.

This statement of the causes of the ruin of the republic implies that the state needed a political party organized for the purpose of advocating the needful reforms. But one of the most striking facts in Roman history is that no such party ever made its appearance; nor did any man of great prominence ever attempt to organize such a party. The chief questions of partisan contention were whether the mob in the capital should have grain for one-fifth of its market value or for nothing; whether they should have free grants of land, not for occupation, but for sale; whether the consuls should distribute to their soldiers small or large shares of the booty taken from the conquered provinces; whether the best places in the government should be given to the partisans of the senate or to those of the mob; and whether the courts should treat extortion and murder committed by citizens upon provincials, as crimes. In short, the Roman government had completely failed to perform many of its most important duties.

The wars fought in Italy were accompanied by fearful devastations, which involved cities, towns, country houses, orchards, vineyards, cattle, tools, and all forms of movable wealth, in destruction. The authority of law being superseded for years at a time by the clash of weapons, many men, deprived of other means of support, resorted to brigandage, and plundered districts which had been spared by the armies.

While in many districts of Italy the rural population was swept away, and the country was desolated, the senators, army contractors, tax gatherers, and money lenders of Rome, were accumulating vast fortunes, which enabled them to buy up or occupy the devastated tracts, and to fill them with slaves, who were brought in myriads from Africa, Epirus, Greece, Asia, Africa, Sardinia, Spain, and Gaul. The peninsula, which three or four centuries before had possessed millions of farmers, each owning and tilling his little tract, now had only some thousands.

The slaves became numerous in the capital as well as in the rural districts. About 130 B. C. a remark in the Forum by Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, having provoked an angry protest from the populace within hearing, the speaker called out, "Silence, ye stepsons of Italy; remember who brought you here in chains." He thus insinuated that many of the men before him had been enslaved by his armies and afterwards emancipated. And the story is told as if the crowd submitted in silence to the correction; perhaps the freemen were ashamed of their company, and the freedmen afraid to make themselves conspicuous.

In addition to changes in the legislative and police departments of the government, the reforms most needed in Rome were the equalization of industrial and political rights, the freedom of industrial occupation for senators, the payment of the expense of the public games by the public treasury, the payment of salaries to all executive officials, and the suppression of pauperism among the class able to support themselves.

The only important reformatory measure that found prominent advocates in Rome was the extension of the Roman citizenship; but the motive of the exceptional

zeal in this direction was perhaps not so much a desire to do equal justice as to catch numerous votes. The politician who could give the franchise to several hundred thousand men might count with confidence on their partisan attachment to him.

In no other civilized community has the greed for money shown itself more offensively; in no other has the separation been wider between legal privilege and moral right; in no other did the dominant class look with more contempt on the demands of justice; and in no other can we find more conclusive proof that for the happy constitution of society, the mere outward forms of law are of less value than the public spirit which knows how to develop a sound social condition.

Cicero and other learned and able statesmen of his time evidently had no hope that the main political abuses of the republic would be corrected while they lived. Their highest ambition was to postpone the day which was to witness the final overthrow of senatorial rule. They foresaw that the end must be a monarchy, which they supposed would not be durably established until after scenes of disorder and massacre, similar to those which had disgraced the reigns of Marius and Sulla.

One of the most important objects of national economy is to establish a sound system of land tenure, under which the area of the state shall be divided among a multitude of farmers, each owning in fee, and tilling by his own labor, a tract not much larger than is sufficient to maintain his family in comfort, and to educate his children in a manner that will qualify them to perform their duties as citizens and members of society with credit to themselves.

But no comprehensive plan for the establishment of

such a system of land tenure was proposed in Rome. The main purpose of the agrarian laws was to give to the commoners tracts not to be occupied but to be sold by them. Tiberius Gracchus, when trying to get the support of some of his noble relatives, inserted in his agrarian bill a clause that the land should be forfeited to the state when abandoned by the grantee, but this clause was repealed because it offended the rabble, who wanted land not to occupy but to sell.

We cannot understand the fact that the nobles, including the senators, were almost unanimous in their opposition to the agrarian bills, unless we suppose that all these bills were designed to benefit a class at the expense of the state. Among the senators there were able statesmen and sincere patriots in every age. Such a man was Cicero, and he had a number of senatorial supporters; yet he and they were enemies of all the agrarian agitators. Neither Tiberius nor Caius Gracchus had any senator of note, unless a near relative, among his supporters, and although each carried his bill, no party in the senate wanted its enforcement.

The military was the only department in which the late republic was not miserably deficient. Though the discipline was relaxed and the material inferior, the martial traditions had enough influence to make excellent fighters. A brutal populace may make a formidable soldiery. Fortunately for Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Cæsar, in their foreign wars they encountered no great army under a great general. The Greeks were not united; the Gauls and Teutons were not well drilled nor well commanded.

SEC. 469. *Perfidy*.—Of all civilized governments that of the Roman republic was the most perfidious in its

foreign policy. No other powerful state has ever approached it in the systematic disregard of the obligations of truth and justice to other nations. The base treatment of Carthage in the acquisition of Sardinia and in the third Punic war has been described briefly in sections 450 and 455. Some other examples of Roman faithlessness deserve mention here.

When the Romans were ready to appropriate the territory of Numidia, they declared war against King Jugurtha, who had been a most useful ally to them. Having defeated him, they consented to grant him peace if he would surrender all his elephants, a great number of horses, and a large stock of arms, and would pay a war indemnity of about \$2,500,000. Jugurtha accepted the conditions and complied with them, supposing that he would then be left in possession of his dominions, as an allied or subject prince. But this was only a beginning. He was ordered to surrender all the Roman and Italian deserters, who had been an efficient part of his army. Having given up most of his weapons, he complied with this demand. Next he was ordered to surrender himself. This was too much. He again called on his people to fight, and kept up the war until the Romans, by bribery, induced his father-in-law to seize and surrender him. He was then starved to death.

At a conference of two Roman commissioners with the senate of the Achæan League, the ambassadors accused the leading Achæans of scheming to make war against Rome. One of the Achæans denied the charge and said he was ready to be tried on that accusation either in Achæa or in Rome. Thereupon one of the Romans replied that he and other prominent Achæans should go to Rome to be tried before the senate. Rather than bring

the disasters of a hopeless war on their country, the Achæans went. The list, as prepared by the Romans, included all the men noted for political and military experience or for influence among the people. The promise of a trial was never kept. The accused were treated as if already convicted. They were detained in Etruria, where most of them died, and, after a lapse of seventeen years, three hundred survivors were permitted to return to Greece, where they contributed to increase the detestation with which the Romans were regarded throughout the provinces. Of these distinguished Achæans, whom the Romans could not have taken from their country without a deceitful concealment of their purpose, Polybius was one, and he became the first historian of Rome whose works have been at least partially preserved to our time.

After King Perseus had been conquered, the consul Paullus Æmilius sent word to those Epirotic cities which had been allies of Macedonia in the war, that he would spare them if they would deliver to him all the gold and silver which they possessed, either as private or as public property. They accepted his offer, and he sent a small army into every city to receive the treasure. When it had been delivered, the soldiers plundered all the dwellings, and sold 150,000 of the people into slavery.¹

In 136 B. C., after consul Mancinus had been defeated, with a loss of 10,000 men, by the Numantines, and was in great danger of being cut off with the remaining 20,000, he made a treaty, to which he and all his principal officers pledged the faith of Rome by their oaths. The senate repudiated the obligations of the treaty after they had obtained its benefits, and sent Mancinus to Numantium to be slain for having violated his promise,

"The manner in which the senate first pampered and rewarded a power like that of Eumenes [king of Pergamus], and enriched it at the expense of its neighbors, then jealously pulled it down the very instant their purpose had been attained, shows not only a total absence of justice, but a want of shame in parading this policy, which astonishes us. Even worse, their usual method of accomplishing this purpose was to set up the son or brother of their ally as a pretender, and let him see that they encouraged this treachery, thus sowing the seeds of crime in families and violating the purest and best feelings of our nature."²

The sack of Syracuse, after the expulsion of a Carthaginian garrison in the second Punic war, a garrison which had obtained possession of the fortress without the consent of the people, and after a siege in which most of them favored the Romans, is the most disgraceful affair of the kind in history. The damage done was so great that the city never recovered its former wealth, population, or commerce. This outrage might be charged to the brutality of an army, or to the weakness of a commander, but not so the complete destruction of Carthage and Corinth, two of the most brilliant and prosperous cities of the IInd century B. C. These crimes against humanity were deliberately ordered by the senate, and seem to have been approved by public opinion. Livy, Sallust, and Cicero have no word of condemnation or lament. Alexander destroyed Thebes, but Thebes had wanted to destroy Athens; and besides she was so powerful that Alexander could not safely leave her behind him while he was on his way to Asia. His motive was a reasonable precaution; Rome's, in her fury against Carthage and Corinth, was mere malignity,

The instances of Roman perfidy mentioned in this section, though the most remarkable, are relatively few in a long list, and all of them were ordered or approved, or at least not condemned, by the senate. The ignominy of Rome is increased by the pretenses of such representative authors as Livy and Sallust, that Carthage was pre-eminent for dishonesty in foreign relations, and that "Punic faith" was the equivalent of perfidy.

Liddell remarks that "the Romans professed not to keep faith with barbarians." Arnold tells us that "in their dealings with foreigners the Romans had neither magnanimity, nor humanity, nor justice." According to Ihne, they had neither "pity nor shame." Merivale observes that "public opinion continued to encourage the most open defiance of every moral obligation in dealing with the enemy in the provinces." And he also says that the treatment of Rhodes was scandalous, and that for the benefit of their own trade, the Romans "were ready to massacre the inhabitants of any [commercial] city." Finlay expresses his detestation of "the lupine ferocity of the race of Romulus." Mommsen says that they carried their brutality to enemies so far that they injured themselves.

SEC. 470. *Plunder*.—Every main political division of the state outside of Italy, called a province, was subject to a governor, who was selected by the senate from its own members, to serve one year. The main duties of his office were to preserve peace, to act as judge in all cases affecting the rights of Roman citizens, to protect the interests of the republic and of its citizens, and to supervise the collection of the revenue. He had great control over the lives and property of his subjects. In some provinces he collected the taxes by his subordinates; in

others, the collection was made by revenue companies, which had paid or contracted to pay to the state a certain sum for a term of five years.

The governor received no salary, but usually he expected to make a fortune by extortion before the end of his term. He was not subject to any tribunal or authority in the province; and if accused of crime, must be tried in Rome, among his friends and by his friends, where the accusers would be among their enemies. The expense of such a trial was great to the accusers, and the danger to them from later governors was serious.

The tax-contracting companies were systematically guilty of the most cruel oppression. Composed of greedy men, and served in the details of the collection by men of despised classes of society, often freedmen or slaves, they exacted much more than the legal tithe. Those provincials who resisted and appealed to the courts were usually defeated, because the defendants and the judges all belonged to the oppressor class. The companies had senators among their stockholders, and might have great influence upon the fortunes of the judges. The chances of the suit were strongly in favor of the Romans, and the penalty in case of failure was severe for the unfortunate provincials. The general results of the system were that the provinces lost in population and wealth; that the Romans were detested; that there were frequent revolts and assassinations; and that the reports of the defeats of the senatorial party, of the overthrow of the republic by Cæsar, and of the establishment of a monarchical government by Augustus, were received with almost universal satisfaction out of Italy.¹ "All the provinces [said Cicero] are mourning; all the nations that are free are complaining; every kingdom is expostulating with us

about our covetousness and injustice; there is now no place on this side of the ocean, none so distant, none so out of the way, that in these later times the lust and iniquity of our citizens have not reached it. The Roman people is now no longer able to bear, I do not say the violence, the arms, and the war, but the mourning, the tears, and the complaints of all foreign nations.”²

The Romans went to the provinces to make fortunes, and usually intended to collect money quickly by the most dishonest means. The government gave them abundant opportunity to oppress the provincials, and they used their power “without remorse and without satiety.” Under their extortions “the most unspeakable misery . . . reigned from the Tagus to the Euphrates.” They made themselves “unutterably odious.” The methods adopted by them to compel their subjects to surrender their treasures were inconceivably cruel. Thousands of tillers of the soil who, before they became subjects of Rome, had owned their little farms and lived in simple comfort by honest toil, afterwards, compelled to choose beggary or brigandage, preferred the latter. “In Sardinia and some districts of Asia brigandage was endemic; in Africa and Further Spain it became necessary to fortify all buildings outside of the city inclosures.” Many Roman governors favored gangs of robbers, who, by rendering life and property insecure, reduced the price of land and enabled capitalists to buy up extensive tracts, or to acquire legal title by prescriptive occupation during the absence of the former owners. “Like Carthage, Macedonia had provoked the envy, the greed, and the fear of the Romans, and when they obtained the power, they gave free rein to their malignant hatred. They cut up the country into

four divisions, and so isolated them that no inhabitants of one were allowed to acquire property or marry in the next. Of course Roman traders—and here the policy of protecting them by tyranny and oppression first appears—who could cross these frontiers soon got all the remaining wealth into their hands, and so great was the wretchedness of the land that bloody raids and insurrections compelled the Romans, twenty-one years after, to reduce it to a direct Roman province. It was all very well to demand [as the Romans did] only half the tax paid to the former kings. The mines were closed, the export of timber prohibited, in fact everything was done, and done but too successfully, to reduce this noble and free people to starvation and ruin.”³ “So long as the senators were the jurymen in cases of extortion, they reigned irresponsibly in the judicial tribunals, screened their friends and condemned their enemies, gorged themselves individually with bribes, and maintained, with relentless tyranny, the system of provincial oppression by which they profited as a class.”⁴ At those times when the jurymen were taken from the equestrian order, the corruption was not so frightful, but was still abundant and disgraceful. The tax collectors in many of the provinces were knights, who bribed the governors, and thus the jurymen were again members of the class which supplied the criminals and shared their profits. Many senators were secret stockholders in the tax-farming companies, composed ostensibly of knights; and the two orders worked together harmoniously in the provinces, where both had much to lose and nothing to gain pecuniarily by opposition to one another.

The Romans generally who went to the provinces went for plunder, and many of them had friends and rel-

atives among influential men, who could throw serious obstacles in the way of any governor who should attempt to protect his subjects against oppression. The troubles that beset an honest official in the provinces were so serious that the man disposed to enforce the principles of justice was either prevented from soliciting a provincial governorship or, after he got it, so hampered that he could not exercise the power that belonged properly to his office. His subordinates, through whom much of the administration was done, systematically deceived and disobeyed him.

Murders, open robberies, and other violent outrages were committed frequently by the Romans, and went not only unpunished but unnoticed; and yet, as Mommsen says, these crimes affected the comfort of the people generally less than the financial exactions made under the forms of law. These reduced many and threatened to reduce all to the most abject poverty and hopelessness.

In some provinces the tax gatherers and Roman officials made a practice of extorting, not a tenth, but a half or three-fourths, of the crop from provincial cultivators; and, as a consequence, much of the land was allowed to remain untilled, and other portions were sold or intrusted to Romans who could, or thought they could, defend their rights. Roman citizens, however, were not secure against the plunderers. They and their witnesses were murdered, their names and identities denied, their documentary evidences destroyed, and their advocates intimidated if not murdered.

When Pompey as consul elect in 70 B. C. was about to enter the city, he found a crowd at the gate, and delivered an address to them. His declaration that he

avored the restoration of the tribunitian power was received with a murmur of approval; but when he spoke of the need of a reformation of the gross abuses in the administration of justice, and the cruel oppression of the provinces, there was a loud and unanimous outburst of applause.⁶

One of the most notorious and discreditable examples of Roman cruelty to the provincials occurred in the island of Cyprus. The people of the city of Salamis in that island, having borrowed money at the rate of four per cent a month for the purpose of paying their taxes, and then becoming delinquent when the loan fell due, the members of the city council were imprisoned by the Roman Scaptius (agent for Marcus Brutus, the assassin of Cæsar), and kept without food until five of their number died of starvation. The debt had not been paid when Cicero became governor of the province of Cilicia, including Cyprus. One of his first acts as governor was the publication of a decree that the highest rate of interest which could be legally collected under him was one per cent a month. This brought out an angry protest from Brutus, who claimed the right of collecting the rate fixed in the contract. Cicero stood firm, and Brutus and Scaptius had to wait for a more accommodating governor, whom they doubtless obtained the next year. Cicero did not venture to punish Scaptius or his accomplices in the murder of the members of the city council; nor did he call the attention of the senate to the outrage. We learn of it incidentally in Cicero's letters. It seems to have been regarded as one of the abuses unavoidable in the administration of the republic, not important enough to be made a matter of official complaint to Rome. Cicero, who did nothing to punish

Scaptius, boasted of the exceptional justice of his administration to his provincial subjects; and this boast is doubtless true relatively. But if his conduct was Roman justice, and if he was an exception, what were the bulk of the unjust governors?

Mylasa was a free city in the province of Caria, and was honored above the surrounding district by being recognized as an ally of Rome. The presiding magistrate of that city, having received a demand from Consul Publius Crassus for a beam to be used as a battering ram, and having delivered one which did not comply with the specifications, was scourged by order of the consul.⁷

SEC. 471. *Verres*.—"About the period of Sulla's abdication," says Merivale, "a young noble named Caius Verres accompanied the prætor Dolabella to his government of Cilicia. At Sicyon, in Achaia, as he passed along, he thought fit to demand a sum of money of the chief magistrate of the city, and, being refused, shut him up in a close chamber, with a fire of green wood, to extort the gratuity he required. From the same place he carried off several of the finest sculptures and paintings. At Athens he shared with his chief the plunder of the temple of Minerva; at Delos, that of Apollo; at Chios, Erythræa, Halicarnassus, and elsewhere on his route, he perpetrated similar acts of rapine. Samos possessed a temple celebrated throughout Asia; Verres rifled both the temple and the city itself. The Samians complained to the governor of Asia; they were recommended to carry their complaints to Rome. Perga boasted a statue of Diana coated with gold; Verres scraped off the gilding. Miletus offered him the escort of one of her finest vessels; he detained it for his own use and sold it. At

Lampsacus he sought to dishonor the daughter of the first citizen of the place; her father and brother ventured to defend her, and slew one of his attendants. Verres seized the pretext to accuse them both of an attempt on his life, and the governor of the province obliged him by cutting off both their heads. Such were the atrocities of the young ruffian, while a mere dependent of the proconsul, with no charge or office of his own. Being appointed quæstor, he extended his exactions over every district of the province, and speedily amassed, by the avowal of his own principal, from two to three millions of sesterces [\$100,000 to \$150,000] beyond the requisitions of the public service.

“Verres could now pay for his election to the prætorship in the city. For one year he dispensed his favorable judgments to wealthy suitors at home, and on its termination sailed for the province of Sicily. Here his conduct on the tribunal was marked by the most glaring venality. He sold everything, both his patronage and his decisions, making sport of the laws of the country, and of his own edicts; of the religion, the fortunes, and the lives of the provincials. During the three years of his government not a single senator of the sixty-five cities of the island was elected without a gratuity to the proprætor. He imposed arbitrary requisitions of many hundred thousand bushels of grain upon the communities already overburdened with their authorized tithes. He distributed cities among his creatures with the air of a Persian despot: Lipara he gave to a boon companion, Segesta to an actress, Herbita to a courtesan. These exactions threatened to depopulate the country. At the period of his arrival the territory of Leontium possessed eighty-three farms; in the third year of the Verrine ad-

ministration only thirty-two remained in occupation. At Motya, the number of tenanted estates had fallen from a hundred and eighty-eight to a hundred and one; at Herbita, from two hundred and fifty-seven to a hundred and twenty; at Argyrona, from two hundred and fifty to eighty. Throughout the province more than one-half of the cultivated lands were abandoned, as if the scourge of war or pestilence had passed over the island.

“But Verres was an amateur, and an antiquary, and had a taste for art as well as a thirst for lucre. At every city where he stopped on his progresses he extorted gems, vases, and trinkets from his hosts, or from any inhabitant whom he understood to possess them. No one ventured to complain. There was no redress even for a potentate in alliance with the republic, such as Antiochus, king of Syria, who was thus robbed of a splendid candelabrum enriched with jewels, which he was about to dedicate in the Capitol of Rome. All these objects of art were sent off to Italy to decorate the villa of the prætor. Nor were the antiques and curiosities he thus amassed less valuable than the ornaments of gold and silver. Finally, Verres laid his hands on certain statues of Ceres and Diana, the special objects of worship among the natives, who were only allowed the consolation of coming to offer them their sacrifices in his garden. Nor did the extortion of Verres fall upon the Sicilians only. He cheated the treasury at Rome of the sums advanced to him in payment of corn for the consumption of the city. He withheld the necessary equipments from the fleet which he was directed to send against the pirates, and applied them to his own use. The fleet was worsted by the enemy, and Verres caused its officers to be executed for cowardice. He crowned his enormities

by punishing one of the ruling caste with death. Gavius, a Roman trader, he had confined in the quarries of Syracuse. The man escaped, was retaken, and fastened to a cross on the beach within sight of Italy, that he might address to his native shores the ineffectual cry, 'I am a Roman citizen.'"¹

It was by an accident that we know so much of Verres. It so happened that Cicero prosecuted him for extortion, and delivered one of his most famous orations against him. Verres murdered witnesses, bribed a consul, and attempted to exclude Cicero from the position of advocate of the Sicilians; but when the orator had once obtained a hearing, and had given an account of the crimes committed, the criminal saw that further pretenses of innocence were useless, and he went into exile. The preservation of the oration of Cicero has given a prominence of infamous immortality to the criminal.

In his first oration against Verres, Cicero declared that the administration of justice under the senatorial judges had been nefarious; and he added, "The Roman people shall know from me . . . why . . . Quintus Calidius, when condemned, said that a man of prætorian rank could not honestly be condemned at a price of less than 300,000 sesterces [\$15,000]; why it is that when Publius Septimius, a senator, was condemned for extortion, while Quintus Hortensius was prætor, damages were assessed against him, including money which he had received as judge to decide causes which came before him; why it is that in the case of Caius Herennius and in that of Caius Popilius, senators, both of whom were convicted of peculation,—why it is that in the case of Marcus Atilius, who was convicted of treason—this was made plain, that all had received money for the purpose

of influencing their judicial decisions; why it is that senators have been found who, when Caius Verres, as prætor of the city, gave out the lots, voted against the criminal whom they were condemning without having inquired into his case; why it is that a senator was found who, when he was judge, took money in one and the same trial both from the defendant to distribute among the judges, and from the accuser to condemn the defendant.”²

The six orations of Cicero against Verres, still in existence, contain a catalogue of his numerous, heinous, and notorious crimes, including the theft of valuable state and private property, the profanation of temples, the violation of domestic purity, the sale of judicial decisions, the corrupt release of malefactors, the encouragement of piracy, the murder of provincials, allies, and citizens—crimes committed through a series of years without punishment, and without official complaint by the senate or any consul.

This list of the crimes of Verres is undoubtedly true, as is a most significant confession by a senator and a zealous supporter of the senatorial party, that the majority of the senators were the most corrupt body of men that ever controlled the administration of a civilized state; and that their pretended government was practically an anarchy. It is the most frightful and disgusting record of crime by one man to be found in all history.

SEC. 472. *Roscius*.—The story of Sextus Roscius deserves attention as an example of crimes not rare in the civil wars of Rome. He lived in the town of Ameria, now Amelia, about fifty miles north of Rome, where he owned several large estates of land. He was a decided supporter of Sulla, and of the senatorial party. While

Sulla was dictator, and soon after he had published his proscription lists, two men of Ameria, named Roscius Magnus and Roscius Capito, plotted to murder Sextus Roscius, and get hold of most of his property. When their victim was in Rome, he was assassinated in the evening by Roscius Magnus, who immediately sent word by his freedman to Roscius Capito. The messenger made the journey of fifty-six miles in ten hours, and delivered his news about daybreak. Soon afterwards, by the aid of Chrysogonus, who had probably been a participant in the plot from the first, and who was a freedman of Sulla, the name of Sextus Roscius was published in a proscription list, his estates as confiscated were offered for sale, and, though worth more than \$100,000, were sold for \$100. The purchaser was Chrysogonus, against whom others did not wish to bid. Chrysogonus sold out to his accomplices.

The citizens of Ameria, knowing that Sextus Roscius had been a partisan of Sulla; that he had been assassinated, and that the property had been sold after the time when such sales were permitted; that it had been sold corruptly for a trifle; and that it had been transferred to the men suspected, with good reason, of the assassination, sent a deputation of their lower council to Sulla to call his attention to the facts. Chrysogonus, hearing of their mission, persuaded them not to insist on seeing Sulla, and promised that the name of Sextus Roscius should be erased from the proscription list.

Whether through fear or folly, they yielded to him, and went away without seeing Sulla, or making sure that he knew anything of the affair. The murderers, perhaps thinking that the complaint against them had been made by Sextus Roscius, son of the murdered man, accused

the latter of employing a murderer to kill his father. The son was a man who had spent his life in the country, had given all his attention to agricultural affairs, and had no personal friends among the senators. By the confiscation he had lost all his property. The accusers probably expected to convict the accused mainly by corruption, and by the fear of Sulla and of Chrysogonus, his freedman. But the son found an advocate in Cicero, who convinced the court that Chrysogonus acted in this matter without the previous knowledge or subsequent approval of Sulla, that Roscius Magnus and Roscius Capito were the true criminals. The son was acquitted; whether he recovered his property, or whether the murderers were punished, we do not know.

Marcus Aurius, a citizen of Larino, in southern Italy, while in arms against Sulla, was captured. He was then sold as a slave, and taken to northern Italy, where he was kept in chains. His aged mother, unable to learn what had become of her son, when about to die, bequeathed a large legacy to him, and gave the residue of her estate to her grandson. This heir, Oppianicus, having discovered his uncle, murdered him, and appropriated the whole estate. This crime became known to a kinsman, and to the magistrates of Larino, who prepared to prosecute the murderer, whereupon Oppianicus, at the head of a troop of ruffians, murdered the kinsman and the magistrates; and he then installed himself and some of his associates as magistrates of Larino, declaring that he was acting by the orders of Sulla. His rule was frightful, but not of long duration.¹

SEC. 473 *Slave Wars*.—Three great slave wars occurred in Roman history, the first two in Sicily and the last in Italy. The first broke out in 134 B. C., and con-

tinued four years; the second began in 102 B. C., and lasted three years. In both the slaves were numerous, and desperate enough to defeat several Roman armies; and according to Athenæus, the only ancient author who gives an estimate of the loss of life in the two, a million of men fell in them. This is presumably a gross exaggeration, but the victims must have been numbered by hundreds of thousands. The outbreak in each case was provoked by the gross cruelty of the masters.

The second slave war was preceded by circumstances peculiarly illustrative of the Roman system of provincial government in the last century of the republic. When Marius was collecting his army to meet the Teutons, he sent a request as consul, to the allied and dependent king of Bithynia, to send him some troops. The king replied that so many of his free subjects had been carried as slaves to Sicily by the Roman tax gatherers that he could not furnish soldiers. In his hostility to the senate, Marius gave publicity to the excuse, accepted it as correct, and doubtless expressed the opinion that the senate was responsible for the evil and ought to provide for its correction. The senate ordered the governor of Sicily to make an investigation, and to liberate all the freemen held illegally as slaves. Notice having been published that claims to freedom would be heard, accompanied, doubtless, with warning that all false pretenses would be severely punished, for the Romans were merciless in such matters, a great number of applications were made, and they increased so rapidly that they created general alarm among the slaveholders; and after eight hundred men had been liberated, suddenly the governor refused to hear any more cases. Shortly afterwards, and partly because of this refusal, the revolt began,

The third slave war was in Italy, and is generally called that of the gladiators, with whom it began. In 72 B. C. seventy slaves who were under training at Capua to teach them how to slaughter one another for the amusement of the Romans, escaped with their arms, under the lead of Spartacus, who had been a Thracian soldier and general; he was soon joined by a large number of slaves, whom he and his fellow-gladiators organized into legions, and then he marched through the country, collecting arms, provisions, military engines, and recruits, and defeating all the Roman troops sent against him. At one time he had an army of 100,000 men. He showed himself to be a general of much capacity, but his soldiers were heterogeneous, quarrelsome, dissolute, and extremely averse to discipline; and his supply of men suitable for the subordinate commands was entirely inadequate. The end was that within a year he and all his men were either slain in battle or massacred as prisoners.

These three are the only slave wars worthy of mention in a history of culture as brief as this one. They may be considered characteristic of Rome, and natural results of the brutality of the last century and a half of the republic. No other state in an equal period of time ever inflicted so much injustice and so much indignity upon so large a number of freemen, or ever so richly deserved the loss and humiliation to which it was subjected by its revolted slaves. Other states have had large numbers of bondmen, but no other reduced so many freemen to servitude, or conducted the slave traffic on a scale so gigantic, or took so many warriors away from their native land to toil in distant regions under the most exacting masters, with so many circumstances of hardship.

Akin to the slave wars was the pirate war, which oc-

curred in 66 B. C. For ten years pirate ships had swarmed in the eastern portions of the Mediterranean. They were far more numerous and more formidable than the vessels of the Roman navy, to which they frequently gave battle with success. Besides capturing merchant vessels, they plundered the coasts of Asia Minor, Greece, Sicily, and of Italy, landing large bodies of armed men, which sought to take towns by surprise. They had even taken and plundered Ostia, only fifteen miles from Rome. The people feared that they would cut off all the ships that supplied the capital with grain. Bread became dear. The danger was so imminent that an office—it may be called the pirate dictatorship—was created such as no one had ever before held. It was conferred on Pompey, and he was authorized to buy and build an immense fleet, to appoint all his subordinate officers, and to expend an immense amount of money in his preparations. In nine months he was ready to take the sea; and three months afterwards he had defeated the enemy in a great naval battle, had taken several hundred ships, had captured 20,000 men, and completely accomplished the purpose for which his office was created. He spared the lives of his captives, and compelled them to turn their attention to the pursuits of peace. These are the only pirates who ever openly defied a great civilized nation on its own waters, or ever ventured to give battle to a great fleet. The extremity of their audacity implies the extremity of Roman misgovernment.

SEC. 474. *Pharsalia*.—While Cæsar was engaged in Gaul, destroying enemies whom the Romans had feared for centuries, the senators could neither refuse to furnish him with soldiers nor to prolong his term of office; but their detestation of him increased with his success and his

influence over the rabble. The plebeians made him their idol, and in their tribal assembly were ready to grant to him any reasonable demand if it should be refused by the senate. His generalship was so consummate, his victories so brilliant, his subjugation of the Gauls so complete, his political administration so judicious, his tact in managing his legions so delicate, that even his enemies had to admit that he was a man of vast capacity. He had not only conquered the Gallic tribes, but he had established so many settlers of other blood in their country that there was little danger that a later generation of Gauls would ever overrun Italy. That which, for three centuries, had been considered the greatest peril in the future of Rome was now dispelled forever.

Cæsar found that he could not return to Rome in peace. Those senators who had been his most bitter enemies, since he began his public career, understood that if he should ever enter the capital, retaining control over the legions which he had trained in Gaul, and supported by the city rabble, he would be master of the state as completely as Marius and Sulla had been; and they doubtless feared that he would imitate their proscriptions; in which case these same senators who owed their places to Sulla and were the implacable enemies of all the Marian leaders, would probably be the first victims. Even if their heads should be secure, their political influence, by the aid of which they shared in the plunder of the provinces, certainly would be imperiled by the domination of Cæsar in Rome. But they had no great leader, no army, no general. In their trouble they made advances to Pompey, whom for years they had insulted and wronged, and who previously had been the ally of Cæsar.

The political combination between the two men had been greatly weakened by long separation, by the deaths of Julia and Crassus, and by the jealousy which had sprung up in the mind of Pompey when he saw that Cæsar had acquired great military glory, and had gained an unequaled popularity with the Roman mob. He welcomed the leaders of the senatorial party and joined their side; and they, supposing themselves now certain of success, showed their hostility by several senatorial resolutions, depriving Cæsar of his command, and withdrawing privileges previously conferred on him. In unofficial conversation, they declared that they regarded him as a public enemy, who could never be permitted to live in Rome. It was evident that if he should return to the capital without a strong military escort, he would either be assassinated, or tried on one of the numerous accusations that had been made against him, and driven into exile.

Under these circumstances, Cæsar had to choose between peace and war. The former meant residence with obscurity, and perhaps security, for himself in one of the provinces; the latter meant great danger for himself, and, in case of success, the establishment of an orderly administration for the state. He chose the latter, and it was probably not until this choice was forced upon him that he began to plan the reorganization of the government of Rome. It was the most difficult and the most beneficent political work that any man ever undertook.

When the senate and Pompey showed that they intended to treat him as a public enemy, he was with one legion at Ravenna, about seven days' march from the capital. Trusting to his promptitude and popularity, he started at once with his six thousand men, and sent

orders to two legions in Gaul to follow him immediately. Pompey had been placed in command of a projected army, but he was not ready when Cæsar approached, and withdrew to southern Italy and then to Macedonia. After Cæsar had obtained possession of Italy, the main question that presented itself to him was whether he should follow Pompey to Epirus, or go to Spain, which had the largest and best army under officers of the senatorial party. He chose the latter alternative, and, having landed in the Iberian peninsula, he avoided a battle for a few weeks, and then had the satisfaction of seeing the soldiers on the other side declare themselves in his favor. He conquered Spain without striking a blow.

Then he returned to Italy, and crossed the Adriatic in pursuit of Pompey, whom he defeated at Pharsalia. The vanquished leader fled to Egypt, where he was assassinated without authority of Cæsar, who would doubtless have spared him, as he did all those senators of the opposite party who submitted. The conqueror spent most of the three following years in exterminating the remnants of the senatorial armies in Africa and Spain; and in September, 45 B. C., he finally returned to Rome, where he devoted the remainder of his life to his constitutional reforms.

The predictions, made by his opponents, that after his victory, Cæsar would imitate the massacres of Marius and Sulla, were not verified. He destroyed the correspondence of Pompey without permitting it to be examined. If any of those persons who claimed in public to be his friends had pretended in secret to be his enemies, he did not wish to know their names. Some of the leaders of the senatorial party who made no further resistance after Pharsalia, were not only spared but were

admitted into the victor's confidence and favor. Most of them became his zealous friends. General expectation at the time regarded the triumph of Cæsar as the *beginning of a new era of peace and order;¹ and this opinion was justified by later results.

SEC. 475. *Cæsar's Laws*.—Cæsar was a great statesman, and one of the greatest of generals. Among the men classed in the first rank for their military genius there are four,—Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Napoleon; and among these many critics give the first place to Cæsar. Of the four he was the only one who was a great orator; the only one who was a great historian; and if not the only one who was a great statesman, at least the only one who permanently changed the government of the whole civilized world, who founded a dynasty, and made his personal name the title of the emperor.

His ideas were clearer, sounder, and more comprehensive than those of Sulla, and he acted with greater energy. He saw that neither the nobility nor the multitude in Rome was then competent or could in a generation be made competent to govern the empire. He saw that there was no possibility of success for either democracy or aristocracy with the people to whom it must be intrusted. He established a despotism as the only possible form of orderly government, but he did not assume the title or state of a monarch.

The narrow citizenship which the senate and rabble of Rome agreed in guarding with the greatest jealousy, as a gratification of their local vanity, and as an aid in the oppression and plunder of the provinces, did not harmonize with the broad statesmanship of Cæsar. He gave the full franchise to a large class in the Po-basin who did not possess it previously, and also to many cities in

Gaul. He intended, apparently, to consolidate the empire by giving an equality of civil and political rights to all the provinces. He increased the number of senators to nine hundred, and among his appointees selected many from various Italian cities, so that under him the senate ceased to be composed exclusively of residents of the capital. He even took some of his senators from Gaul. He did not have time to indicate the measure of authority that he intended to leave to the senate.

He protected the provincials against extortion. He preferred the collection of taxes by state officials to that by contractors who employed ruffians as their subordinates, and systematically bribed the governors and their dependents to protect the ruffians. He required that one-third of the laborers employed on every large estate should be freemen. He announced his purpose to drain the Pontine marshes. He projected a codification of the civil law, and he founded the first public library in Rome.

He reformed the calendar, by adding ten days and a quarter to the old Roman year, the quarter of a day being arranged for by making every fourth year one day longer than the intervening three. The year 46 B. C., which otherwise would have ended in October, received an addition of sixty-seven days in two intercalary months, so as to make the new year begin with the first full moon after the winter solstice. In fixing the beginning of the year in his calendar Cæsar made a concession to popular superstition which considered the full moon as propitious to new enterprises, though he personally would doubtless have preferred the solstitial day, a week earlier. The old system of an occasional intercalating month by the arbitrary order of the chief pontiff came to an end, and the years began to be of uniform length.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE PAGAN EMPIRE.

SECTION 476. *Augustus*.—In March, 44 B. C., Cæsar was assassinated by a band of narrow-minded, envious, and rapacious senators. The best of the party was Marcus Brutus, who was an accomplice in the murder of the town councilors of Salamis in Cyprus, one of the most brutal outrages of republican Rome. The conspirators, having made no preparation to profit by their crime, were compelled to flee from Italy, and to recruit a military force in Greece. Lepidus who commanded a small army near Rome, Mark Antony who was one of the consuls, and Augustus, the nephew and heir of Cæsar, became the leaders of the popular party. They followed the conspirators to Macedonia, and in 42 B. C., at Philippi, inflicted a crushing and final defeat on the senatorial party. Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus, as a triumvirate, ruled Rome. Six years later Lepidus was deprived of his share in the government; and in 30 B. C., as the result of the battle of Actium, and the subsequent death of Antony, Augustus became sole master of the Roman empire.

When he returned to Rome, he announced that the state was at peace. The temple of Janus was closed for the first time in more than two and for the second time in more than six centuries. So incredibly industrious had been this wolfish breed in the work of human butch-

ery. And yet the temple of Janus was closed too soon. The era of peace had not arrived. The Roman soldiers were still fighting with rebels in Spain.

But Augustus loved peace. He had great tact in the management of men, and eminent ability in political administration. He was merciful and economical. He hated the slaughter and devastation of war. He was not a general. He never commanded in a great battle. He had no longing for military glory. He did not wish to enlarge the empire unless in those places where a more secure boundary could be obtained by an extension. He wished to avoid the organization of extensive armies, under commanders who might aspire to the throne.

His subjects generally shared his desire for peace. The news that the temple of Janus had been closed, and that Augustus had made the event the occasion of a celebration, was received with general rejoicing from Egypt to Britain. The people hoped that the time had come when the fearful bloodshed of Roman history was to end. They had confidence in the emperor. For twelve years, as triumvir and duumvir, he had ruled with clemency over the western division of the empire. He had been economical with the money and the blood of his subjects. He had served a long probation in the art of government without exposing any serious defect of character. And yet he was only thirty-three years of age when he became sole master of Rome, and he might rule the state in peace for more than a generation. These happy anticipations were realized. His long reign was relatively the most beneficent in history. Under him war was displaced by peace; terror by confidence; confusion by order; privation by abundance; and extortion in administration by honesty.

Among the characteristics of the reign of Augustus were the rebuilding of the capital and a literary activity previously unknown in Rome. He said that he found Rome brick and left it marble. The revenues of the Romans had greatly decreased when the system of plundering the provinces without mercy came to an end, but peace, confidence, and economy enabled two generations under the empire to do more in beautifying the city than had been done by six previous generations.

SEC. 477. *Policy of Augustus.*—Augustus carefully avoided the show and titles of despotism. While ruling with autocratic power, he pretended to be governed by the advice of the senate. Laws were enacted by that body with the concurrence of the centuriate assembly. Consuls were elected as under the republic, but they were designated by the master of the state. He himself was elected consul at first for a year, afterwards for five years, and finally for life. He was also censor for life and in that capacity could appoint and remove senators. He accepted, and doubtless ordered his appointment as exclusive tribune for life, and in that capacity could prohibit any official act which displeased him. It was not until 11 B. C., nineteen years after he became sole ruler of the empire, that he became Pontifex Maximus, or Chief Pontiff, the recognized head of the religion of the state. He had doubtless wished for that office ever since he had compelled Lepidus, its incumbent, to withdraw, in 36 B. C., from the triumvirate; but to obtain it he would not resort to violence or threats, or even a request.

He paid much regard to the feelings of the senators. He took care that their dignity should be respected. He removed disreputable men from their list. To some who were not rich enough to live in the style which he con-

sidered proper for a senator, he gave valuable estates. In making appointments to offices of honor and profit, he preferred senators and members of senatorial families. He divided the provinces into two classes, senatorial and imperial, and allowed the senate to select the governors of the former while he appointed those of the latter. The imperial provinces included those which required the largest military establishments, to resist the encroachments of the Teutons, Parthians, and other formidable barbarians.

He paid salaries to the provincial governors, retained them in office for years, subjected them to strict supervision, and gave them to understand that he would not tolerate extortion. The motives which had actuated the system of plunder under the republic having been destroyed or greatly weakened, and the opportunity to practice it without danger having been taken away, the governors ruled over their provinces in a creditable manner, and the people became sincerely attached to Rome. The empire secured peace and order to its subjects, such peace and order as the countries bordering on the Mediterranean had never enjoyed.

Though he appointed Romans to nearly all the high military offices, Augustus took most of his soldiers from the Teutons, Thracians, Epirotes, and Macedonians. He not only excluded the Italians and provincials generally from the army, but he forbade them to possess arms. Thus, while he diminished the danger of civil war, he prepared the empire for conquest by the barbarians, who had the only large number of men trained systematically in the use of weapons.

Under the republic, the Romans made war for slaves, cattle, metals, and land, the slaves being the most valu-

able kind of the booty for immediate profit. When the policy of peace was adopted, the supply of slaves ceased, and the demand for them diminished, because Italy and the provinces were not depopulated by war and famine. In several places Augustus established captives taken in war, in colonies, under a law forbidding the colonists to leave the tracts assigned to them, and requiring them to pay a certain share of their crops to a landlord who was to keep a supervision over them. This system of serfdom, established in a few places and in small areas, attracted little attention at first and spread slowly, but in later centuries it expanded until it covered a great part of Europe. It had its source in the peace of the Roman empire.

The provinces, relieved from senatorial tyranny and extortion, felt the impulse of prosperity as soon as the empire was established, but while under Rome, some of them never regained the wealth and population which they had before they became her subjects. Greece, ruined by the tyrant city of the Tiber, in the time of the republic, never recovered her industrial eminence or literary leadership, nor even made any notable steps towards a recovery. Of all the provinces, Gaul received the most benefit from the Roman conquest, which found her poor, barbarous, discordant, and almost anarchical, and conferred on her wealth, harmony, security, and civilization. Spain and the provinces along the southern bank of the Danube were also greatly benefited in a similar manner, but not to the same extent. Asia Minor enjoyed its highest prosperity in the three centuries after the death of Julius Cæsar.

The rule of Augustus was an enlightened and clement autocracy, conducted in the interest of the population of

the whole empire. It introduced a great number of reforms in all the departments of the government, including political, military and judicial. The provincial cities were made less dependent on central dictation; the provinces were brought into more intimate relations with each other by improved roads, regular couriers, and more liberal trade regulations; and local councils were held for the advancement of provincial interests. Julius Cæsar had made some important reforms, and had directly or indirectly suggested others, most of which Augustus established; but the latter also introduced many measures original with himself and of great political merit. His work in the organization of the Roman empire is perhaps the most difficult and valuable political achievement of one man known to history.

When the republic was overthrown, great changes for the better were made, not only in the decrease of civil war and the diminution of provincial plunder, but also in the economy of the administration, in the protection of person and property by the courts, in the recognition of the social and political rights of the subject freemen, and even in the protection of slaves against gross cruelty; yet, notwithstanding all these improvements, the decay went on. In Rome many of the men would not marry, and many of the women would not have children.

During the reign of Augustus, there was a period of literary activity, which began to decline soon after his death, and then there was more intellectual and industrial activity in Gaul and Spain than in Italy, but not much anywhere. The accumulation of immense areas of land in the possession of some few families, the multitude of slaves, and the neglect of tillage were evils that were destroying the vitals of social and political prosperity.

The Romans looked with apprehension at Germany. They were forbidden to bear arms. They were growing weaker, while the northern barbarians were increasing in strength. The Teutons were learning discipline, accumulating money and weapons, while serving in the imperial armies, and predicting that their descendants, at no distant time, would revel in the spoil of Italy.

SEC. 478. *Prætorian Law*.—Until the end of the republic, the XII Tables were nominally the chief source of the Roman law, though most of their provisions had been abrogated, amplified, or otherwise modified by the enactments of the centuriate and tribal assemblies and by the edicts of the prætors. The laws of the people were recorded on three thousand bronze plates, which were not easily accessible; and their contents were not only difficult of ascertainment, but were in many points confused and conflicting.

The limitation of the office of prætor to a single year, the custom of selecting a new man for every term, the usual neglect of all legislation which did not advance the personal interests of some influential politician, the hostility between the senate and the centuriate assembly on one side and the tribal assembly on the other, and the rule that every prætor must publish, at the beginning of his year, the laws which he would enforce, were prominent features in the highly defective legal system of the republic.

It was not until 264 B. C., more than a hundred years after the creation of the office of prætor, that a second prætorship was established, with a distinct jurisdiction, the urban prætor taking charge of cases in which both parties were citizens, and the alien prætor taking those suits in which at least one party was not a citizen. Be-

fore the alien prætorship was founded, Rome had obtained dominion over Italy, with a large population of Latins, Italians, and allies. It had become necessary to have a court in which the property rights of subject freemen could be protected.

The alien prætor soon became an important personage. He had a large amount of litigation to dispose of, and he was less hampered by ancient formulas than the urban prætor whose citizen litigants demanded adherence to ancient customs and to the letter of the XII Tables. Alien litigants had no written law and less claim to the observance of formalities; and therefore the alien prætor could establish his own methods of procedure. At some unknown time a prætor, and, presumably, an alien prætor, published an edict, stating that in his court he would observe certain principles supplementary to the XII Tables. This act having been approved by public opinion, a later prætor adopted this edict in the main, and made some additions. A still later prætor ventured to adopt principles inconsistent with the XII Tables, in the interest of justice; and then custom required every prætor, whether in the alien or urban department, to publish his edict at the beginning of his term, copying if he saw fit that of his predecessor, and usually taking the advice of some lawyer before publication. Thus in the course of years the civil law of Rome took a creditable shape without interference by senate or people.

When the prætor announced that he would enforce a new principle, he was careful to pretend, with lawyer-like phrases, that he was complying with the spirit and purpose of the XII Tables. The Decemviral code provided that a prescriptive title to property might be obtained by twelve months of undisturbed possession; the prætor de-

creed that, in some cases, three months should be sufficient. The Decemviral code did not recognize attorneys; the prætor did. The XII Tables gave to the defendant the privilege of refusing to go before the magistrate; the prætor made his property responsible for a refusal. The XII Tables conferred rights on the heir who had been appointed with certain formalities; the prætor's edict said that he would recognize the rights of a person appointed without those formalities "as if he were an heir." The prætor did not say that the person appointed informally was an heir, but that he should be treated by the courts as if he were. A distinction of terms without a difference of rights is not a modern invention.¹

We have no copy of a prætor's edict issued under the republic, nor any connected account by a Roman author of the development of jurisprudence in any period of the state. About 80 B. C. the prætor's edict was more bulky and more important in practice than the Decemviral code, but the latter was still nominally, at least, in force, and was studied by those young patricians who looked to learning rather than to arms for their advancement.

Out of more than four hundred men who held the office of prætor under the republic, not a score had any repute for knowledge of the law, and many of them were rude soldiers without learning of any kind. The most distinguished scholar among them was Cicero, and he declared that he was an advocate, not a jurisconsult. Among the numerous legal authorities cited in the compilations of Justinian, the name of Cicero does not appear even once.

SEC. 479. *Imperial Law.*—After the establishment of the empire the tribal assembly was never convened, and the centuriate assembly was invited on rare occasions to

give its sanction to laws. No bill was enacted until it was proposed by the emperor, and every measure urged by him was adopted. The resolutions of the senate approved by him obtained the authority of law and soon became the chief class of legislative acts. After 100 A. D. the popular assembly was never convened, and a century later imperial decrees, issued without the concurrence of the senate, were the only laws. These decrees—I use that word to include numerous different forms in which the emperors exercised their exclusive legislative power—were published in circulars, and a copy of each was sent to every high official in the empire. “For the prevention of fraud or falsification [of the decrees], special care was taken, and precise methods of testing the genuineness of the rescripts were prescribed. Thus the original had to be produced, bearing the properly authenticated signature of the emperor; the date and year had to appear on the face of it; the color of the ink and the nature of the substance to be written upon were exactly indicated. All rescripts resting on false allegations of fact or found to be in violation of the public interests or common law were . . . invalid. This last provision must have opened out the way to an almost indefinite amount of argument whenever a rescript was produced in court.”¹

Under the empire the prætorship, instead of being mainly political and military, became a judicial office. The term instead of being limited practically to a single year was prolonged. A salary was given to it. The appointment was offered, not to spendthrifts of senatorial family who were ready to give large bribes to the people, but was bestowed on scholars who had studied law and were supposed to be fit for judicial position. The prætors

became responsible, not to senators who wanted to plunder the provinces, but to an emperor who wanted justice. These changes greatly influenced the judicial department of the government. The courts rose in credit. The laws were developed. Schools were established for their study. Books were published to explain them. Controversies about legal principles attracted attention. Old forms of action were abrogated and new ones were introduced.

Augustus licensed distinguished jurisconsults, and issued orders that their opinions on points of law, when produced in the courts, should be accepted as authoritative; and if unanimous, as conclusive. The opinions were to be rendered in writing at the request of any litigant, but were to be sent in sealed envelopes to the court, before which the case was tried. It has been supposed that these jurisconsults were members of a corporate body or college.

Under Hadrian, and probably at his suggestion, about a century and a half after the establishment of the empire of Augustus, Salvius Julianus, a lawyer and prætor, prepared an edict comprising all the sound legal principles previously adopted in the prætorian edicts, besides many others, and this document was published by Hadrian as his edict, of permanent authority throughout the empire. Its comprehensiveness and its durable character had a great influence in stimulating the study of the law, and its publication was soon followed by the appearance of a succession of law writers far more learned than any who had previously appeared. It was not intended to be final. It might be amended by the emperor, and as to those points in regard to which it laid down no rules, it might be supplemented by any prætor; and the supplementary

provisions when adopted by the emperor became the law for all parts of the empire.

SEC. 480. *Roman Law Books*.—The earliest Roman law book of note, that of Flavius, published in 310 B. C., contained the formulas in which lawsuits were conducted, and a list of the days when courts might be held. The information thus given to the people had previously been the exclusive possession of some patricians, who used it as a secret means of levying an oppressive tribute on litigants. The next notable law book, that of Ælius, who was consul in 198 B. C., commented on the XII Tables, explained the meaning of disputed passages, and gave a new collection of formulas for legal papers. His work was called by Pomponius "the cradle of the law," as if it were the first that gave a statement of the principles of jurisprudence. Quintus Mucius Scævola was the earliest distinguished lawyer of a family that held a prominent place in the Roman courts for several centuries. According to Pomponius, he "first constituted the civil law." All of these books, as well as that of Sulpicius Rufus, published about 65 B. C., the last of note under the republic, have been lost. Nearly everything considered worthy of preservation by the later Roman jurists, and they have transmitted to us a large amount of legal material, was of imperial origin. The works of Cicero, including his arguments in court, his letters and his books on government and law, convey the general impression that the definitions of legal rights and remedies in his day were vague and incomplete.

The oldest Roman treatise on law now in existence, that of Gaius, who wrote about 160 A. D., is a comprehensive work, admirable in its arrangement and clearness of expression, and is studied and worthy of study in our

day. It is styled *Institutiones* or Institutes, and its arrangement and material are copied in the elementary law book of Justinian, and have since been copied in many of their features by such modern authors as Blackstone and Kent.

Of Gaius we know but little more than that he was a teacher of law, and that he died at the age of fifty-five, about 170 A. D. It is supposed that his book is a summary of the lectures which he delivered to his students. His full name and his place of birth and residence are unknown. The next great name in the list of Roman lawyers and law writers is that of Papinian, a high judge, who was executed because he refused to approve and publicly commend the murder of Geta by his brother, the emperor Caracalla. Ulpian and Paulus were pupils of Papinian, and Modestinus, who died in 245 A. D., was a pupil of Ulpian, and the last of the great law writers of ancient Rome. Ulpian composed an elementary book, a portion of which has been preserved. Papinian, Paulus, and Modestinus wrote works of which we have nothing save disconnected paragraphs preserved in the compilations of Justinian, but enough to prove that they were learned and able jurists.

The reputations of Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, and Modestinus were so high that an imperial decree issued in the Vth century A. D. declared them to be the controlling authorities. Any opinion in which all of them or a majority of them agreed, or in which Papinian was supported by one of the others against any other two, was to be accepted as the law. Of the five, Sheldon Amos says: "All but Gaius held high offices in the state, and generally enjoyed the personal confidence of the reigning emperor and his family. They are all represented as

either professional teachers of law, or they published treatises of a strictly educational character. They are generally described as men of great moral worth as well as intellectual eminence, and some facts in their lives, as well as their surviving works, certainly justify this description. Lastly, they combined all the qualifications needed to construct a dominant and lasting school of legal thought. They were in active intellectual sympathy with each other; they were historical without being antiquarian in their conceptions; they were severely logical without being aware of the limits within which formal logic is alone applicable to legal and ethical notions; and they were never indifferent to the claims of abstract justice, even when those claims had, for the moment, to give way to the demands of positive legislation, inveterate usage, or voluntary agreement. Thus the great race of jurists, of which the five commemorated are the most notable members, had all the capacity, in their personal endowments, needed for building up a comprehensive, exact, and skillfully adjusted legal system; as writers they had all the disposition to communicate their ideal, not only to their own generation, but to the next; and as active statesmen in the constant employ of a government which reposed complete confidence in them, they had all the opportunity, as well as the impulse, to impress their conceptions on the law of the empire."¹

After Modestinus there was no original author among the lawyers of the Roman empire. Work of great value was done at Constantinople in the VIth century A. D., under the direction of Justinian, in collecting and arranging the principles of law as laid down in earlier times, and it was done with industry, learning, and judgment, but it was distinctively compilation, without venturing

beyond the phraseology of the old authorities and without filling the omissions or correcting the discrepancies that existed in many places. The fact that the codification was in Latin, while the codifiers were all Greeks, living at a Greek court, is one of the evidences that the enterprise was not considered as one of much original thought.

The Digest of Justinian contains 150,000 lines and more than nine thousand paragraphs, copied from thirty-nine authors, and includes nearly all the precepts of the Roman law accepted in the middle of the VIth century A. D. Ulpian supplies more than twenty-four hundred extracts; Paulus, more than two thousand; and Papinian, Pomponius, Gaius, Salvius Julianus, Modestinus, and Cervidius Scævola, each between three hundred and six hundred. Together these eight, who wrote between 100. and 275 A. D., furnish more than seven thousand extracts. Other authors of the same period supply sixteen hundred more, leaving only six hundred for the periods before 100 A. D. and after 275 A. D. The authors of the republic and of the empire under the Christian emperors, contributed very few extracts to the Digest. The earliest law writer considered worthy of mention in this collection is Quintus Mucius Scævola, who was an old man when Cicero became prominent in Rome.

SEC. 481. *Gaius*.—For the purpose of giving the reader an idea of the condition of the law in the time of Marcus Aurelius, about 150 A. D., and also for the purpose of throwing light upon various features of Roman life, some quotations from the work of Gaius, as translated by Poste, are here presented.

I. 2. "Roman law consists of statutes, plebiscites, senatus consults [senatorial resolutions], constitutions

[decrees] of the emperors, edicts of magistrates authorized to issue them, and opinions of jurists."

I. 3. "A statute is a command and ordinance of the people, a plebiscite is a command and ordinance of the commonalty. The commonalty and the people are thus distinguished; the people are all the citizens, including the patricians; the commonalty are all the citizens except the patricians. Whence, in former times the patricians maintained that they were not subject to the plebiscites, as passed without their authority; but afterwards a statute called the *Lex Hortensia* was enacted, which provided that the plebiscites should bind the people, and thus plebiscites were made co-ordinate with statutes."

I. 8. "The whole of the law by which we are governed relates either to persons, or to things, or to procedure; and let us first examine the law of persons."

I. 9. "The first division of men by the law of persons is into freemen and slaves."

I. 10. "Freemen are divided into freeborn and freedmen."

I. 11. "The freeborn are free by birth; freedmen, by manumission from legal slavery."

I. 12. "Freedmen, again, are divided into three classes, citizens of Rome, Latins, and persons on the footing of enemies surrendered at discretion. Let us examine each class in order, and commence with freedmen assimilated to enemies surrendered at discretion."

I. 13. "The law *Ælia Sentia* enacts that slaves who have been punished by their proprietors with chains, or have been branded, or have been examined with torture on a criminal charge and have been convicted, or have been delivered to fight with men or beasts, or have been committed to a gladiatorial school or a public prison, if

subsequently manumitted by the same or by another proprietor, shall acquire by manumission the status of enemies surrendered at discretion."

I. 15. "Slaves tainted with this degree of criminality, by whatever mode they are manumitted and at whatever age, and notwithstanding the plenary dominion of their proprietor, never become citizens of Rome or Latins, but can only acquire the status of enemies who have surrendered."

I. 16. "If unstained by offenses of so deep a dye, manumission sometimes makes the slave a citizen of Rome, sometimes a Latin."

I. 17. "A slave in whose person these three conditions are united, thirty years of age, quiritary [legal as distinguished from equitable] ownership of the manumitter, liberation by a civil and statutory mode of manumission, that is by default in a fictitious vindication, by entry on the censor's register, or by testamentary disposition, becomes a citizen of Rome; a slave who fails to satisfy one of these conditions becomes only a Latin."

I. 18. "The requisition of a certain age of the slave was introduced by the *Lex Ælia Sentia*, by the terms of which law, unless he is thirty years old, a slave cannot on manumission become a citizen of Rome, unless the mode of manumission is fictitious vindication, preceded by proof of adequate motive before a body of judicial assessors of the prætor."

II. 12. "Again, things are either corporeal or incorporeal."

II. 13. "Things corporeal are tangible, as land, a slave, clothing, gold, silver, and innumerable others."

II. 14. "Things incorporeal are intangible; rights, for instance, such as inheritance, usufruct, obligation, how-

ever contracted. For though an inheritance relates to things corporeal, and the fruits of land enjoyed by a usufructuary are corporeal, and obligations generally relate to the conveyance of something corporeal, lands, slaves, money, yet the right of succession, the right of usufructuary enjoyment, and the right of the contractor, are incorporeal. So are the rights attached to property in houses and land, denominated servitudes or easements."

III. 148. "A partnership either extends to all the goods of the partners or is confined to a single business, for instance, the purchase and sale of slaves."

III. 149. "It has been much canvassed whether the law would recognize a partnership formed on the terms that a partner should have a greater share in the profit than he has in the loss. Quintus Mucius thought such an arrangement contrary to the nature of partnership, but Servius Sulpicius, whose opinion has prevailed, held that such a partnership was so far from invalid that a partnership might be formed on the terms that a partner should have a share in the gains and none in the losses, if the value of his services made such an arrangement fair. It is certain that a partnership may be formed on the terms that one partner shall contribute all the capital and that the gains shall be divided equally; for a man's services may be equivalent to capital."

III. 150. "If no agreement has been made as to the division of the profit and loss, it must be in equal shares. If the shares are expressed in the event of profit, but not in the event of loss, the loss must be divided in the same proportions as the profit."

A comparison of these paragraphs with those of modern laws relating to the same subjects, shows that the Romans of the IInd century A. D. knew nearly as much

as the most enlightened nations of our own time about the principles of industrial justice, and also about the art of legislative expression. In reference to the laws relating to women and slaves some remarks will be made in Chapter XXXIII.

SEC. 482. *Later Emperors.*—Augustus was succeeded in 14 A. D. by his stepson, Tiberius, who reigned twenty-three years, and died at the age of seventy-nine, after he had shirked the toil and worry of the imperial office in his last years. He was a capable man, and in the earlier portion of his reign he worked hard to apply and develop the policy of his predecessor, in the interest of order and peace. For the purpose of having a military force within easy reach and ready for prompt action in any emergency, he established near Rome a small standing army known as the Prætorian Guard, which, in later times, exercised a most pernicious influence on the government by deposing and choosing emperors, dictating terms to them, and making the throne an article of merchandise to be sold to the highest bidder.

After Tiberius, the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius filled a period of thirty-two inglorious and disgraceful years. These six emperors all died by violence.

In 70 A. D. Vespasian, an able and good man, became emperor, and when he died, his son Titus, equally good and able, succeeded him. The reigns of the two made up only eleven years. After Titus came his brother Domitian, who was weak and wicked. He occupied the throne for fifteen years, and died by assassination. After him came the five good emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, whose reigns filled the space of eighty-four years, and who are the most re-

markable cluster of wise and just monarchs that ever occupied the same throne in continuous succession. Gibbon says, "If a man were called upon to fix a period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus;" and he adds that the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius are distinguished above all others by the fact that in them "the happiness of a great people was the sole object of government."

Titus inherited the throne legitimately from his father in 79, Domitian from his brother in 81, and Commodus from his father in 180 A. D. Of seventeen sovereigns who held the throne in more than two centuries after the foundation of the empire, only three had inherited it from a father or brother. There was a remarkable scarcity of sons in the imperial families. Between 185 and 300 A. D. the throne was transmitted not by blood but by military favor.

Several of the emperors had admitted considerable numbers of free subjects to full citizenship, but Caracalla, who ascended the throne in 211 A. D., admitted all. Every extension of this political privilege reduced the importance of the capital, the influence of which was further diminished by the increasing prosperity of the provinces, while Italy and Sicily, divided into great estates occupied by slaves, remained nearly stationary. Gaul, Spain, Roman Asia, and Roman Africa became superior to Italy and Sicily in industry, wealth, literary activity, and military power. The frontiers supplied the armies, the generals, and the emperors.

When Diocletian became emperor, in 284 A. D., he saw

that he could not reside in Rome with advantage to the empire. He must be nearer to the Persian and the Danubian frontiers, which were then the chief scenes of danger. An experienced soldier, confident in his own powers of control, and having three subordinates whom he could trust, he shared the imperial dignity with them, and divided the empire into four divisions, with a resident master in each, so that no province should be beyond the direct observation of a competent ruler.

In the reign of Augustus, Jesus of Nazareth was born, and in that of Tiberius he was crucified. We hear of Christians at Rome in the reign of Nero, when they became the victims of persecution, to which they were exposed at intervals for nearly two centuries and a half. The rise of Christianity is the subject of another chapter.

SEC. 483. *Cities under Rome*.—When they became subject to Rome, nearly all the Italian, Sicilian, Greek, Phœnician, and Carthaginian cities had republican institutions, which were not overthrown, though in many cases modified by aristocratic changes. A local nobility, supposed to be favorable to the interests of the imperial authority, had control of the local administration, with power to elect the magistrates, and the councilors, though in some cities the latter officials included all those who had served their terms in the chief executive offices, of which there were two, of equal authority, called in the Latin cities *duumvirates*. Under the *duumvirs* were two *ædiles*, who had charge of the streets, markets, and public buildings, and exercised judicial powers in petty criminal cases. In the larger cities there were two *quæstors*, whose functions included charge of the city finances.

The subject cities generally were required to contribute a certain sum annually to the imperial treasury, and

the local officials were made responsible for the payment. But as the wealth and population of some provinces declined very seriously in the IInd and IIIrd centuries of our era, the collection of the amounts previously exacted became difficult or impossible; and magistrates and councilors, to avoid trouble, resigned their offices, and migrated to new homes. To prevent such evasions laws were enacted; the office once accepted or imposed could not be abandoned; in some instances it was made hereditary; and the city councilor was attached to his city as a serf to the land of his master. Every city had its defensive wall; and every person who had a share in the government must have his residence within the wall. The jurisdiction of the city might extend to a considerable adjacent district. The empire was an aggregation of little republics, each exercising power nearly absolute in its local affairs, though the emperors could interfere in such matters if they saw fit.

Because of their fortifications, their wealth, the number and intelligence of their inhabitants, and their control over the roads, the cities were of great military value, and were systematically favored by the emperors. Nearly as much indulgence was shown to the cities of the Greeks in the east as to those of the Latins in the west. In some cities, as in Alexandria and Antioch, the Jews were allowed to be subject to their own officers, and this was considered a decided advantage; and many persons of other nationalities became converted to the Jewish religion for the purpose of being under the jurisdiction of the Jewish judges.¹

SEC. 484. *Provinces*.—In the year 300 A. D., with which, so far at least as Europe and Africa are concerned, this volume terminates, Italy had lost control of the empire

and had ceased to furnish men for the army. Save in name, Rome was no longer the capital. The chief centers of military, industrial, and intellectual activity were not the central regions of Italy and Greece, but the peripheral provinces of Spain, Gaul, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Carthage.

A linguistic line divided the empire into two main divisions. In Italy, Carthage, the regions to the west of them, and the provinces in the basin of the Danube, Latin predominated and afterwards became almost the exclusive tongue; in the other provinces, Greek was the speech of the schools and of commerce, and, except in Armenia and the basin of the Euphrates, was steadily encroaching on the barbarian languages, among the common people. The government fostered the Greek in the east and the Latin in the west. The two were treated as the sister tongues of Roman civilization.

The region between the Rhine and the Elbe, after having been subject to Augustus for twenty years, had recovered and maintained its independence, with the exception of a triangle at the mouth of the Rhine. That belonged to the province of Lower Germania, which included all of what is now Belgium and part of the Prussian Rhine province, as far south as Cologne; and the province of Upper Germania included a portion of the Prussian Rhine province, all of the Bavarian Palatinate, all of Alsace, and part of France near Besançon. A considerable region on the west bank of the Rhine was considered Teutonic rather than Celtic when captured by the Romans. Dacia, including the districts now known as Moldavia and Bessarabia, north of the Danube near its mouth, after having been subject to Rome for a century and a half, in which time it was well Latinized, had been

subjugated in 254 A. D. by the Goths, and thrown back into a condition of barbarism. All that part of the Danube basin south of the river, including much of Bavaria and Austria, and all of Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria, had been added to the empire after 100 A. D., and most of it had come completely under the control of fortified towns, in which the Latin tongue and the arts of civilization were established.

The nationalities of the Basques, Spanish Celts, Gallic Celts, British Celts, West-Rhine Teutons, Mœsians (in Bulgaria), and Carthaginians, outside of Italy, as well as of the Samnites, Marsians, Campanians, Tarentines, Etruscans, Ligurians, and Po-Basin Celts in Italy, had been completely destroyed; and their places had been taken by cities, Roman in government and Latin in speech, ruling over dependent districts in which the remnants of the earlier tongue and barbarous modes of life, if such had existed at the time of the Roman conquest, were steadily disappearing, if they had not entirely disappeared.

Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Illyria (between the upper Rhine and Mœsia), and Numidia, had not suffered so much change in population as had the provinces previously mentioned, but they too had become predominantly Latin in the speech of their cities, and entirely Roman in their government. If they could have remained subject to the Roman empire for two centuries more, they would probably have been as well Romanized as were the valleys of the Rhone and Seine.

Of all the Latin portions of the empire Gaul was the most prosperous, though it had suffered from several Teutonic invasions, one of which had been strong enough to force its way through to Spain, and thence to Africa.

The only language of the cities and schools was Latin; and of the ignorant inhabitants in the rural districts, probably as many made use of the Basque as of the Celtic tongue. The people had no ambition to establish a new Gallic nationality. They were attached to Rome by fear of the Teutons, by their large admixture of Latin blood, and by their desire to preserve intimate commercial and intellectual relations with Greece, Asia, and Africa through Italy.

Lyons was the chief city of Gaul, and, with Cadiz, Padua, Carthage, and the Cappadocian Cæsarea, it belonged to the cities of the second class in population. Those in the front rank were Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. When the Imperial City suffered by the great conflagration of 64 A. D., Lyons sent \$200,000 to the sufferers; and when she in turn was devastated by fire in the following year, she received \$300,000 in charity from Rome. Spain was as prosperous, and its cities were as thoroughly Latin in speech and feeling, as were those of Gaul. The province of Carthage was prosperous, and its capital, having been re-established about 120 B. C., had grown to be one of the leading cities of the empire, and had become the chief center of activity in Latin literature.

Asia Minor was more prosperous under the pagan empire than ever during any period of equal length, before or since. Neither the Persian, nor the Macedonian, nor the Byzantine, nor the Moslem ruled with so much wisdom and justice as did the Roman from Augustus to Diocletian. Besides having an active industry, Asia Minor made notable contributions to Greek literature. Its cities were Greek in their speech and institutions, and many of the country people had abandoned their barbarous languages. Greece and Macedon had been devas-

tated by Goths and were poor in population, industry, and literature.

Syria had suffered from a brief and destructive Persian invasion; but had recovered from its losses and had gained confidence in the future. This province was the nearest to Persia, the only civilized nation that bordered on the Roman empire, and that was dangerous to it. Antioch, the capital of Syria, was the third city of the empire in wealth and population, and in some respects the most luxurious. It was the only one which lighted its streets at night, and had water pipes leading into all its houses. Its main street was wide, straight for a long distance, and on both sides was lined with magnificent buildings and shady colonnades. Berytus, a Syrian city, had a law school, which ranked with that of Rome.

The empire extended to the Caucasus and the Caspian, but Georgia and Armenia had never been brought under the control of Roman law, or of Greek or Latin municipal government and language; and, therefore, they were never Roman provinces in anything save name. Armenia was an allied principality, and so was Cappadocia, but the latter included Greek cities, which were strong centers of imperial influence.

The province of the Euphrates, including all the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and some additional territory to the north and west, after having been added to the dominion of Rome by Pompey about 65 B. C., had been conquered by the Parthians, and again by the Persians; but was restored to the empire and was held by the aid of several Greek cities. Egypt was highly prosperous. Its great city, Alexandria, was Greek in tongue and government; and so were the minor cities of Ptolemais and Arsinoë.

After all the freemen had been admitted to Roman citizenship, there were still privileged classes of freemen in the empire. The first rank included the senators, and the high imperial and provincial officials. In the second grade were the high officials of the city governments; after them came the voters of the cities; and finally, the provincial freemen who had no votes in city affairs. When the soldiers could dispose of the throne, they, too, were a privileged class.

SEC. 485. *End of Pagan Rome.*—The empire had serious defects in compactness of territory as well as in uniformity of population. It was intersected and its provinces were separated by nine great natural barriers; by three of sea, three of mountain, and three of desert; by the Mediterranean, the North, and the Black Seas; by the ranges of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Balkans; by the deserts of Syria, of southern Palestine, and of western Egypt.

By this time the army was provincial rather than imperial; it was more Gothic than Roman. Most of the recruits were obtained in the basins of the Rhine and the Danube; and in both of those regions the people were predominantly Teutonic. Many of the soldiers were barbarians who left their native lands to learn the trade of war under Roman teaching. They were good fighters, but they had not been bred under the influences required to make them faithful to the traditions and interests of the empire. Their strongest military attachment was to their commanding general, and if he was a favorite with all the troops of the northern frontier, they were always ready to support any claim that he might make to the crown. In the last half of the IIIrd century A. D. the Danubian legions were preponderant in the army,

and they placed their countrymen—Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius—on the throne.

The cities were not allowed to have arms nor drill-masters of their own. Their garrisons, if any, must be under the command and pay of the emperor, and composed of soldiers, who, as a class, were not Italians or Greeks. The provinces were not permitted to organize troops for defense against threatened invasion, even when the imperial forces were elsewhere employed, as they sometimes were in the wars between rival claimants for the crown. The barbarians might devastate the frontiers, but citizens in arms might change their rulers. The emperors preferred their own security to that of their subjects.

Augustus requested the council of every city of Gaul to elect a delegate to a provincial council to be held annually at Lyons; but he did not give to this provincial assemblage enough authority to make it important; and, therefore, it never became a prominent feature of life under the pagan empire; nor was it introduced in most of the other provinces. Its main functions were ecclesiastical rather than political. No emperor of Rome attempted to establish an imperial council composed of representatives of all the provinces.

The customs of organizing the armies on the frontiers, of accepting aliens as recruits, of forbidding the common people to possess arms, and of allowing the armies to place their favorites on the throne, greatly weakened the empire and prepared it for dissolution. While it was declining, several enemies were rising in military power. On the north the Teutons were improving in culture; and many of them were learning the art of war in the

Roman legions. In the IIIrd century A. D. they devastated Greece and Macedonia, and occupied considerable portions of Gaul and of the Roman provinces in the basin of the Danube. The Persians, under the Sassanide dynasty, and overran several Roman provinces, including Syria, but were soon expelled, so that in 300 A. D. the Caspian and the Tigris were still portions of the eastern boundary of the empire.

We have reached the end of the political growth of Rome; in later years her political changes were nearly all in the direction of decay. The pagan empire had lasted three centuries and had given to its subjects more peace than the occupants of the same territory had ever enjoyed before or have ever enjoyed since. In the justice, liberality, and intelligence of its rule over numerous heterogeneous nationalities it has had only one equal in history, and that is the British imperial government as improved in the XIXth century. It is the most glorious, or the only glorious, portion of Roman history. It developed a number of sovereigns remarkable for goodness or greatness, or for the combination of both these qualities. No other throne can boast a collection of monarchs so admirable in character as were Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Hadrian, Trajan, the two Antonines, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, Aurelian, and Diocletian. It was under the pagan empire that the civil law was first carried to a high development and administered by learned and impartial judges; that wise and just rulers made the welfare of many millions of people the main object of their ambition; and that the most brilliant poets, the ablest historians, and the most distinguished ethical philosophers, of Rome made their appearance.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ROMAN RELIGION.

SECTION 486. *Greek Analogies*.—The religion of ancient Rome was similar to that of Greece in its general conceptions; in its modes of worship; in its polytheism, its idolatry, and its temples; in its ideas of propitiating the deities by feasting and honoring them; in its multitude of gods and goddesses, many of whom had local and professional jurisdictions; in its distinct ceremonials of devotion to the deity of the nation, to that of the clan, and to that of the household, the last being the most important to the individual worshiper; in its sacerdotal organization, the priesthood of each temple being independent of all other priesthoods; in the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the political influences in the state; and in the lack of a written creed, and of a divine or divinely commissioned founder. The Romans were like the Greeks also in the fact that their leading thinkers had rejected polytheism and had adopted a belief in a single deity governing the universe. This idea is very distinctly expressed in the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Virgil, in the *Æneid* says:—

“ Know first, the heaven, the earth, the main,
The moon’s pale orb, the starry train,
Are nourished by a soul,

A bright intelligence, which darts
Its influence through the several parts,
And animates the whole."¹

As in Greece after 450 B. C., so in Rome three centuries and a half later, many of the intelligent paid reverence in public to the popular religion in which they had lost all faith. They valued the ancient superstition as "a powerful instrument for keeping the people in subjection." Merivale tells us that "among the Romans the men of higher light and deeper insight, who impugned the accredited faith of the people, carefully abstained from any attack upon their formulas. Scævola, Varro, and Cicero avowed the principle that the errors of the vulgar and the knowledge of the wise should be permitted to coexist with mutual toleration." Marquardt says that "Scævola distinguished three kinds of religion, one that of the poets, another that of philosophers, and a third that of statesmen; that the last, even if false, was the best for the multitude, who should be kept in ignorance of the other two. To him the old faith seemed necessary for its political influence."² Aurelius Cotta, while chief pontiff, declared that "it is not well to deny the existence of the gods in public; in private, it is a different matter."

The following passage is from Polybius "The exceptional point in favor of the Roman state is its attitude towards the gods; and it seems to me that what others blame in that people really sustains Roman affairs, I mean their superstition; for this point has been so paraded by them and introduced both into private life and public affairs as to leave no possibility of going any further. It may seem wonderful to many, but I think the Romans did so for the sake of the mob. For if it were possible to collect a whole society of wise men, this kind of thing

would perhaps not be necessary, but when every multitude is treacherous and full of lawless desires, irrational impulses, and violent passion, nothing remains but to control it by mysterious fears and scenic effects. Wherefore the ancients appear to me to have introduced their notions of the gods and their views of Hades among the populace, not at random, or in any chance way; nay, rather men nowadays try to expel them at random and without good sense."³

Polybius also says, "So far then as tends to preserve the spirit of religion in the masses, we must excuse those historians who tell fables and miracles." Although Cicero observes that it is an "unaccountable thing how one soothsayer can refrain from laughing when he looks at another," yet he also declared that "I do not know, if we cast off piety towards the gods, but that faith and all the associations of human life and that most excellent of all virtues, justice, may perish with it." Mommsen remarks that the official religion of Rome was "quite candidly treated as a hollow framework now serviceable only for political machinists."⁴

These were the ideas, not of some few individuals, but of a large majority of the nobles in the late republic. The only high official who publicly denied the life of the soul after the death of the body was Julius Cæsar; and his expression of opinion on this subject, in the senate, was considered an evidence of his characteristic courage. Cicero, who in confidential letters to his friends avowed the same opinion, took the other side when he addressed himself to the public.

The points in which the religion of Rome differed most from that of Greece were the relative prominence of omens and the insignificance of oracles; the maintenance

of certain sacerdotal boards as officers of the state, and the extensive jurisdiction of several of these boards in their respective departments; the paucity and poverty of religious myths; and the plain bargaining of the man with the god for protection in payment of adoration.

In the late republic, nearly all the religious observances were reduced to the emptiest formalities without protest from anybody. At a declaration of war, it was necessary that a fecial priest should throw a spear into the territory of the enemy; but when this rule became inconvenient because of the extension of the empire, a remedy was found by inducing a prisoner to buy a piece of land near the temple of Bellona, and into this tract, called the country of the enemy, the spear was thrown. So a trick was devised to avoid the inconvenience of the ancient rule that after suffering any check, a commander of an army must not make any important move until he had taken favorable auspices in Rome. That rule could not be adhered to literally when Roman armies were separated by weeks of time from their capital, but it must not be repealed or disregarded. It was dodged by giving the name of Rome to a place near to or in the camp. The chief flamen could not take an oath, but when a man holding that sacerdotal office was elected ædile, a friend took the oath of office for him. The augur who was observing the omens for purposes of state could accept them or not at his pleasure; and if they were unfavorable, he could treat them as though he had taken no omen, and either make another observation immediately or at some subsequent time. If a person made a vow to give a certain offering to a god in case of his success in a projected enterprise, he could fulfill his promise in a figurative manner. If he vowed the sacrifice of a deer, he

might keep it by offering a sheep and calling it a deer; and if he could not or would not get an animal of flesh and blood, one made of dough or paper was accepted by the priest as a satisfactory substitute.⁵

SEC. 487. *Jupiter*.—Like other cities among the peoples of the Latin as well as of the Greek blood, Rome had her tutelary divinity, to whom she paid special reverence in his temple on the Capitol hill. For centuries great care was taken that his distinctive title of Stator, which was considered indicative of his attributes, and an indispensable part of his name, should be concealed, so that no enemy should be enabled to command his attention and then entice him away.¹

In the time of Cicero these fears seem to have disappeared, for in his second oration against Catiline, he said publicly, "Thou, Jupiter, whose religion was established with the foundation of this empire, whom we truly call stator." When a crown was offered to Cæsar, then chief pontiff, and he was hailed as a king, he replied, "I am not king; the only king of the Romans is Jupiter." The coarse conception of the gods entertained by leading statesmen in the earlier period of the historical republic may be inferred from the following offer made to Jupiter Stator in 192 B. C. by the consul Acilius Glabrio, when praying for divine aid in the war against the Syrian king, Antiochus: "If the war which the people have resolved to wage against king Antiochus shall have been carried to the end, according to the wish of the senate and of the Roman people, then shall the Roman people for ten days celebrate to thee, O Jupiter, great games; and at all the shrines of the gods, gifts shall be offered out of the sum which the senate shall have appointed; and whatever magistrate shall celebrate these games, whenever and

wherever he may celebrate them, they shall be reputed as celebrated according to divine law, and the gifts shall be considered to be duly offered.”²

When besieging hostile cities, the early Romans made a practice of reciting the following ritual for the purpose of enticing the tutelary divinity of the enemy to desert those who had long been his worshipers. After a solemn ceremonial a priest said: “O thou great one who hast this city under thy protection, I pray thee, I adore thee, I ask of thee as a favor to abandon this city and this people, to quit these temples, these sacred places, and having separated thyself from them to come to Rome, to me and to mine. May our city, our temples, and our sacred places be more agreeable and more dear to thee. Take us under thy protection. If thou doest this, I will found a temple in thy honor.”³

The captive in war, spared by the Romans, was required to say: “I give my person, my city, my land, the water that flows over it, my boundary gods, my temples, my movable property, everything which pertains to the gods—these I give to the Roman people.”⁴ The sacred fire of the conquered city was extinguished; the worship of its tutelary divinity in that place was prohibited; and its god was annexed to Rome.

In 292 B. C. a pestilence raged in Rome, and the senate, in hope of relief from the Greek god of medicine, Æsculapius, sent a deputation to his temple in Epidaurus, to invite him to establish himself in their city. When the deputation had made its request to the assembled priests in the Æsculapian temple, one of the serpents kept there came forward, left the sacred grounds, and crawled to the seashore, where it entered the trireme of the Romans. When the vessel touched at Antium, the depu-

tation went ashore to visit a temple of Æsculapius there and the serpent also went, and there it remained three days, before it returned to the trireme, which then went on to Rome. Having arrived there, the trireme landed on the southern bank of the Tiber, but the serpent crawled over the outer side of the boat and swam to the island, where it made its home. There the Roman temple of Æsculapius was built. It is worthy of note that this conduct of the incarnate god Æsculapius happened in the legendary period of the republic; but it was credited by historians and poets, and believed by the multitude under the empire.

SEC. 488. *Pontiffs*.—Although ecclesiastical influence was not prominent, the state had a religion, the priests of which were regarded as officers of the government. These priests belonged to five main classes. First were the pontiffs (*pontifices*), under a chief pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), who was the highest sacerdotal official. There were five pontiffs, including the chief, until 302 B. C.; and after that year, nine. Their position was held for life, and when a vacancy occurred, the surviving members of the board by a majority vote, designated a successor. They were divided into ranks, with different privileges, those who had served longest having the higher places. The board of pontiffs had books of ecclesiastical ceremonial and of sacerdotal disciplinary law; and the chief pontiff made a record of notable events, including consular elections, disasters, and wonders.

The main duty of the board of pontiffs was to supervise the sacred festivals and holy days of the state; and for this purpose they prepared an annual calendar, fixed the days for the beginning and the end of the year, and as there were only 355 days in the normal Roman year

under the system maintained from the foundation of the republic till the reign of Julius Cæsar, the pontiffs intercalated a month occasionally, so as to prevent the beginning of the year from running through all the seasons. The calendar of the pontiffs designated certain days as lucky or unlucky, on which acts of public worship, and the commencement of important enterprises, were or were not permissible. The calendar also fixed the days when the senate might sit, when the assembly of the people could be held to vote for officers or for laws. The pontiffs, following ancient custom, put eight days in a week, the eighth days, or *nundines*, being holidays, on which the peasants in the vicinity of the city usually went to the capital. On the first day of every month the pontiffs made public announcement of the date of the next *nundine*, and of all the public festivals in the month. The luckiness and unluckiness of the days, and their suitability for the public assembly, were secrets of the pontifical board until 304 B. C., when a clerk published a calendar, in which the business character of every day was marked; and from that time, the pontiffs had no control over the sacredness of the days, save in the intercalated periods.

The pontiffs had general supervision over ecclesiastical ceremonies. Without their consent no temple or altar could be consecrated in Roman territory to public worship. When application was made to them, they examined whether the site, the building, and the persons designated for the priesthood were satisfactory, and whether the endowment was sufficient to maintain the institution permanently in creditable style. It was considered impious to set apart a place to the service of a god and then abandon it or allow it to go to ruin.

The pontiffs formed parts of the courts which had jurisdiction in cases of wills, sacrilegious crime, and sacerdotal law; and it seems that these courts were the first to adopt precise forms of pleadings, many features of which were afterwards copied in the other Roman courts. It was part of the duty of the pontiffs to examine all candidates for the priesthood, and to install those who were successful, or to authorize their installation. The chief pontiff was one of the highest officials of the state, and a member of the senate. All the pagan emperors held this office.

Plutarch says: "The chief pontiff is the interpreter of the decrees of Heaven and diviner, or, rather, hierophant. He not only presides over the sacrifices of the state, but also supervises those made by individuals, and takes care that the rules of worship are not violated. Finally, he teaches what everyone must do to honor and appease the gods." Livy tells us that "all religious acts, whether public or private, were subject to the decision of the pontiff. Thus the people, when in doubt, knew to whom they should address their inquiries; and thus the disorders that might have arisen from the neglect of the national rites, or from the introduction of foreign modes of worship, were prevented. He also regulated funerals, prescribed the methods of appeasing the spirits of the departed, and indicated which, among the prodigies of lightning and other startling natural phenomena, required expiation."

SEC. 489. *Augurs*.—The augurs, of whom there were at first three and afterwards nine, were an official board, the members of which held for life, and, by a majority vote, elected persons to fill vacancies in their number. It was their duty to examine the auspices on all important

public occasions, and to declare whether the gods looked with favor upon the action proposed. No meeting of the senate or popular assembly could be held, no officer could be elected, no colony could be founded, no temple or public building could be erected, no army could start on a campaign, and no battle could be fought, unless an augur or authorized representative of the board of augurs, declared that the auspices were favorable. The habit of waiting until the omens were favorable was one of the reasons why the Romans were so careful in fortifying every camp.

The Romans had no temple similar in function and credit to that of Delphi. When about to undertake any great public or private enterprise or to do any important act, they consulted the augur, who studied the flights and cries of birds, or the *haruspex*, who examined the entrails of fowls. The favorable or unfavorable decision based on these omens was conclusive for the time. An expedition must not start, a camp must not be left, a battle must not be commenced, and an officer must not be elected or installed until the priest had obtained the consent of the supernatural powers. Piety, including devout regard for the omens and for the traditional forms of consulting them, was regarded as nearly allied to patriotism, and as one of the highest requisites in an officer of state.

"The religion of ancient Rome is pervaded by the belief that man neither can nor should foreknow future events, and that the gods should not assist him to gain such foreknowledge; but that the highest and best Roman god, father Jupiter, not only approves or disapproves every act in which man freely engages, but also, before its commencement, gives, to the well-informed man, visible and intelligible signs of approval or disap-

proval. Under such circumstances, man can assure himself of success in life by employing a competent adviser who observes and reports the signs, and by abstaining from every project disapproved by them. The signs given by Jupiter for this purpose are of many kinds. Those of importance are not called out by any intentional action of man, such as throwing dice, but are natural celestial phenomena. A distinction is made between signs, in reply to questions, and other signs which offer themselves accidentally or unexpectedly to the observer."¹

The augurs divided the divine signs intended for human guidance into six classes. First, were the celestial auspices or meteorological phenomena, especially lightning, which was favorable when it passed from left to right, and unfavorable when from right to left. Second, were the ornithological auspices, including the flight and cries of wild birds, and also the manner in which hens picked up their food. It was a favorable sign that a hen, after picking up a grain of corn, allowed it to fall to the ground. The augurs kept numerous hens in a hungry condition, and in their struggles to get their shares of food, many grains were seized so hastily that they slipped from the bill. Another class of signs was found in the movements of quadrupeds and snakes. Miscellaneous warnings included the falling of inanimate objects, loud and unexpected noises, and epileptic attacks among those about to undertake an enterprise or engaged in taking the auspices. The normal condition of the entrails of a quadruped or bird sacrificed was a good, and the abnormal a bad, omen. Dice and oracles to express the will of the gods were known, but not prominent among the Romans.

Similar to the augurs in their occupation of ascertaining and explaining the will of the gods for the guidance of men, were the haruspexes, who, however, were not organized in a board, and, so far as we can learn, did not occupy official positions. They were like modern fortune tellers, and some of them stood so high in credit that they were called upon for advice by prominent magistrates, on occasions when the augurs were not present. The haruspexes depended mainly upon their private practice for support. They found many of their omens in the entrails of fowls, but they also interpreted all the celestial and terrestrial phenomena observed by the augurs. Under the empire, a board of haruspexes was established as part of the state priesthood. Those persons to whose projects the omens were favorable were told by the haruspexes that they had the peace of the gods.²

Rome had some ecclesiastical boards of which we know but little. Among these were the flamens, the salians, and the arvals or arval brothers. The chief flamen was attached to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, and among the sacerdotal dignitaries, he ranked next to the chief pontiff. One of the duties of the arvals was to bless the growing crops. Six vestal virgins were the priestesses of Vesta, whose altar was the hearth of the state, on which a fire must be kept burning continuously. These vestal virgins were appointed when between six and ten years of age, from noble families, and were required to serve till thirty, after reaching which age they could withdraw and marry; but their abandonment of the temple was considered discreditable. They were required to be strictly chaste, under penalty of burial alive. They took rank

among themselves, according to their age; and when they appeared on the streets, they were treated by the magistrates, senators, and people with a show of great veneration.

Besides the members of the board of flamens, many other priests were known by that name, including those who took charge of the sacrifices in large temples. Every clan had a flamen, who directed its worship and had the custody of its ecclesiastical property, such as a knife and plate for sacrifices, a cup for libations, a flint and steel for striking fire, and in some cases a temple.

From 87 to 30 B. C. the office of chief flamen was vacant. No noble who would have done credit to the state would accept it during that period. It was subject to the rule that its incumbent must remain in Italy, and this restriction prevented him from making his fortune, as most of the senators did, by plundering the provincials. Although the office was one of very high honor, it possessed neither revenue nor political influence, and was therefore never sought by men of much ambition.

SEC. 490. *Roman Worship*.—The typical Roman temple, though under the supervision of the pontifical board, was practically independent. It had no territorial jurisdiction, and no parishioners. Its priests held their office for life, and did not look for promotion or profit to any superior ecclesiastical authority. They did not form part of a numerous clergy, organized under strict discipline. They did not subscribe to a creed. They had not spent years in the study of theology or ecclesiastical law. They had no sacred book. They did not absolve from sin. They were not sanctimonious in their manners. They did not devote all their time to temple business.

Strict rules governed sacrifice. The animal to be offered should be unblemished and handsome, in the vigor of youth, not degraded by subjection to the yoke or to any mutilation. If for a god, it should be a male; a female, if for a goddess. For special purposes, ecclesiastical rules designated different kinds of animals. The goat feeds on the tendrils of the vine, and therefore could be used in propitiating Bacchus; the sow roots up the soil, and might be slain on the altar of Ceres. The victim was decorated with garlands and ribbons; and if it had horns, these were gilded.

The offering was preceded by the lustration or purification of the worshiper, and of all his attendant priests, and by a prayer offered by the presiding flamen, who spoke aloud with the open hands raised towards heaven, the palms upwards. If, however, the god to be invoked was Neptune, the hands were pointed to his home, the sea. The priest, after completing his prayer, laid his hand on his mouth, kissing it in adoration. Then followed the attendants, leading the animal or animals to be offered, walking three times round the altar, and keeping the right side next to the altar.

The Romans had a sacred book, that of the Sibyl, which contained a multitude of sentences, many of which could be interpreted as prophecies. This work was brought to Rome in the time of the monarchy, about 520 B. C., by an unknown woman from the Orient, who made such an impression on the king that he bought her book, which was then deposited in the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitoline Hill, and was intrusted to custodians who had the exclusive authority to inspect and interpret its prophecies. The book of the Sibyl is generally called the *Sibylline books*, but there was only one. The Latin *liber*,

translated book, means chapter or volume, as well as book. The so-called books of Livy are really chapters, each having been originally a separate roll. The original book of the Sibyl was burned in 84 B. C., and was replaced by a second book filled with prophecies collected in the east. The Sibylline priests doubtless obtained profit and influence from the possession of a multitude of vague phrases, some one of which they could apply to every contingency and interpret in accordance with their interests or expectations.

One of the peculiar ecclesiastical ceremonials of Rome, established, according to report, under an order of the Sibylline book, was a *lectisternium*, or dinner to a party of gods, usually six in number, after some great disaster, when it was considered necessary to offer an extraordinary propitiation to some of the leading deities. On such an occasion, a statue or idol of each invited god was taken from its usual resting-place, washed, anointed, decorated, and placed on a couch, in company with his divine associates before a table laden with an elegant feast. A large temple or the forum was the place preferred for a *lectisternium*.

Music, both vocal and instrumental, was used in the ecclesiastical ceremonies of Rome, but it was not prominent, nor did it there exert any educational influence. There was no well trained chorus, no office of honor connected with the production of choral music at religious festivals, and no great development of poetry and drama from the choral performances. The example of Athens in these points was not imitated in Rome.

In 181 B. C. an attempt was made to foist a new sacred book upon the Romans. Some laborers digging in the earth near the Capitol found two stone chests, like coffins,

and the lids had inscriptions, one of which said that its box was the coffin of king Numa; and the other said its box contained the sacred book of Numa. The coffin was empty; the other chest contained a book in fourteen chapters, of which seven in Latin related to sacerdotal organization, and seven in Greek treated of the theory of wisdom, and probably related to creed. The senate ordered an examination of the book, and having received a report that the adoption of the book would upset the Roman system of worship, ordered it to be burned. It was burned, and no note of its contents was preserved. The experiment of the Roman Hilkiah was a failure.

The main object of worship in the domestic religion was the lar, a male founder of the family. There was only one lar in a house, but other male ancestors were also objects of adoration. The image of the lar, often a small rude figure of burned clay, gave the name *lararium* to the room in which it was usually kept, and there, before its customary place, a lamp was kept continually burning. At meals, the figure of the lar was usually set on the table, and before sitting down, and before tasting the main course of the dessert, the master of the house offered to the lar, by throwing into the fire, or upon the hearth, a particle of food and a particle of salt. At every family festival, as after the birth of a child or its return from a distance, when a son reached the years of manhood, when he married, or when he obtained some signal success in life, the lar was crowned with a wreath, as a symbol that he participated in the joy of the family.

SEC. 491. *New Faiths*.—Under the republic, there was no persecution of unbelief or heresy. The execution of Socrates, and the flights of Anaxagoras and Aristotle, had no parallels on the banks of the Tiber. Conquered coun-

tries generally were allowed to retain their gods, their temples, their temple endowments, their priests, and their ecclesiastical ceremonies. The worships of Jehovah, Osiris, Melkarth, and Mithra were not disturbed any more than was necessary in the course of the acquisition of Judea, Egypt, Syria, Pontus, and Mesopotamia. Under the empire, there were prosecutions which partook of the character of persecutions, though their motive was always rather political than ecclesiastical. The druids were hunted down because they used their sacerdotal influence to organize insurrection. Gatherings for Bacchanalian rites and for Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian worship were prohibited repeatedly because their secrecy was considered inconsistent with public policy, and was favorable to immoral practices.

In the last century of the republic, the ancient faith lost much of its credit among the populace, many of whom became converts to the Cilician, Egyptian, Jewish, and afterwards to the Christian religion. The decline of paganism had proceeded far before Christianity was preached to the Greeks. Of the foreign gods introduced into Rome, the most successful in gaining converts there before 60 A. D. was Mithra, whose name appears on the sacred books of the Persians, but who, as known to the Romans, may be considered a divinity of Cilicia and Pontus. About 80 B. C., while the Cilician pirates were powerful, they made Mithra prominent in many cities of the Mediterranean. Our knowledge of the religion of Mithra is very vague, but we know that it included a belief in a future immortal life, and that baptism and communion were among its sacred rites.

The oriental religion, that stood next to that of Mithra in the Eternal City in the time of Augustus, was that of

Isis. This faith, of Egyptian origin, seems to have differed materially from the popular religion in the valley of the Nile, probably because the majority of the Egyptians in Rome were much more intelligent than the rabble in their native land. There are many evidences that the converts to this religion were numerous and that they included many women of wealthy Roman families. One noble Roman lady spent a night in an Egyptian temple in her native city with the god Serapis, as she supposed, but, as it afterwards appeared to her own disgrace, with a libertine, who had bribed the priest. An inscription in Pompeii mentions the fact that a certain Popidius was elected about 65 A. D. to the city council by the members of that body, without the expense usually incurred by the candidates, because he had built a chapel to Isis. The aristocratic character of the population of Pompeii, and the subordination of all the city governments to imperial power, give much significance to an election for such a motive. This religion retained the doctrines of the resurrection of the body, and of its eternal existence with the soul for the just. The worshipers of Isis buried the body, never burned it, nor did they use the process of embalming in Italy.

SEC. 492. *Roman Funerals*.—The dead were buried or burned, according to the customs of the different families or clans. If burned, the bones were carefully collected, sprinkled with wine and milk, dried and put into perfumed urns, which might be kept in the dwelling or in a building (*columbarium*) constructed for the purpose, with an opening for each urn.

The patrician families, especially those of much wealth and influence in the state, made their funerals occasions of much display. A public crier went through

the streets where the distinguished people lived, and invited them to participate. The procession was led by hired women mourners, after whom came instrumental musicians; then dancers; then the corpse; next an actor, wearing a mask like the face of the deceased, his dress, his armor, and his official insignia, imitating his walk and appearance as nearly as possible; then other actors wearing the masks, dresses, armor, and official insignia of other deceased men of the family; then the sons with their heads veiled; then other relatives in mourning; and finally, friends. The procession went to the Forum, where the masked actors sat on a platform, while a son or near male relative delivered a funeral oration, which recounted the glorious achievements of the dead man and of his ancestors. Some families preserved many of these funeral orations, which furnished a considerable part of the material for the history of Rome before 250 B. C. It was, says Mommsen, a conception essentially in keeping with "the grave solemnity, the uniform movement, and the proud dignity of Roman life that departed generations should continue to walk as it were corporeally among the living, and that when a burgess, weary of labors and of honors, was gathered to his fathers, these fathers themselves should appear in the Forum to receive him among their number."¹

CHAPTER XXXII.

ROMAN INDUSTRY.

SECTION 493. *Roman Inventions*.—In its general features the industry of the ancient Romans was similar to that of contemporaneous Greece. They had the same cultivated plants and the same domestic animals; the same methods of managing their herds, and of tilling their soil; the same methods of transportation; the same materials and patterns for the hulls and rigging of ships; the same custom of laying up their ships from November to March inclusive; the same objects of commerce; and the same reliance on slaves for a large part of their labor.

As in most other aristocratic states of antiquity, so in republican Rome, at least during its historical period, traffic and manual labor, as regular occupations and means of support, were considered disgraceful. Livy and others, who drew their ideas from the same sources, represent the early patricians, of whom Cincinnatus is an example, as cultivating the soil with their own hands; but Cato, the elder, who wrote about 170 B. C., had a multitude of slaves, and, so far as we know, neither he nor any other Roman noble, of his generation or of a later time, ever did a day's work with plow or spade. Cicero praises agriculture as a proper occupation for a noble-

man, and thereby means that he should own a large estate, to be tilled and managed by slaves. No statesman of Italy commended productive toil and commercial enterprise as proper occupations for all freemen. Both were forbidden to Roman senators, who, however, might own ships to carry the produce of their own land to market; might manufacture goods to be used by their own families, tenants, and slaves; and might maintain shops to distribute merchandise to their own dependents. More than this they might not do without violating the law and offending public opinion. If they undertook to compete with the plebeian, the freedman, or the alien, in manual labor, transportation, or traffic, they would be dishonored. The general opinion was expressed forcibly by Cicero, who declared that the occupations of hirelings are sordid and base, and that the sale of merchandise, whether in large or small quantities, tends to make man false and vile.

The dominion of ancient Rome included a territory so vast and endured through so long a period that under it many valuable improvements in the useful arts either had their origin or obtained their first mention in books known to us. Among these improvements are the mold-board, the water wheel, the horse mill for grinding grain, the large arch and the dome in architecture, lime and sand mortar, hydraulic cement, window glass, lead pipe for water, the inverted syphon in water conduits, the method of heating houses by currents of hot air, the panel in carpenter work, lifting pumps with valves, the process of sawing marble with sand and water under steel bands, greenhouses, hothouses, wooden casks, soap, plaster casts, sulphur matches, the use of marl as a fertilizer, lanterns made with sides of glass or horn, double-entry book-

keeping, bills of exchange, shorthand writing, the tinning of copper, the use of sheet lead in sheathing ships, and of chain cables in anchoring and mooring them, the washing of auriferous gravel in a sluice, the use of gold amalgam in gilding and of amalgamation in gold and silver mining, and the art of making roads with beds of broken stone.¹

Of all these improvements the most important is the mold-board, which greatly increased the effectiveness of the plow. The shovel-nose instrument previously in use, and indeed not yet abandoned in portions of Asia and Africa, merely made a narrow scratch in the ground, and pushed the loosened material away on each side of the furrow, covering and hiding a portion of the earth not yet disturbed. With the aid of the mold-board a slice of even thickness was cut off from the surface of the field and then turned completely over on one side of the furrow. In this manner, the earth was plowed to an equal depth all over the field, and the roots of the grass and weeds were turned up to be dried by the sun.

Among the power producers—a term which is here used to designate all those machines (such as water wheels, windmills, and steam engines) which harness the forces of inanimate nature to the gearing of the workshop—the earliest in point of time was the water wheel, which made its appearance about the beginning of the Christian era, and was employed in the early empire, though only on a small scale, for grinding grain. A vertical treadmill, driven by a dog or slave walking on the inside, was also known. Some bakers had horse mills to grind their grain.

Window glass was made and was used in a few houses. Soap was first made among the Gauls; and in their country wooden casks first became known. They also had a reaping machine driven by horses, but it seems to have

been a failure, for it was soon abandoned. Marquardt thinks that the shuttle was first driven across the web by striking, among the Romans, and that the carding of cloth to hide the threads under the nap had its origin among them.²

In the reign of Tiberius the discovery was made or was first brought to the attention of the mariners engaged in the trade between Egypt and Hindostan, that monsoons, or steady winds across the Indian Ocean, blow from the southwest from April to September, and in the contrary direction during the remainder of the year; and that by starting from Aden in August and sailing directly towards Bombay and starting to return in September and sailing directly for Aden, several months of time and much discomfort, danger, and expense might be avoided. This discovery gave a decided stimulus to the trade with Hindostan.³

In the 1st century B. C. the dromedary was introduced from Asia into Africa, where it spread over a wider area and became of more industrial importance than in its native continent. At some unknown time, either under the Pagan empire or in a later period, the tame elephant of Africa disappeared finally. It belonged to a species which was found wild in Morocco and Numidia, and was probably different from the elephant now known in Central and Southern Africa. About the beginning of the Christian era, the peach and the cherry were brought from Asia to Europe, and by this introduction into a region of a higher culture obtained a greatly increased importance in human life.

Before the time of Julius Cæsar most of France, much of Spain, and all of Belgium, Switzerland, and the valley of the Danube were still in a barbarous condition. Little

of their area was under cultivation or fit for tillage; the towns were few, small, and not well fortified; the population was sparse, commerce scanty, and all the arts were in a rude condition. Before the reign of Constantine all these provinces had been civilized, many of their forests had been cleared away and their swamps drained; they were filled with well-built and well-fortified cities connected by good roads; industry, traffic, and education had made great progress; Latin had become the speech of a majority of the people; and intimate social and commercial communication between the provinces gave the people of the whole empire a feeling of common nationality and humanity. This extension of a higher culture over portions of Europe which were destined to take leading parts in the history of later centuries was one of the great achievements of Rome.

SEC. 494. *Fields, etc.*—The agriculture of Italy suffered greatly from frequent and long-continued wars, from the substitution of slave for free labor, from the importation of large quantities of provincial grain to be sold at less than the cost of production, and from the substitution of large estates occupied by slave herdsmen, for small farms tilled by their free owners. When Cato went to Carthage about 150 B. C. and saw the productive fields and orchards in what is now the territory of Tunis, he was filled with envy and anger. The best treatise in the Latin language on agriculture in the time of the republic was translated from the Carthaginian tongue. An unmistakable indication of the low condition of tillage in central Italy about 170 B. C. is found in the saying of the elder Cato in his book on husbandry that the best manager was a good breeder of cattle; the next best was a passable breeder of cattle; the next best, a bad breeder of cattle, and the

worst, a tiller of the soil. In the same region now with free labor, the cultivation of kitchen vegetables, of olive of vines, of orchards, of hay and grain, as well as the dairy, are more profitable than the breeding of cattle.

Horticulture was not neglected. Pliny mentions twenty-nine varieties of apples, as many of figs, eleven of plums, eight of chestnuts, and several of peaches and cherries; and he refers to a great number of pears. High prices were paid for the best horses, cows, and jacks. All the branches of agriculture seem to have been pursued with more skill in the valley of the Po and in the neighborhood of Capua than in central Italy.

The Romans mined for gold, silver, iron, copper, lead and quicksilver. They smelted iron ore in small furnaces to produce steel. They had no cast iron, nor could they make plates or wire of iron or of steel by any process save that of hammering. They washed gold from alluvial deposits in board and ground sluices without the aid of the hydraulic pipe; and they crushed auriferous quartz in preparation for the separation of the metal from the rock. Argentiferous ores were smelted. Quicksilver was obtained by sublimation in small quantity for the production of vermilion, and for amalgamation with gold and perhaps with silver.

In the late republic the chief source of the precious metals was Spain; and Hindostan was then, as it now is, called "the sink of silver." The Hindoos sent spices and muslins to the Mediterranean, and in exchange received about \$50,000 annually in coin. Their trade gave employment to one hundred and twenty ships in the Red Sea, and to numerous caravans from Myos Hermas on the eastern shore of Egypt to the Nile. There were also caravans that brought silks from China.

Every leading handicraft had its guild or association, with written rules for the admission and expulsion of members, and mutual protection and assistance to the members and the widows of members. These guilds did not undertake to regulate the prices of labor or to prevent persons not members from getting employment. Each occupation had a street or district in Rome where most of its workshops could be found.

SEC. 495. *Size of Rome*.—Nearly all of the wall of Rome built before the time of Augustus and repaired in the IIIrd century A. D. by Aurelian, still stands with a circuit of thirteen miles and an inclosed area of about twelve square miles. The number of inhabitants is not reported to us by any ancient author, and the best materials for calculating the population are, first, the area, and, second, the number of persons supplied with free grain. The space within the walls is one-fifth of the space inside of the walls of Paris as they stood in 1824, when that city had 1,050,000 inhabitants. It is true that much of the space inside of the Parisian walls was not covered with houses in 1824, but that was also the case in ancient Rome, which had numerous large gardens and open spaces. If imperial Rome, when most flourishing, had on the average twice as many people to the acre as Paris had in 1824, the population was 420,000; if as many as Florence has now, it had 300,000. On the other hand we are told that when Julius Cæsar became master of the city, 320,000 persons were supplied with grain from the public stores; and this is stated as if these were all adult male citizens residing in or near the city. We are told, however, that there was no suburban population. Merivale, a writer of much authority, thinks the total population did not exceed 700,000. Friedlander

supposes that it was three or four times greater. Merivale estimates the population of the early empire at 85,000,000, including 16,000,000 in Italy, 24,000,000 in other parts of Europe, 28,000,000 in Asia and Cyprus, and 17,000,000 in northern Africa.

The dwellings of imperial Rome have all been destroyed, but they were doubtless like those of Pompeii, except that generally they were higher and grander in style. Their material was brick or stone; and many of them had six or eight stories. The roofs and floors were of tile. The public buildings and the palaces of the wealthy families were cased inside and out with marble.

Before the time of Augustus the population of Italy began to decline. The devastations of the wars, the introduction of immense numbers of slaves, the increase of pasturage, and the more cruel exactions of the Romans in the allied states after the fear of foreign enemies diminished, all tended to impoverish the country. Large numbers of the freemen emigrated to Gaul and Spain, and smaller numbers to Sicily, Greece, Asia, and Africa. In 210 B. C. Italy furnished 200,000 men to the army; and two centuries later, not 40,000. Nor was the decay limited to Italy and to the time of the republic; it prevailed in many provinces. The most notable exceptions were Gaul and Spain, which, during the first two centuries of the empire, continued to increase in population and wealth.

The only large dome of ancient construction now in existence is that of the Pantheon in Rome. It has an internal diameter of one hundred and forty-two, and a height of one hundred and forty-eight, feet from floor to ceiling. The aqueducts of imperial Rome were numerous and large. Their aggregate length was three

hundred and sixty miles, and they poured into the city 370,000,000 gallons every day. The arches still standing are in many places thirty or forty feet high for long distances; and several of the old conduits continue to carry their water. No other city has ever received so much water through aqueducts.

Many of the provincial cities were supplied with aqueducts under the Roman government. That of Nismes, the ruins of which are still standing, was one hundred and fifty feet high; that of Segovia, one hundred feet high; that of Tarragona, eighty-three feet high. The bridge of St. Angelo in Rome is one of the legacies of antiquity, and its masonry promises to last for many centuries more.

The streets of the cities were paved with flat stones, most of which were from a foot to a foot and a half across. These stones were too large, and after a few years of usage were too slippery for horses to trot over them, and the unevenness of surface was too great for wagons, unless moving with a slow walk. In Pompeii, the best place for observing the ordinary street pavement of the ancient Romans, there are large stepping-stones from fifteen to twenty inches across and fully six inches above the general level of the roadway, so that pedestrians could cross the street without getting into the mud. But the height and width of these stones, the short distances from crossing to crossing, and the narrowness of the roadways, indicate that the streets were not designed for pleasure wagons.

The military roads of the Romans were about twelve feet wide, and had a foundation of broken stone a foot deep, to give drainage and solidity. Cuts and embankments were made to reduce steep grades; firm founda-

tions were laid in swamps; bridges were built across streams and gullies; and tunnels were made through hills. Before our own century no other country did so much work on its roads as did Rome; but of late the grading of the ancients has sunk into relative insignificance.¹

Relatively little use was made of wheeled vehicles. There was no cart with shafts to be drawn by one horse; no spring wagon; no conveyance like the modern stage or omnibus to furnish transportation to the general public; and no four-wheeled wagon in extensive use. Most of the carts were very heavy and were drawn by oxen. For horses there was no such harness as is now in use. There was neither collar for draught, nor traces, nor breeching. The wagon was drawn by the tongue, which, instead of being nearly level as in the modern wagon, rose at an angle of perhaps twenty degrees, so as to rest on a yoke, which was fastened to saddles on the backs of the horses. With this system all the horses must be side by side, and there must be two or four in the team. With small wheels, the draft was heavy; and without springs, driving over large stones could not be considered a source of pleasure.

As mariners the Romans did not excel, and they made no notable improvement in marine architecture, or important addition to the knowledge of commercial geography. They sent out no celebrated exploring expedition. They added nothing to the previous knowledge of southern Africa or eastern Asia. After 65 B. C. they had exclusive control of the shipping in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea, so that maritime commerce was conducted with more system than before; but to the last, most of their merchant ships were built and manned by their provincial subjects,

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ROMAN SOCIETY.

SECTION 496. *Roman Women.*—It is to Roman law that woman is indebted for most of her social influence and property rights in modern civilized states. Among the Semites she did not inherit equally with her brother, nor could she control her inheritance. She might be divorced instantly by her husband without reason, and she had no similar privilege of discarding him. If her husband was rich, she was only one among many prisoners in a seraglio. In ancient Athens, though she had no rival wife, she was kept in seclusion, and treated as a social inferior. It was in Rome that she was first protected, not only by monogamy, but also by sacramental marriage, by equal rights of inheritance, by a near approach to social equality with her husband, by the custom of giving a good education to the woman of the most reputable class, and by enabling her to control her own property. She sat at the table with her husband. She conversed with him in the presence of strangers. With or without him she received male visitors. She went out with him to private entertainments and to public amusements. She controlled her home and its slaves. She often directed the education of her sons.

There were three kinds of marriage, that by sacrament, that by purchase, and that by cohabitation. The first

was consecrated by a priest, and was indispensable as a qualification for some high official positions. It was the customary form among the patricians of early times. The second kind of marriage, by purchase, was performed by a ceremony similar to that used when a slave was sold. The marriages by sacrament and by purchase gave to the husband the most complete marital dominion over the wife, with the legal privileges of keeping her enchained, selling or killing her, without legal responsibility. The XII Tables said: "If a wife, not married by sacrament or purchase, wishes to avoid subjection to the husband's marital dominion, she shall absent herself for three [successive] nights in each year from his house, and shall thus break the prescription of the year." In other words, she was classed with personal property; absolute ownership could be acquired by undisputed and uninterrupted possession for twelve months.

In the time of Augustus or at an earlier date the law conferring despotic power on the husband, over the property, the freedom, and the life of the wife, fell into discredit; and as a legal formula had been devised to emancipate the son from paternal bondage, so other formulas were adopted by which the wife or prospective wife could be freed from marital bondage. By such liberation she was not only enabled to control her separate property during her life, but also to convey it by will, so that it might pass to her blood relatives, instead of going necessarily, as under the old rule it had gone, to the relatives of her husband. In some respects the woman under the early empire had greater property rights than she has ever had since.

Girls were usually married when about fifteen years of age, and were considered old maids at eighteen. Not

unfrequently they were brides at twelve. The match was always made by a parent or guardian. In a wealthy family there was no wooing by a lover; and sometimes the betrothal occurred while the girl was a young child.

Custom permitted women to bathe in the large tanks with the men; and many of the poorer classes availed themselves of the privilege. There is no mention of a bathing dress; and the language of the Roman authors when speaking of the bathing of the two sexes in the same tanks, implies that both were nude. The manners and speech were subject to much less restriction in the Rome of nineteen centuries ago than they are now in most of the European cities.

SEC. 497. *Roman Slaves*.—Except during the second Punic war, nearly every year in the last three centuries of the republic witnessed a large addition to the stock of slaves in Rome. Because of their abundance and cheapness, and because of the ignorance of many among them, they were frequently treated with great severity. Many of those employed as laborers in the country were branded and were kept in chains, or marked by iron collars fastened on the neck. The establishment of the empire, the abandonment of the policy of conquest, and the cessation of the reduction to slavery, of large numbers of captives taken in war, gave increased value to bondsmen, and brought about a more kindly treatment of them, and the enactment of laws for their protection. Besides, the higher education of the people and the progress of refinement and moral sentiment demanded more kindness to all the subject classes. "The Roman stoics, beginning with Seneca," says Marquardt, "teach that slavery has no foundation in the law of nature; that all men have an equal natural right to freedom; that the

legal difference between liberty and bondage is external and accidental; and that true freedom is a moral not a legal condition. The soul of the bondman may be free, while that of the citizen may be slavish. And these views were not mere barren theories, but were fruitful rules of action in distinguished families, and found recognition in the Roman laws. It is a remarkable fact that, in this matter, the ancient custom which, for Cicero, was the guide of all political action, had been superseded in the early empire by a philosophical principle which was irreconcilable with the earlier authority of the father and master. The jurists of this period unanimously accept the natural equality of men in political rights, a doctrine noteworthy, not only for its conflict with older usages, but also for its prominence among the indications of a new spiritual development which had begun in the first century of the Christian era."¹

Although the law of the republic gave no protection to the slave, many masters were not only kind, but generous, to their bondmen. Cicero and the younger Pliny showed great regard for the feelings of their favorite slaves. In many instances the slave or the freedman was the most devoted friend of the master. In some families, six years of faithful service were considered sufficient to give a right to emancipation.

In the time of Augustus, serfdom had its origin. Some barbarian captives were sold under the condition that they should not be moved from the land on which they were placed. They were called "slaves of the soil;" and, unlike the ordinary slaves, they could contract legal marriages. They were to pay a fixed share of the crop, and the owner of the land could not increase this burden.² This new system of bondage at-

tracted little attention when first established, but after several centuries it extended into many provinces.

About 60 A. D. the Roman law began to define and to protect certain rights of the slave. He was authorized to contract a legitimate marriage, to acquire a valid title to property, to be a shareholder in a corporate society, to become a legatee under a will, and to convey his property by bequest. To torture him or to kill him maliciously was made a crime. If abandoned when sick by his master, he was emancipated. In short, he was raised from the level of the beast to that of the man.

Hadrian forbade the sale of a slave to be used as a gladiator, and an earlier emperor forbade the master to compel the slave to enter the arena of the sword show unless bought for that purpose. Antoninus Pius provided that certain altars should serve as a refuge to slaves fleeing from the cruelty of masters, and gave jurisdiction to judges in complaints of ill-treatment made by slaves. Marcus Aurelius would not allow slaves to be used against their will to fight with wild beasts.

The law which had authorized the patron to re-enslave his ungrateful freedman, the patron being practically the judge of the ingratitude, was repealed. The law which had adopted numerous presumptions against the condition of freedom was changed so that all its presumptions were against that of bondage. Thus a bequest to "Marcus, my freedman," in a will liberated Marcus, who was a slave. A bequest of freedom for a time was a final emancipation. A gift of freedom under conditions was construed in favor of freedom without restriction.³ About the time of Marcus Aurelius, Ulpian wrote that "by the law of nature all men are equal."⁴ And Justinian, expressing the ideas that had been accepted in previ-

ous centuries, said in one of his decrees, "We do not permit a freeman to become a slave in punishment for crime. We do not transform liberty into bondage, we who have so much desire to elevate slaves to freedom."⁵

SEC. 498. *Roman Virtue*.—No statement of the distinguishing features of Roman society, written in antiquity, has been preserved to our times; nor can we infer those features from any book now in our possession, written before 70 B. C., when Cicero began his career as an author. He admitted that in his day the social as well as the political condition of the metropolis was sadly demoralized; but he boasted of the strict morals and severe manners of his forefathers; of whom he formed his opinion probably from such fictions as those preserved by Livy.

The subjugation and slaughter of aliens are occupations which do not develop tender feeling or mental refinement, especially when those occupations are pursued under the circumstances of systematic oppression and cruel perfidy, which marked the foreign policy of Rome. The military successes of the Romans under the republic imply that they possessed mutual fidelity and other martial virtues, which, however, are not sufficient, by themselves, to raise a people to a high ethical level. Such virtues were not entirely lacking in the army of Spartacus, base as it was in some respects. Many of the patricians were presumably honest; many of their wives were doubtless chaste, and many of their children dutiful; but we look in vain for any statesman with the combination of high talent with integrity found in half a dozen Athenians.

It is assumed by many authors that the general moral condition of the Romans grew worse after the establish-

ment of the empire; but this is not probable. The administration in Italy, as well as in the provinces, became more systematic and honest; the rights of all classes of citizens and subjects received better protection. The slaughter, enslavement, and deportation of the people, the destruction of cities, and the confiscation of estates, diminished and almost disappeared; and their diminution meant the cessation of a vast amount of wrong.

The frequency of suicide was one of the characteristic features of Roman society. In no other state have so large a proportion of the leading men died by their own hands. According to the teachings of Epicurus and Zeno, the highest ethical authorities known to Pagan antiquity, it was obligatory, under the circumstances in which many Romans found themselves, to take a voluntary leave of life. Seneca and Epictetus considered suicide one of the most precious guaranties of morality and dignity. They thought that a man who feared death might be forced into baseness.

Lucretius, the greatest Latin advocate of Epicureanism, sought refuge in the grave from the horrors of the civil war. The younger Cato, Brutus, and Cassius escaped from victorious enemies by the help of their own swords, and the emperor Otho was praised for dying by his own hand, rather than engage in a civil war to retain his imperial office.¹ Women as well as men faced death with composure in Pagan Rome; indeed, some of the most affecting incidents in history are the suicides of Roman women who insisted upon dying with their husbands or other near male relatives. When Pætus was condemned to death, in 42 A. D., his wife Arria claimed the privilege of precedence, and, inflicting a fatal stab upon herself in his presence, said, "Dear Pætus, it does

not hurt." In 66 A. D. her daughter found herself in a situation similar to that of her mother, but was persuaded to remain alive for the purpose of taking care of her young daughter. About the same time, when L. Vetus had to die under the command of a tyrant, his daughter and his mother-in-law opened their arteries and bled to death with him. Seneca died in the same manner, with a serenity worthy of his stoic faith, and his wife opened her veins to share his fate.

In republican Rome, as in Greece, there was little public charity, partly because of the clan organization which included nearly all the native freemen, and provided for the helpless among them. Those people who needed aid and were not within the limits of the clans might attach themselves to some noble patron, or join some club organized for mutual protection.

When a great disaster occurred, the general public came forward with aid. After a wooden theater in the suburbs of Rome had collapsed during a performance, injuring 50,000 persons, as report said, the houses of many wealthy persons were converted into temporary hospitals. To the sufferers by a conflagration in Bononia (now Bologna) the capital sent \$500,000, and to those in Lyons \$300,000.

In the reign of Augustus, provision was made for the maintenance and education of orphans, the first objects of systematic governmental charity. The first hospital for the sick made its appearance about two centuries later. The helpless blind, aged, and insane had to depend on the aid of individuals. Mendicants and people who relieved mendicancy were numerous. The general ethical tone in the letters of Cicero and Pliny is much like that in the enlightened society in our own time.

Many published comparisons between the condition of modern Europe and that of the ancient Roman empire, for the purpose of proving the superiority of Christianity over paganism in ethical influence, are extremely unfair. On one side favorable facts have been systematically exaggerated and unfavorable ones passed over with little notice, while on the other side, the facts have been treated with the partiality of hostility. That there has been a great improvement in ethics in the last sixteen centuries is unquestionable; but that a great part of this improvement can be traced to industrial, political, and scientific influences which were beyond sacerdotal control is equally certain. "Much candor and discrimination are required in comparing the sins of one age with those of another. . . . The cruelty of our inquisitions, and sectarian persecutions, of our laws against sorcery, our serfdom and our slavery; the petty fraudulence we tolerate in almost every class and calling of the community; the bold front worn by our open sensuality; the deeper degradation of that which is concealed,—all these leave us little room for boasting of our modern discipline, and must deter the thoughtful inquirer from too confidently contrasting the morals of the old world and the new. Even at Rome, in the worst of times, . . . all the relations of life were adorned in turn with bright instances of devotion, and mankind transacted their business with an ordinary confidence in the force of conscience and right reason. The steady development of enlightened legal principles conclusively proves the general dependence upon law as a guide and corrector of manners. In the camp, however, more especially, as the chief sphere of this purifying activity, the great qualities of the Roman character continued to

be plainly manifested. The history of the Cæsars presents to us a constant succession of brave, patient, resolute, and faithful soldiers, men deeply impressed with a sense of duty, superior to vanity, despisers of boasting, content to toil in obscurity, and shed their blood at the frontiers of the empire, unrepining at the cold mistrust of their masters, not clamorous for the honors so sparingly awarded to them, but satisfied in the daily work of their hands, and full of faith in the national destiny which they were daily accomplishing.”²

SEC. 499. *Roman Education*.—The education of the Romans was similar to that of the Athenians except that athletic exercises had a very small part in it, and that in the late republic and early empire the young men of wealthy families were sent to Greece to complete their studies in a foreign tongue and literature. Athens was the chief school of philosophy, and until after the time of Augustus, Rhodes had the most distinguished teachers of rhetoric. As late as 92 B. C. the Romans were still so rude that the two censors agreed in the publication of the following edict: “It has been reported to us that there are men who have opened a new kind of instruction, and have opened schools to receive youths; that these teachers have assumed the name of Latin rhetoricians, and that young men spend whole days in these schools. Our ancestors determined what their children should learn and to what schools they should go. This innovation does not meet with our approbation, nor is it judged to be right; wherefore we think that we ought to show both to those who keep those schools and to those who are accustomed to frequent them what our opinion is, which is this, that we do not approve these schools.”¹

This edict was probably the subject of much ridicule; and the later censors made no objection to the study of rhetoric, in which Cicero, then a boy, became a master, and by its aid became one of the most influential men in Rome, and one of the chief contributors to her literary glory.

The first public library of Rome was founded by Julius Cæsar, and the next one of note by Vespasian, who also, about 65 A. D., established a corporation of salaried teachers, so that students could obtain a university education in Rome as well as in Athens or Alexandria. In the next century the capital had twenty-nine public libraries. Herculaneum, a small place, had seventeen hundred books in her public library, but many of the Latin books were what we should call chapters, each a single roll or long sheet of papyrus, about a foot wide.

The papyrus was not smooth in surface, and the pen was not used upon it, and writing was not easy and rapid as it is now. Books were therefore really dearer than manuscript books are now, and as the people who were educated and wealthy were relatively few, so books were not abundant. G. C. Lewis doubted "whether there ever were a hundred copies of Virgil or Horace in existence at any one time before the invention of printing," whereas now, when Latin has become a dead language, there are probably more than 30,000 complete copies of each of those two authors.

About 60 B. C. an important advance in education was made by the publication of the first grammar in Rome. Its author, Dionysius Thrax, a Thracian, after studying in Alexandria, established himself in the Eternal City as a teacher of Greek. For the purpose of aiding his pupils and gaining reputation for himself, he wrote out

the main principles of linguistic construction, as they had been discovered by the scholars of Athens, Pergamus, and Alexandria. Plato had observed the distinction between nouns and verbs; Aristotle wrote of articles and conjunctions; and their successors, besides defining other parts of speech, made tables of regular and irregular conjugations and declensions, and explained many of the rules of syntax. The study of grammar had been greatly stimulated at Alexandria by the establishment of the Roman power over the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. The Latin tongue had acquired such importance that its study became necessary to many of the provincials, as Greek became necessary to the Latins, and the comparison of the two languages suggested many new ideas. The work of Thrax is still in existence, and has been the basis of all the later treatises on the same subject. "With Dionysius Thrax," says Max Muller, "the framework of grammar was finished. Later writers have improved and completed it, but they have added nothing really new and original."²

SEC. 500. *Dress, etc.*—The Roman wore a dress similar to that of the Athenian. His under-garment, or tunic, was a sleeveless shirt, fastened over the shoulder with strings or a buckle. The mantle, or toga, a rectangular piece of cloth without sewing or fastening of any kind, was five or six feet wide, and at least twelve long. Both garments were of wool. There was a narrow purple stripe on the tunic of the senator and a broad one on that of the consul. The toga, and the bare head were required for full dress at meetings of the senate, triumphs, funerals, theater, or amphitheater, sacrifices, and state dinners. In cold weather laborers wore tunics with sleeves, and wrapped their legs with cloth.

The national dish of the Romans was porridge, usually made of spelt before 200 B. C. and afterwards of wheat. Among the freemen in the capital, under the empire, bread supplanted porridge, but the latter always retained its prominence among the poor freemen in the rural districts, and among the slaves everywhere. Onions, garlic, peas, beans, salt fish, salt meat, cheese, and pickled olives were other common articles of food. Fresh meat, fish and fruits, apples, pears, peaches, plums, and cherries were common on the tables of the rich. Wine was the ordinary beverage for all classes, and was frequently prepared for drinking by mixing with water and honey. Beer was known, but rare. Saffron, thyme, and, under the empire, cinnamon and nutmegs, were used for flavor. The favorite sauce for fish, *garum*, was made from the inner parts of the entrails of mackerel caught on the Spanish coast. These were packed down for a time in salt, then cooked; then allowed to ferment for two months; and finally passed through a sieve, the liquid part being the sauce. Everybody, except the very poor, had a silver salt cellar, out of which a pinch could be thrown on the floor as an offering to the god of the house or place. The small spoons of the Romans had sharp handles, which in case of need could be used as forks.

At a dinner given by Lentulus on the day of his installation as flamen of Mars in 63 B. C., and attended by the highest sacerdotal officials of the state, including Julius Cæsar (as king of the sacrifices) and the vestal virgins, the bill of fare, as preserved by Macrobius, mentions sea urchins, raw oysters, large clams, small clams, thrushes, asparagus, chicken, pies of oysters and large clams, acorn mollusks, small clams again, muscles, sea nettles, beccaficos, loin of deer and of wild boar, quail,

beccaficos again, murex, sea urchin, sow's udder, boar's head, fish pie, pie of sow's udder, ducks, boiled teal, hare, poultry, flour pudding, and sweet cakes.

Every large city in the empire had its public baths. They had separate tubs, each for one person, and large tanks where multitudes could bathe together. The large bathing establishment had four main departments. In the first the bather undressed, and sat for a while in the warm air; in the second he entered the warm water, and if he wished, into the hot air or steam; in the third, after passing through cool water, he was wiped dry and oiled; and in the fourth he was rubbed and kneaded. In every large Roman city there was at least one large public bath house; and in the capital there were eleven, with accommodations for 16,000 persons at one time in the aggregate, with a very small charge for admission.

Oiling was considered an important part of the daily toilet among the wealthy and an indispensable feature in the processes of the bath house. Cæsar ordered the purchase of 300,000 gallons of oil annually for the public baths of the capital. Anointing was necessary for full dress.¹ The business of the anointer (*unctor*) and that of the dealer in materials for the use of the anointer (*unguentarius*) were distinct occupations. In the summer many Roman nobles made a practice of exposing themselves without clothing to the sunlight for several hours daily.

To the ancient Roman oil was more needful than soap is to us. Anointment was regarded by him as essential to comfort, especially in wet weather. It was said that one of the reasons why Hannibal won the victory of the Trebbia was that his troops were prepared for it by their breakfast and their anointment, while the Romans had neither on a wet and chilly morning.

SEC. 501. *Latin Literature*.—Centuries of continuous, arduous, destructive, and merciless warfare, in which the vanquished were always impoverished and often enslaved or exterminated, developed in the Romans a remarkable combination of courage, fortitude, persistence, discipline, and contempt of death. It made them a coarse, hard, domineering people, with little social refinement, delicate sentiment, artistic perception, or literary taste. In the long period of their national existence they produced not one beautiful religious myth, not one great statue, painting, or tragic drama, not one philosophical or ethical system, not one scientific discovery, not one industrial invention traceable unmistakably to a native of Rome or Latium, not one work surpassing everything else of its kind in a leading branch of thought, except the civil law. In many departments they remained remarkably deficient to the last; in others, they did creditable work, but not until after centuries of national prosperity, and then in small quantity, as imitators of the Greeks, and in most cases by men who were not natives of Rome.

Virgil admitted the inferiority of his countrymen in literature and art, and tried to make a boast of the fact that they had had enough to do with the task of governing; a boast for which there would have been abundant reason if the task had been always well done. In Conington's translation he says:—

“Others, I ween, with happier grace
From bronze or stone shall call the face,
Plead doubtful causes, map the skies,
And tell when planets set or rise;
But ye, my Romans, still control
The nations far and wide.
Be this your genius—to impose

The rule of peace on vanquished foes,
Show pity to the humble soul,
And crush the sons of pride."¹

It was not until Rome had become mistress of Italy, not until after 260 B. C., that she began to have a Latin literature by the productions of Nævius, a Campanian subject, and Livius Andronicus, a slave of Tarentum. After them came Ennius, born in 239 B. C., a Calabrian, but a Roman citizen; and about the same time appeared the elder Cato, who was the first known author born in the Eternal City. He was a typical Roman; he treated his slaves as if they were beasts, and when they were too old to work, he turned them out to starve. He demanded the destruction of Carthage because its thrift was a reproach to the waste of Rome. His books have been lost, and critics do not lament their disappearance. Notwithstanding some admirable qualities, such a character as Cato does little credit to his native city.

Plautus, an Umbrian freeman, and Terence, a Carthaginian slave, the only distinguished dramatists in Latin literature, adapted comedies from the Greek. Both had completed their work before the period of civil war began with Tiberius Gracchus. The theater had ceased to demand original works unless they were pantomimes, which were favorite entertainments among the ancient Romans, and were usually filled with the coarsest buffoonery. Although the Roman comedies were all or nearly all adaptations from the Greek, there was some originality in the method of production. There was an actor for each character in the plot, and the chorus was far less prominent than in Greece. "It is very difficult to understand the relation which music bore to the exhibition of Roman comedy. It is clear that there was always a

musical accompaniment, and that the instruments used were flutes; the lyre was only used in tragedy, because in comedy there was no chorus or lyric portion. . . . Flutes were of two kinds. Those played with the right hand were made of the upper part of the reed, and, like the modern fife or octave flute, emitted a high sound; they were therefore suitable to lively and cheerful melodies; and this kind of music, known by the name of the Lydian mode, was performed upon a pair of *tibiæ dextræ* [right-hand flutes]. The left-hand flutes were pitched an octave lower; their tones were grave and were fit for solemn music.”²

Between 130 and 30 B. C. the only noted Latin authors were the Sabine Varro and Sallust, the Campanian Cicero, the Latin Lucretius, the Veronese Catullus, and the Roman Julius Cæsar. Among these the last is the highest in literary merit. His account of his war in Gaul is the best of all military histories, charming in the clearness and simplicity of its style, and correct throughout in its taste and judgment.

The establishment of the empire was soon followed by the publication of such a number of meritorious books that the age of Augustus is mentioned with those of Pericles and Lorenzo de Medici among the intellectual periods that gave luster to history before the discovery of America. The brightest literary ornaments of the reign of Augustus were Livy, Virgil, and Vitruvius, natives of the Po-basin, Horace an Apulian, Tibullus a Sabine, and Propertius and Ovid, Umbrians. These together form a constellation of authors unapproached in talent by those of any other generation in Rome, and rarely surpassed by those of any one generation in any other country. Unfortunately the literary activity of

Rome was of brief duration; and two centuries and a half after Augustus, it had entirely ceased.

Tacitus, the only great author born in Rome except Cæsar, was also a historian of much ability, but he chose subjects of small scope and limited interest, and therefore he has not obtained the high literary position which his genius might have enabled him to acquire. A great history must have a great subject. Besides Tacitus, the other Latin authors of note born after the reign of Augustus were Pliny the elder and Pliny the younger, born in the basin of the Po; Martial, Seneca, Quintilian, Lucan, Columella, and Pomponius Mela, all natives of Spain; Juvenal a Volscian; Marcus Aurelius, a Roman; and Gaius, Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus, and Modestinus, all provincials and writers on law. Marcus Aurelius, born in 121 A. D., was the last of the notable pagan authors in Latin literature. After the overthrow of the republic, there was no great Roman orator. Longinus, a Greek, who wrote in the IIIrd century A. D., lamented the disappearance of eloquence from the world, and of the free government, which is the fostering nurse of that form of intellectual achievement.³

SEC. 502. *The Triumph*.—The leading public amusements of the Romans were the triumph, the gladiatorial fight, the chariot race, the comedy, and the pantomime. The most original and the most characteristic were the first two. The triumph, as celebrated systematically at Rome, was unknown elsewhere, and its establishment early in the national career, as an honor to a commander who had won a great victory, implies the confidence of the people in the long enduring greatness of their city.

Not only was the triumph the highest honor conferred by Rome on a successful general, but for centuries it

was also the most attractive show for the common people. It was a military procession, made up of the returning army with its captives, its booty, characteristic productions of the conquered country, and placards stating important results of the campaign not susceptible of plain representation otherwise. On some occasions the show lasted for several successive days. In the history of Rome there were about three hundred of these festivals.

The triumph accorded to Pompey for his victories in Asia occupied the 29th and 30th September in 61 B. C. The objects which attracted most attention in the procession were the large placards inscribed with the names of the countries conquered, extending from the Hellespont to the Euphrates and from the border of Egypt to the Caucasus; the names of the cities and the number of the ships taken from the pirates; a list of thirty-nine cities supplied anew with inhabitants; and the sums of \$10,000,000 and \$16,000,000, the annual revenue of the republic before and after these conquests.

Among the articles exhibited were numerous large vases of gold and silver; golden statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo; a silver statue of Pharnaces, king of Pontus; a silver statue and a colossal golden bust of Mithradates; the throne and scepter of Mithradates; and a golden bedstead said to have belonged to Darius I. Among the distinguished captives led in chains were the sister of Mithradates, with five of her sons; the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, with his wife and children; the widow of Tigranes; Aristobulus, king of the Jews; and numerous pirate chiefs. Pompey appeared in his triumphal car, wearing the costume of Alexander the Great; and in recognition of his previous triumphs for victories in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia, before him

was borne a trophy with the inscription, "Victor over the whole World."¹

The most brilliant of all the Roman triumphs—that of Paulus Æmilius after his conquest of Macedonia—is thus described by Plutarch: "The people erected scaffolds in the forum and circus, and all the other parts of the city where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open and full of garlands and perfumes; the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tipstiffs, that drove away such as thronged the passage or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days. On the first, which was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen the statues, pictures, and images of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second, was carried, in a great many wains, the fairest and the richest armor of the Macedonians, both of brass and steel, all newly furbished and glittering; which, although piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled in heaps carelessly and by chance: helmets were thrown on shields, coats of mail upon greaves, Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows lay huddled among the horses' bits; and through these appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise, so that the very spoils of the conquered could not be beheld without dread. After these wagons loaded with armor, there followed three thousand men who carried the silver that was coined, in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which weighed three tal-

ents, and was carried by four men. Others brought silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their bigness, as the thickness of their engraved work. On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a procession, or solemn entry, but such a charge as the Romans use when they encourage their soldiers to fight. Next followed young men, girt about with girdles curiously wrought, who led to the sacrifice one hundred and twenty stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribands and garlands; and with these were boys that carried platters of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that weighed three talents, like to those that contained the silver; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were followed by those that brought the consecrated bowl, which Æmilius caused to be made, that weighed ten talents, and was all beset with precious stones. Then were exposed to view the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and such as were made after the fashion invented by Thericles, and all the gold plate that was used at Perseus' table. Next to these came Perseus' chariot, in the which his armor was placed, and on that his diadem. And, after a little intermission, the king's children were led captives, and with them a train of nurses, masters, and governors, who all wept, and stretched forth their hands to the spectators, and taught the little infants to beg and entreat their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter, who, by reason of their tender age, were altogether insensible of the greatness of their misery; which insensibility of their condition rendered it much more deplorable; insomuch, that

Perseus himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants, and many of them could not forbear tears: all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy, until the children were past. After his children and their attendants, came Perseus himself, clad all in black and wearing slippers, after the fashion of his country: he looked like one altogether astonished, and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great company of his friends, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified to all that beheld them, by their tears and their continual looking upon Perseus, that it was his hard fortune they so lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. After these were carried four hundred crowns, all made of gold, and sent from the cities, by their respective ambassadors, to Æmilius, as a reward due to his valor. Then he himself came seated in a chariot magnificently adorned (a man worthy to be beheld, even without these ensigns of power): he was clad in a garment of purple, interwoven with gold, and held out a laurel branch in his right hand. All the army, in like manner, with boughs of laurel in their hands, and divided into bands and companies, followed the chariot and their commander, some singing odes (according to their usual custom) mingled with raillery; others songs of triumphs, and the praises of Æmilius's deeds, who was admired and accounted happy by all men, yet unenvied by everyone that was good."

SEC. 503. *Gladiators*.—The gladiatorial fight had its origin among the Etruscans; but received most of its development among the Romans, who changed it from a private to a public show; from the accompaniment of a funeral to the main attraction of a state festival; from an

open field, in which relatively few spectators stood, to a permanent amphitheater of brick or stone, in which many thousands occupied comfortable seats; and from several successive duels between untrained slaves, continuing altogether perhaps an hour, to a multitude of duels or of company fights, between warriors of high skill and reputation, succeeding each other rapidly for six or eight hours and for day after day.

Introduced into Rome in 265 B. C., the sword show proved so congenial to the popular taste that it was rapidly developed until it became one of the most prominent features of life in the city on the Tiber. It was regarded not merely as an amusement, but as a school in which the people should learn skill in the use of arms, familiarity with the sight of blood, the uses of courage and coolness in danger, and contempt for death. Consuls about to take the field against formidable foes considered it desirable to give gladiatorial shows to their raw levies. These, instead of being frightened, were stimulated by the carnage. The statesmen and the multitude, the generals and the common soldiers, agreed that next to participation in a real battle to prepare an army for its work, nothing was better than the sight of extensive sword shows.

These became the favorite pleasures of Rome, and custom required the consuls, the triumphing generals, and the emperors to supply these pleasures. The mob of the capital shouted for "bread and games," as their two chief wants which the government should supply, and in that phrase "games" meant mainly sword fights. The most virtuous emperors, including Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius, gave these shows; Martial and Statius commended them; Cicero, Tacitus, and the younger

Pliny mentioned them without censure; and the only notable protest against them in the pagan literature of Rome is made by Seneca.

Repugnant as such exhibitions would be to modern sentiment, they were irresistibly fascinating to nearly all classes of Romans. Eminent statesmen, famous philosophers, noble matrons, virtuous maidens of patrician families, and even the vestal virgins, considered it proper to attend and to express their pleasure. For two centuries after the recognition of Christianity as the established religion of the empire, the gladiatorial show was maintained, and Christians noted for their devoutness admitted that when they had once seen this bloody show, its attraction for them was strong enough to overcome the influence of all adverse opinions. Bullfights, bear baitings, dog fights, cockfights, and boxing matches flourish in modern European nations, and gratify the same feelings as those which made the success of the slaughter entertainments of ancient Rome.

The gladiators were nearly all slaves or condemned criminals, but some were freemen, and more than one emperor went into the bloody arena. Commodus took part in more than one hundred fights of the amphitheater, presumably under such circumstances that he was in little danger of serious injury. Many of the gladiators were proud of their profession, and happy in its exercise. Like famous Spanish bullfighters, the excitement of the conflict and the applause of the victory more than compensated for all the danger. They wanted to be matched against the most formidable competitors, and to fight before the largest assemblages and the most powerful officials. "Such was the ferocity engendered by the habitual use of arms, so soothing to the sword-

man's vanity the consciousness of skill and valor, so stimulating to his pride the thunders of applause from a hundred thousand admirers, that the practice of mortal combat, however unsophisticated nature may blanch at its horrors, was actually the source perhaps of more pleasure than pain to these Roman prize fighters."¹ The successful gladiator was a popular favorite, and when he retired from the arena with freedom as a reward for his courage and skill, he was treated in private life with distinguished consideration.

In his Tusculan conversations, Cicero says: "What wounds do not the gladiators endure without complaint, though they are only criminals or barbarians! How bravely those who are well trained receive the fatal thrust rather than flee disgracefully! How often do they make it their highest ambition to please their masters and the multitude! When they are exhausted with wounds, we see them sending messengers to their masters for their commands, and expressing their readiness to receive the fatal blow, if so ordered. What merely mediocre gladiator ever groaned? What one turned pale? When did one stand or even sink down like a coward? What one after falling, when ordered to die, shrank from the sword? So much power have practice, reflection, and custom."

Schools were established for the education of gladiators, who, while learning, fought with wooden or dull swords, so that they should receive no serious wounds until they appeared in public exhibition. To the owners of these schools, the givers of the shows went to purchase their leading fighters. A large proportion of the combatants were presumably men of little skill, introduced to become victims of the more dextrous, who

were finally pitted against each other. Usually there were only two combatants in the arena at any one time, and when one was disabled, the victor turned to the master of the show, for an order to spare or slay the vanquished. In such case the decision was usually controlled by the shouts or gestures of the multitude, who liked to spare the brave and skillful for another show, or for freedom, which, however, was rarely given to anyone who had not won repeatedly in dangerous combats.

The mob watched the motions with intense excitement; they shouted their satisfaction and their disgust; and also their encouragement and their advice. For them a good show meant a succession of hard fought duels, most of them fatal to at least one of the combatants. They had gestures to indicate their wishes as to life and death, intelligible to the eyes, when the noise was too great to permit their outcries to be understood. In some of the duels, the weapons and defensive arms of the combatants were different. The long sword was matched against the short one; the large shield against the small one; the sword against the spear; the net and trident against the sword and shield, and so on. The best gladiators were Germans, Samnites, Thracians, Spaniards, and Gauls; and different nationalities with their characteristic arms were pitted against each other, for the double purpose of having a more angry fight and of enabling the spectators to understand the various enemies they might have to encounter. For less serious variations, women and dwarfs were also made to fight.

When the gladiatorial shows were at their height, about 250 A. D., not less than two thousand gladiators were slain annually on an average in the capital, and in exceptional years the number was much larger. In the

time of Augustus there were sixty-six festival days, and in that of Marcus Aurelius one hundred and thirty-five holidays in the year; and on perhaps one-third or one-fourth of these, there were gladiatorial shows. At the opening of the Colosseum there was a festival of one hundred days; and Trajan celebrated one of his triumphs with a festival of one hundred and twenty-three days, in the course of which 10,000 men were compelled to fight in the arena. When Julius Cæsar was candidate for ædile, he pleased the people with games, in which six hundred and forty gladiators participated. Although the general custom was that there should be only two combatants matched against each other in the arena at any one time, occasionally they were introduced in companies, one of which was expected to dispatch the other. The contest was always a very serious one; no sham work was tolerated; any attempt to treat the struggle as not meant to be a fight to death, was punished capitally without delay. When a man fell as if dead, he was touched with red-hot iron to find whether any sensation was left; if so he was finished by a thrust undoubtedly mortal. The corpses were dragged out and all thoughts were given to the next fray.

Besides the simple gladiatorial show, there was also the gladiatorial naval battle. For this purpose, the arena of the amphitheater covered with water, an artificial lake, or a natural lake was made the scene of the combat. At different times two lakes were dug in the low land in or near the capital city for such a purpose, one north of the Tiber, the other south of it on the Campus Martius. On one of these Julius Cæsar gave a show with six thousand fighters. Claudius gave a naval gladiatorial show on the lake of Fucino with 19,000 combatants.

For five centuries after their introduction into Rome, gladiatorial shows continued to increase in favor, frequency, and magnitude; for four generations after Christianity had become the established religion of the empire, they held their place; they flourished in every city of Italy; they gained a foothold in the larger cities of Gaul, Spain, Greece, Africa, and Asia under Roman dominion; and they were the main cause of the construction of the amphitheaters which, as a class, are the most remarkable remains of the architecture of the ancient Romans. The Colosseum, or great amphitheater of Rome, was six hundred and twenty feet long, five hundred and thirteen wide, and one hundred and sixty high. It covered an area of more than seven acres, and could furnish seats to 87,000 spectators. Verona, Capua, Pompeii, Arles, and Nismes also have the ruins of amphitheaters.

SEC. 504. *Roman Races, etc.*—Akin to the gladiatorial shows were the fights of men with beasts, including lions, tigers, leopards, panthers, bears, elephants, and wolves. In five days Pompey introduced in the arena five hundred lions and four hundred leopards and panthers to be killed. Julius Cæsar turned in four hundred lions at once, and on another occasion, his show included three hundred cavalry, five hundred infantry, and five war elephants fighting on each side. In the forty-four years of the reign of Augustus, three thousand five hundred elephants were slain for the amusement of Rome. In the games at the opening of the Colosseum, nine thousand beasts were slain. Sometimes giraffes or stags were let loose in the arena, and citizens were admitted by lot, with leave to carry away whatever they could catch or kill.

The chariot race was a favorite amusement for the ancient Romans, and for it they erected their largest buildings. The Circus Maximus in the capital was six hundred yards long and two hundred wide, including within the outer wall twenty-four acres. *The number of spectators who could be accommodated with seats, after the last tier of benches had been added, was 350,000, making it the greatest show house the world has ever seen. This Circus was built for the chariot race, but it was also used occasionally for gladiatorial shows, and for battles with wild beasts. As in the Greek so in the Roman chariot race, the team was usually one of four horses abreast. The vehicle, the harness, and the arrangement of the four horses, side by side, all seem very rude to the drivers of the modern racing wagon; but they did not prevent the citizen of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople from taking an intense interest in their races, or from becoming zealous partisans of the charioteers, horses, and colors; for every racing team had its distinctive color. A chariot race was usually for five or seven circuits or laps, equivalent to two or three miles; distances too great for the maintenance of the highest rate of speed, but favorable to those charioteers who best knew how to manage the endurance and the speed of their horses. The favorite charioteers were famous men with large incomes. There were also riding races, and foot races; and athletic games of many kinds, copied from those of the Greeks, were introduced into Rome after the establishment of the empire, but they found little favor as compared with the sword shows and chariot races. Besides the Colosseum and the Circus Maximus, Rome in the IInd century A. D. had three theaters, of which the largest had 20,000 seats and the

smallest about half as many. It was partly because of the large size and bad acoustic arrangement of these buildings that the most popular entertainments given in them were pantomimic; some with masked and others with unmasked performers. In some of the plays nude dancers appeared, and language as well as plot was extremely coarse. After pantomime, in attractiveness for the Romans, came comedy, usually a translation from the Greek, and finally tragedy, in which no Roman author produced any original work of much merit. Most of the actors were freedmen or slaves. Comedians expected to derive more profit from lessons in elocution than from pay given directly for their services on the stage.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

SECTION 505. *The Christian Bible.*—Since the beginning of the IVth century of our era, Christianity has been a prominent feature of culture. In ancient and mediæval times it established itself throughout the temperate portions of Europe. For nearly a thousand years it has been the religion of all Euraryan nations. It has accompanied them in their great achievements and shared their political, literary, and artistic triumphs. With them it has occupied all the great centers of enlightenment. It has almost exclusive possession of four continents, Europe, the two Americas, and Australia, and of considerable regions in Asia and Africa. It is “the book” of the progressive nations, of all those countries which, during the last four centuries, have been leading the world in literature, science, industry, and ornamental art, in military power and political freedom, in the accumulation of knowledge, and the rapid increase of population. Its only great rivals—Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Confucianism—are the religions of barbarous, ignorant, superstitious, oppressed, and stationary nations.

Palfrey claims that Christianity “has imparted the idea of the nobleness of virtue, an idea which can never be buried. In particular, it has given birth to the before

undreamed-of conceptions of a filial piety, of an unlimited enterprising philanthropy, of a strenuous self-control, of the dignity of a pure life, of the efficiency and loveliness of a pure heart. . . . It has formed some characters such as the ancient world had absolutely, not to say no specimens, but no notions of.”¹

The Christian Bible, which is the foundation of Christianity, has been praised by many great authors as no other book has been. Theodore Parker says of it: “This collection of books has taken such hold of the world as no other. . . . It enters men’s closets, mingles in all the grief and cheerfulness of life. The Bible attends men in sickness, when the fever of the world is on them.

. . . It is the better part of our sermons; it lifts man above himself. . . . The timid man about to wake from his dream of life, looks through the glass of Scripture, and his eye grows bright; he does not fear to stand alone, to tread the way unknown and distant, to take the death angel by the hand, and bid farewell to wife, and babes, and home.”²

Here is the opinion of T. H. Huxley: “I have always been strongly in favor of secular education, in the sense of education without theology; but I must confess that I have been no less seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up, in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion on these matters, without the use of the Bible. . . . Take the Bible as a whole . . . and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of moral beauty and grandeur.

. . . By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills in, like themselves,

the interval between two eternities and earns the blessings or the curses of all time according to its effort to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work.”³ “In the Bible,” as Coleridge observes, “there is more that finds me than I have experienced in all other books put together; . . . the words of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being; and . . . whatever finds me brings with it irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the Holy Spirit.” Elsewhere the same author writes: “In every generation and wherever the light of revelation has shone, men of all ranks, conditions, and states of mind, have found in this volume a correspondent for every movement towards the better felt in their own hearts. The needy soul has found supply, the feeble a help, the sorrowful a comfort; yea, be the reciprocity the least that can consist with moral life, there is an answering grace ready to enter. The Bible has been found a spiritual world—spiritual and yet at the same time outward and common to all.”⁴ “It is no slight testimony to the adaptation and comprehensiveness of the religious contents of the Bible,” according to Henry Rogers, “that so many millions have declared that all the moods and necessities of their moral and spiritual life are exhaustively expressed there. As there is scarcely any condition in human life but may find its parallel in the scenes of the Scripture history, so may it be truly said that all the phenomena of religious experience are there described with incomparable force. The devout mind finds every shade of emotion,—of penitence, faith, hope, devout aspiration,—and every variation of spiritual consciousness, already expressed to his hand, in words better than his own, and as if by one who knew man better than man

knows himself. His whole nature is reflected, as it were, in that faithful mirror. This is especially the case in the psalms, gospels, and epistles, which have made so many say that they found in the Bible the vivid expression of what, till they read it there, was hardly known to themselves, or could be uttered only in faltering accents and with a stammering tongue.”⁵

In the opinion of Max Muller, Christianity as a religious system based on the Bible “has proved itself the mightiest of all civilizers and the constant champion of the rights and dignity of men.” W. Robertson Smith declares that by its “power of touching the heart and lifting the soul into converse with heaven,” “the Bible approves itself the pure and perfect word of God, a lamp unto the feet and a light unto the path of every Christian.” The development of constitutional liberty in modern Europe is attributed by Guizot to the influence of the New Testament.⁶

Among the most intelligent of our time the opinion in reference to Christianity is common and perhaps dominant that its ecclesiastical organization has become the foundation and the controlling agency of many beneficent social influences which could not be transferred suddenly to any other management; and that therefore, whether the historical statements on which the accepted creeds are based be true or not, an abrupt abandonment of these creeds is not desirable. They have much more faith in the political and social value of Christianity than in its philosophical and historical soundness.

SEC. 506. *Creeds*.—The Christianity of our time is a group of creeds, each of which, through its adherents, claims to be the doctrine taught by Jesus, and denies the divine authority of the others. The most notable of

these creeds are that of the Roman Catholics, that of the Greek Catholics, that of the Trinitarian Protestants, and that of the Unitarian Protestants. According to the Roman Catholic creed, Jesus, while on earth, was entirely human in his body and entirely divine in his soul, a part of the omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient triune God, from all eternity. He assumed a human form and lived on earth as a man among men, for the purposes of redeeming mankind from the sin of Adam, and of establishing a new and universal religion, the ultimate and highest possible form of divine truth, a development of the Mosaic law which had been given to man when he was in a barbarous condition and not yet prepared to appreciate a spiritual faith. The divine character and mission of Jesus are proved by his miracles, which are recorded in the New Testament, an inspired record of his life and teachings and of the growth of his church in apostolic times. This record, however, is later in its origin, less complete, less clear, and less authoritative than the tradition of the church. The books of the New Testament were written in apostolic times by the persons whose names they bear. By the appointment of Jesus, the apostle Peter was made the supreme head of the church, with the order that his supremacy should be transmitted to his successors in his episcopal office, which he established first in Jerusalem, then in Antioch, and finally and permanently in Rome. The supremacy of this bishop of bishops is accompanied by an absolute control over the discipline of the church, and authority to render infallible decisions in all questions of faith and morals. In the domain of religion, all men owe obedience to him; and he has exclusive jurisdiction to define the bounds of that domain. There is an eternal future

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life with endless rewards for righteousness and endless punishments for sin; and righteousness sufficient for salvation belongs presumably only to the members of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Greek Catholics and Trinitarian Protestants agree with the Roman Catholics in the tenets stated in the preceding paragraph except those of the supremacy of Peter and his successors, and of the general exclusion of persons not Roman Catholics, from salvation. All Trinitarian Protestants regard the New Testament as a higher authority than the tradition of the church, and some of them have no bishops, but accept the synod of priests or the separate congregation as the highest ecclesiastical authority. The Unitarians differ from the Trinitarian Protestants by denying the divinity of Jesus; and many of them use their reason very freely in biblical criticism.

Opposed to these doctrines of the Christian churches is that of the sceptical school of biblical criticism, which teaches that Christianity must be natural, since the Jewish religion, its foundation, is a product of evolution; that if the authors of the New Testament had been inspired, they would not have accepted as true the Pentateuch, which includes legends and antedated books; that since the story of Adam's fall has been proved to be a myth, there is no historical basis for the theory of redemption; that none of the books of the New Testament can be traced to an apostle or disciple of Jesus; that there is no proof that any one of the gospels was accepted as inspired within a century after his death; that, whether considered separately or together, the gospels do not give a distinct statement of the doctrine of Christianity as now understood by any large body of Christians; that the history of the apostolic church in Acts

was written with the purpose of misrepresenting the truth; that the only undoubtedly genuine books in the New Testament are the epistles written by Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans; that the reports of the miracles offered and long accepted as conclusive evidences of the divine mission of Jesus are proofs of the ignorance and superstition of the evangelists; that Jesus had no purpose of establishing a new church; and that by his original ideas of doctrine and discipline Paul liberated the new faith from the bondage of the Mosaic law, and laid the foundation of Christianity as a new and universal religion.

In a church which made belief the main element of righteousness and condemned all the unrighteous to endless misery in hell, it was of the utmost importance that the doctrine requisite to salvation should be stated in the fullest and clearest terms by the founder of the faith; that it should be delivered by him to his disciples in a durable record authenticated solemnly; that it should be publicly accepted by them as sacred; and that every Christian country should have at least one unquestionably genuine and correct copy of that original record. All these needful guarantees of the faithful preservation of the doctrine as taught by Jesus are lacking in the New Testament.

SEC. 507. *Luke*.—Four records of the life of Jesus, called evangels or gospels, are included in the New Testament. The first of these is ascribed to the apostle Matthew; the fourth to the apostle John; the second to Mark, who, according to tradition, was a companion of Peter; and the third to Luke, who, it is supposed, was a companion of Paul. Two gospels are attributed to apostles, and two to persons who were not disciples of Jesus.

Neither of the four evangels gives the name of its author, the place or the date of its composition or publication, or recognizes the inspiration or existence of any other part of the New Testament. The first, second, and third gospels are called the synoptical evangels or the works of the synoptists; because in the main points they agree with one another, presenting the same general account of the teachings and movements of Jesus; whereas the fourth gospel gives a different account.

The opening verses of the gospel of Luke deserve attentive consideration. They say, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed."

This language implies that the writer was not one of the disciples of Jesus; that he wrote for a personal friend, not for the general public; that when he wrote all the apostles and eyewitnesses of Jesus were dead; that all his information was obtained from eyewitnesses and none from inspiration; that he did not consider it necessary to give the names of his witnesses; that he did not write at the request or with the approval of any apostle; that before he began to write, "many" gospels were in circulation; that all these earlier gospels were false; that neither the apostles as a body nor any one of their number had made any effort to secure the composition of a gospel; and that he did not consider it necessary to sub-

mit his gospel for approval to any bishop or other sacerdotal authority of his time. By these implications, the author of this gospel discredits not only himself but also the authors of the other three gospels.

The traditions that the name of the author was Luke, that he was a companion of Paul, and that he wrote at the request of Paul, cannot be traced within a hundred years of the apostolic age; and, being without the least corroborating evidence, do not deserve acceptance. Another tradition, that the gospel of Luke was written by the author of Acts, is supported by the first verse of that book, and by the similarity of its style and spirit to that of the third evangel. Acts, however, as we shall see, perverts some important facts of apostolic history, and its author cannot be trusted.

Paul distinctly states that he was appointed an apostle by a special revelation, and thus placed on a level of authority with the twelve. By his silence, Luke implies that this claim was unfounded. Paul tells us that by agreement with the twelve, as well as by direct divine commission, the conversion of the Gentiles was intrusted to him exclusively among the apostles. Luke does not mention such an agreement, and makes statements irreconcilable with it. Acts conveys the idea that Paul spent some time preaching in Judea and Jerusalem, and Paul says he did not. Acts says Paul circumcised his disciple Timothy, but the epistle of Paul to the Galatians implies that he did no such thing. The account of the visit of Paul to Jerusalem about 51 A. D., as given in Acts, does not harmonize with the references to it made by Paul himself. Acts says Paul delivered the decree of a council in Jerusalem to his churches; and Paul implies that he did not. According to Acts Paul solemnly took

a false oath that he did not teach his Jewish converts to neglect the Mosaic law; and he says nothing in his epistles of such an oath.¹

In these questions of veracity between the apostle and the evangelist we must decide in favor of the former, because he published his statements in the cities and to the generation directly familiar with the facts, and because he is in every respect an abler, more sincere, more consistent, and more trustworthy man. All the passages in the epistles of Paul are consistent; whereas some statements in Acts do not harmonize with one another. Its author was evidently familiar with the disputes between the followers of Paul and of Peter, and he wanted to show that the discord was not serious. He wrote a story so framed that it should conciliate both parties and avoid offense to either. He gave great prominence to Peter in the first, and to Paul in the last, part of his book. He spoke of both as if they were the only persons who, in the apostolic period, contributed much to the spread of Christianity. It was presumably for the purpose of gaining the favor of both sides that he presented a peculiar parallelism in the experiences of these two men.

As the name of Peter had been changed from Cephas, so, according to Acts, that of Paul was altered from Saul. As Peter killed Ananias by miracle, so Paul killed Elymas. As a man lame from his birth was cured by Peter, so another was by Paul. As a sick man was healed by the shadow of Peter, so was another by the kerchief of Paul. Peter was released from prison by one miracle, and Paul by another. Both these apostles were taken at different times for gods by the ignorant populace. Paul had a vision in which he was ordered by Jesus to convert the Gentiles, and Peter received similar instructions

in a similar manner. This parallelism is much more credible by faith than by reason.²

Acts tells us that in the council of the disciples held in Jerusalem about 42 A. D. Peter delivered an address in which he said, "A good while ago, God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel." In his account of that same meeting Paul says: "James, Cephas [Peter], and John, . . . gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision [the Jews]." These two statements cannot be explained in such a manner as to bring them into harmony.³

The author of Acts, writing as if he had been a companion of Paul in his last visit to Judea, says: "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And when they heard it, they . . . said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous [observers] of the [Mosaic] law. And they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the [Mosaic] customs. What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together [to mob thee], for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee. We have four men which have a vow on them. Take them and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads; and all may know that

those things [accusations] whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing [that is, are false]; but thou thyself also walkest orderly and keepest the law. . . . Then Paul took the men, and the next day, purifying himself with them, entered into the temple. . . . And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people and laid hands on him, . . . and went about to kill him.”⁴ From this mob Paul was rescued by the Roman soldiers.

In this story Acts informs us that the apostle advised Paul to take a solemn oath in the temple, according to a customary formula, that he did not advise his Jewish converts to neglect the Mosaic ceremonies; and that he took the oath. In his epistles he distinctly conveys the idea that he taught all his converts to consider the Mosaic law as entirely abrogated for all Christians, whether converted Jews or Gentiles. Here we see that if we believe Paul we must disbelieve Acts.

The tradition that Luke was a companion of Paul and wrote at his request is discredited by the epistles of the latter, which do not mention the third gospel, do not quote any passage in it, do not commend Luke as an author, or as a person familiar with sacred history, and, by implication, reject the ascetic and communistic ideas of the gospel and of Acts. The second epistle of Timothy, a document of doubtful genuineness, though it purports to have been written in Rome by Paul, says, “Luke is with me;” and that is the only mention in the Bible of a person named Luke, except in the heading of the third gospel, and the headings of the biblical books were all added by the copyists.

The gospel of Luke is further discredited by the fact

that it is not an original work. In many passages, its author has copied not only the information and arrangement, but also the phraseology of an older book; and this copying is not limited to the sayings attributed to Jesus, but extends to other material. The plagiarized passages make up a considerable part of the third evangel, and that they were taken from an older book is proved conclusively.⁵

SEC. 508. *Matthew*.—The gospel of Matthew, like that of Luke, is a compilation from Mark or from an older document similar to Mark, but is earlier in date than Luke, and yet is treated by the last as if it deserved no credit. The story of Jesus in the first evangel is written with a vagueness which implies that its author had no direct knowledge of the movements of Jesus, and of the circumstances under which he delivered the various sayings attributed to him.

The personal movements of Jesus from the beginning of his Messianic career until his final arrival in Jerusalem just before his crucifixion are thus stated in the gospel of Matthew. He went about all Galilee; he went into a mountain; he came down from the mountain; he entered into Capernaum; he went into the country of the Gergesenes; he came to his own city; he passed forth from thence; he departed thence; he went about all the cities and villages; he departed thence; he went into their synagogue; he withdrew himself from thence; he withdrew himself and sat by the seaside; he departed thence; he came into his own country; he taught in their synagogue; he departed thence; he went into a mountain; he went to the sea; he came to the land of Gennesaret; he went to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; he went into a mountain near the Sea of Galilee; he came into the

coasts of Magdala; he went to Cæsarea Philippi; he went into a mountain; he visited Capernaum; he went to Judea beyond the Jordan; and by way of Jericho he went to Jerusalem.

In this list, twenty-nine movements are mentioned and on ten of these occasions Jesus went to a mountain, a plain, or the seaside, without precise statement of the place; and on six other occasions it is said that "he departed thence" without designation of the place from which or to which he went; and on one occasion after "he departed thence" his next movement was another departure "thence," without further topographical explanation. As to chronology, the gospel of Matthew is even more vague than in regard to locality. It does not specify the year of any occurrence, nor the month of any event save the last visit to Jerusalem and its incidents.

In the matter of persons the gospel of Matthew lacks precision as much as in regard to dates and places. Its miraculous cures, in their order as successively reported, include those of a leper, a palsied servant of a centurion, Peter's mother-in-law sick with a fever, a paralytic, a woman with an ulcer, a lunatic, a paralytic, a blind lunatic, a lunatic daughter of a Canaanitish woman, a lunatic, a pair of lunatics, two pairs of blind men, and on five different occasions two or more people sick or possessed by devils. We are also told that Jesus restored to life the dead daughter of "a certain ruler." In reference to all these miraculous cures, no date is given; in most instances no place is mentioned; and in only one case is a name specified, and that Peter's mother-in-law. The centurion appealed in person to Jesus for help, but his name is not recorded, nor is that of the ruler or of his daughter.

In the account of the movements of Jesus, of his miracles, and of his speeches, extending over the period of a year at least, there is no precise mention of any house in which he lodged, of any host who entertained him, or of any convert whom he made after he selected his apostles. And according to tradition, this gospel was written in the tongue of Judea, by a Jew, for the use of the Jewish people, while the words and deeds of Jesus were still familiar to many living persons who had seen and heard him, who knew the sick whom he had cured, the houses where he stopped, and the people who had been his hosts.

The last supper eaten in Jerusalem was an important event in the life of Jesus, and must have been a most impressive and solemn event to the apostles, but the gospel of Matthew does not designate the house in which it was held, by the name of its owner, by its street, by its quarter of the city, or by any mark that would enable those interested to recall it or to discover it. The destruction of the city in 70 A. D. by the Romans, and the death of the owner of the house, would not excuse the silence about particulars that must have been interesting to people still surviving, if the gospel was published about 70 A. D., as tradition says it was.

We may be sure that Jesus never spoke the words attributed to him in the closing verses of the gospel of Matthew. He did not say to his apostles, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The apostles did not consider themselves instructed to teach all nations, and they did not baptize anybody "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." That phrase was unknown to Paul, Mark, Luke, and

John; and it is not introduced and explained in Matthew, as it would have been, or should have been, if used by Jesus. The ideas of the incarnation and trinity were too important, too complex, and too novel to the Jews, to be explained sufficiently with such a phrase, or to be withheld by Jesus from his apostles till after the crucifixion. It is true the first chapter of Matthew tells us that Jesus was begotten by the Holy Ghost, not by a human father, but this story does not agree with the body of the book, which treats Jesus as a man, and not as an incarnate God; nor does it harmonize with the tradition which says that the gospel of Matthew was accepted by the Ebionites, who regarded Jesus as exclusively human in his nature.

Tradition says that the apostle Matthew wrote the sayings of Jesus in the Aramaic tongue, the common speech of the Jewish people in the time of Jesus; but the original gospel, if it ever existed, disappeared fifteen centuries since. Whether the gospel of Matthew, in its Greek form, is a translation from the Aramaic is a matter of surmise. There is nothing in the New Testament to indicate that Jesus or his twelve apostles spoke anything save Aramaic, and not a sentence in Aramaic purporting to have been spoken or written by any of them has been preserved, unless the exclamation on the cross be considered a sentence.

SEC. 509. *Mark*.—The only evidence of the inspiration of the gospel of Mark is the tradition of the church that it was accepted as divine revelation in apostolic times. This tradition, however, cannot be traced beyond 150 A. D., and therefore has little value as proof of what was done before 80 A. D.; especially when it is confronted by superior evidence that in the first century after the death

of Jesus the Christians did not accept any book save the Old Testament as divinely inspired.

The internal evidence does not support the theory of the supernatural authorship of Mark. It has none of the precision of chronology, topography, or personal characteristics that should mark a biography written by a person possessing exact knowledge of his subject. It does not tell the date of the birth or death of Jesus, or furnish material from which we can ascertain the length of his life or the year in which any one event of his history occurred.

Like the other gospels, that of Mark has no distinct statement that Jesus intended to supersede or to reform the Jewish religion and no distinct exposition of doctrines that would suffice as the basis of a new or of a reformed church. Many of its passages imply that it was made up from conflicting traditions and opinions by a compiler who did not consider it his duty to tell a story that would be logically coherent and harmonious. Sometimes his Jesus is and sometimes he is not a friend of the Mosaic law. In one passage his Jesus tells the man who wants to inherit eternal life, "Sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, . . . and come, take up the cross, and follow me." In another passage we are told that "he that believes and is baptized shall be saved." These are not the ideas of the same teacher in the same period of development. One phrase is characteristic of an ascetic and the other of a sacerdotal system.

Between the Synoptists and the fourth evangelist there are irreconcilable conflicts of chronology. According to the former authority the crucifixion occurred on Pass-over, and according to the latter on the next day; if the former be correct, after an uninterrupted public ministry

of fifteen months, and as the latter tells us after one of three years, interrupted by eighteen months of concealment from the Jews; and according to Luke when Jesus was thirty-one years old, whereas John conveys the idea that his age was about fifty.

In regard to the chronology of the Synoptists, James Martineau observes that they "deal with the events of fifteen months, of which more than fourteen are assigned to Galilee; and the whole are supposed to have been spent by them, or their informants, in attendance upon the steps of Jesus. But we hardly realize to ourselves how little of this story is really told. Of the four hundred and fifty days comprised within it, there are notices of no more than about thirty-five; while whole months together—now three, now two—are dropped in total silence. The evangelists, when they speak, know how to recite with sufficient fullness. The day in the cornfield occupies one-tenth of Matthew's history of Christ's ministry; the day of the sermon on the mount, one-eighth; a day in the temple, nearly one-fifth. [The three days occupy more than two-fifths of the whole gospel.] The day of the blighted fig tree occupies more than one-seventh of Mark's gospel. And five days claim in Luke more than one-fourth of his narrative, excluding the legends of the birth and infancy. It appears, therefore, that twelve-thirteenths of the ministry which they describe is left without a record; and that the three gospels move within the limits of the remaining one-thirteenth. How could this be, if they came, whether at first or second hand, from personal attendants of Jesus, cognizant of the whole period alike, or, if absent at all, not all absent together? Even if they were independent selections from a mass of contemporary memorials, preserving fragments only of

the life of Christ, they could not all alight upon materials lying within such narrow range; for the flying leaves, scattered by the winds of tradition, would be impartially dropped from the whole organism of that sacred history, and when clustered by three disposing hands, could never turn out to be all from the same branch. The same amount of blank spaces in which they all have to acquiesce betrays a time when the sources of knowledge were irrecoverably gone; and their large agreement, in what remains, that they were only knitting up, into tissues slightly varied, the scanty materials which came almost alike to all."¹

SEC. 510. *John*.—The Synoptists and John differ in regard to the doctrines, the phraseology, and the companions of Jesus. In one the idea is conveyed that Jesus was a man, in the other that he was an incarnate God; in one that he was an ascetic without mysticism, in the other that he was a mystic without asceticism; in one that he never spoke in parables, and in the other that "without a parable spake he not unto them."¹ In various points the fourth evangel does not agree with the character and career of the apostle John as we know them from other parts of the New Testament. It was written in Greek, and, so far as we know, John was not familiar with that tongue. It is the work of a learned man, and John was ignorant. It has the ideas of the second century of Christianity, and John lived in the first. It comes from an enemy of the Mosaic law, of which John was the strenuous adherent, if we are to believe Paul.

In reference to the personal history of Jesus, to the occupations of his youth and early manhood, to the dates of the principal events of his life, to his age when he began his public career, to the length of time which he

spent in his ministry, to the names of the people whom he healed of disease, or at whose houses he was a guest while traveling—in reference to all these points, the gospel of John is as vague as that of Matthew.

We are told that John was the apostle whom Jesus loved and to whom, when about to be crucified, he intrusted his mother. Yet in the gospel ascribed to this beloved apostle no mention is made of any information that might have been obtained from Mary the mother of Jesus, more authoritatively than from any other source. Neither is there any account of the last years, the holy life, the sacred sorrow, or the death of the mother.

As in the evangel of Matthew, so in that of John, Jesus occupies an indefinable doctrinal position. He does not distinctly teach any leading Christian tenets, save immortality and future retribution. He suggests the incarnation, but does not state it explicitly. He implies hostility to the law of Moses, and yet teaches in the synagogue and temple as if he were a sincere Jew. From this gospel we could never compile the creed and discipline of any modern Christian church.

The miracles reported by John are few in number, and are recorded by him alone, among the four evangelists. According to him, Jesus healed miraculously only three persons; first, the unnamed son, sick with a fever, of an unnamed nobleman of Capernaum; second, an unnamed paralytic, who was told to take up his bed and walk; and third, a blind man. No mention is made of the healing of lunatics, demoniacs, lame men, of multitudes of sick, or of pairs of men afflicted in the same manner. According to John, no miracle was performed by Jesus in Jerusalem, or in the presence of any Greek, Roman, or Pharisee who was converted.

The following peculiar expressions of Jesus are found in no book of the New Testament save the gospel of John.²

"I and my Father are one."

"I am in the Father and the Father in me."

"He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father."

"Before Abraham was, I am."

"I am the light of the world."

"I am the resurrection and the life."

"The Father hath committed all judgment to the Son."

"For judgment I am come into this world."

"I am not of the world."

SEC. 511. *The Gospels*.—No one of the gospels tells us the day, the month, or the year of the birth, or the year of the death, of Jesus. Some scholars think he was crucified in 29; others infer that he lived until 37 A. D. For more than ten centuries the Christian world supposed that Jesus was born in the year 1 A. D.; it has now been proved that he must have been born as early as 5 B. C., that is if the improbable story of Herod's massacre be true. That king died in March of 4 A. D. The mistake was caused by the lack of information about the time of Herod's death, and the lack of any other indication in the gospels of the date of the birth of Jesus. As for the day of his birth, that was not discovered until more than a century after his death, and the method of the discovery then remains a mystery to this day.

Jesus never wrote anything. On one occasion, when he taught publicly, "the Jews marveled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?"¹ He had then never received any education. He had no secretary. He did not select any person of literary experience or capacity as an apostle. He did not succeed in

converting any scribe or Pharisee. He did not instruct anyone to write down his sayings or to publish a record of his life. He did nothing to indicate that he wished his work to be made familiar to distant times. After his death, his apostles did not choose a secretary, or establish an office of ecclesiastical records, or order the preparation of an account of the speeches and movements of their Master. The story of their ministry in the New Testament contains no mention of any gospel accepted by or known to them. No manuscript written within a century after the death of Jesus, by a Christian, has come down to us; nor does any Christian inscription dating from that period give us information. For the doctrine and discipline of the church for three generations after the crucifixion we must depend on the vague information of the New Testament and the suspicious traditions of later times.

The apostles, the apostolic fathers who succeeded them, and the post-apostolic fathers in the third generation, accepted as Sacred Scripture no book save the Old Testament. We have no direct proof that the four gospels known to us as those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were in existence before 150 A. D. Twenty years later they were accepted as Sacred Scripture by some Christians and perhaps by Christians generally; but many churches accepted other gospels, which have been excluded from the New Testament. The growth of that collection was slow and gradual. No book in it was ordered to be written, or within three centuries after the crucifixion was accepted, by any council or other authorized representative of the whole Christian church. Different congregations accepted different books, and after centuries of inharmonious usage, the predominant

opinion adopted the books now in the canon and rejected many others that had been used as Sacred Scripture for more than six generations, and some books that had been rejected by many churches for an equally long period were finally admitted into the New Testament.

It is impossible to deduce from the gospels a clear conception of Jesus. The statements made about him are, in many respects, incomplete, improbable, and conflicting. Of his life between his twelfth and his thirtieth year not a word is said. We have no definite information about his education; his training as a carpenter; the department of carpentering to which he gave most of his attention; his mode of working, whether as master or journeyman, and by the job or by the day; his associations, his friendships, or his amusements.

The authors of the four gospels not only had no direct knowledge of Jesus, but they had no trustworthy information at second hand. They made their compilations in a blind way, accepting much that had its origin in the legends of the apostolic and post-apostolic generations. The school of Peter and the school of Paul had each its own myths of Jesus, and some of each have been preserved in the gospels. Much that Jesus said and did has been lost; much that he never said or did has been ascribed to him.

The system of publishing false accounts of the life and doctrines of Jesus, mentioned in the gospel of Luke, was one of the prominent features of early Christianity. There never was such another epidemic of ecclesiastical forgery. The church was flooded with books attributed falsely to apostolic times and authors. The names of many of these books, and the texts of some, are preserved.

Distinguished saints and learned fathers of the faith openly commended the invention and acceptance of falsehoods designed to aid the conversion of the world to what they believed to be truth.

From the facts presented in the preceding portions of this chapter we should draw the conclusions that we have no authentic history of the life of Jesus, and that most of the statements of the gospels in reference to him are to be believed only in so far as they agree with general probability and with the natural course of human events.

SEC. 512. *A Jew.*—Among the many important ideas which have arisen and have gained extended credence in the XIXth century is one that Jesus did not intend to establish a new religion. In other words, instead of being the founder of Christianity, he was merely the occasion of its foundation. Till the day of his death he was a Jew by belief and practice, as well as by birth. He never became a Christian. He never used or heard the words Christian or Christianity or any equivalent of either.

That he had some important project is implied by his devotion of at least a year to his public ministry, by his selection of an apostle or assistant for each of the Jewish tribes, and by his assumption of the title of the Messiah. The evangelists agree in their statements that Jesus was in the habit of teaching his doctrines in the Jewish synagogues. According to Matthew, he "went about all the cities and villages [of Judea] teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom." Mark tells us that "he preached in their synagogues throughout Galilee." Luke has a similar phrase. In the evangel of John we read that when questioned by the high priest, Jesus said, "I ever taught in the synagogue

and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort." Thus he claimed to be a Jew; and in no other character could he teach in those buildings with respect or safety for himself. The preaching of Christianity in a synagogue or temple was just as contrary to all the rules of courtesy and justice in the time of Jesus as it is now.¹

The Pharisees rejected his doctrine, but did not exclude him from the synagogue or accuse him of violating its sanctity. They did not habitually shut the doors of their sacred buildings against him, or drive him out with violence. The main complaints which, according to tradition, Jesus made of the Jews, were not that they refused to give him a hearing, but that common people were indifferent and that the Pharisees were hypocritical.

In the speeches attributed to Jesus by the evangelists, we find two sets of opinions, one accepting, and the other rejecting, the ceremonial law of Moses. Thus he said that he came not to destroy but to fulfill the law; that while the earth should stand, not one jot of the law should pass away; that he who quarreled with his brother should take a gift to the altar; that the healed leper should go to the priest and make the offering commanded by Moses; that his preaching was addressed to none save the Jews; that any labor of his in healing a sick Gentile would be like throwing to the dogs the bread that belonged to the Jews; that his twelve apostles should sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel; that the Jews should obey the scribes and Pharisees because they sat in Moses' seat; and that the man who violated the rules of the church should be excluded from all fellowship as if he were a Gentile (the last word is translated heathen in the authorized version and correctly rendered in the revised version).²

On the other hand, we are told that Jesus forbade divorce for any cause save adultery, and thus condemned certain provisions of the Mosaic law; that he claimed authority to release men from the obligation of observing the Sabbath; that he said the ceremonial law became obsolete when John the Baptist began to preach; that he instructed his apostles to convert and baptize all nations; that he said "the law and the prophets were until John" the Baptist, implying that they then lost their authority; that the axe was laid to the root of every tree which did not produce good fruit; that every plant which Jehovah did not plant should be rooted up; and that God wanted mercy and not sacrifice.⁸

These two sets of speeches are irreconcilable with one another. It is not credible that a man of much character and capacity could have used expressions so contradictory unless he changed his opinions and purposes; and no such change is attributed to Jesus. One set must be false; and a great preponderance of the evidences proves the falsity of the phrases hostile to the ceremonial law. The main evidences against these phrases are the actions of Jesus and his apostles in Jerusalem already described.

The number, the nationality, and the commission of the apostles indicated that Jesus had no project of establishing a universal religion. "Peter . . . said unto him, 'Behold, we have forsaken all and followed thee; what shall we have therefor?' And Jesus said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'" The man whose mind was full of a comprehensive scheme for the organization of the Christian church could not have

used such language as this attributed to Jesus. There is no suggestion here of sacerdotal duty attached to the apostolic office.³

Neither Paul in his epistles, nor the author of Acts, nor Peter as reported in Acts, anywhere conveys the idea that Jesus abrogated the Mosaic law or taught neglect of any of its provisions. By claiming that they received direct revelations of the repeal of the rule as to unclean meats, both Paul and Peter, as their stories are told in Acts, imply, in an unmistakable manner, that such a repeal was not one of the teachings of Jesus. But if Jesus accepted that rule, then we must presume that he accepted all the ceremonial laws of Moses, and that he had no conception of a universal religion. It is quite certain that Christianity would have been a failure if all its converts had been required to submit to circumcision, to worship by sacrifice at Jerusalem, and to visit that city at each of the three great annual festivals.

SEC. 513. *Apostles*.—The priesthood is a prominent and essential part of Christianity and has been indispensable to its success and influence. Christians generally believe in the apostolical succession, meaning thereby that Jesus ordained his apostles with sacerdotal authority, which was transmitted to the bishops of the post-apostolic and later ages. The Roman Catholic Church has explicitly declared that its bishops are “the successors of the apostles.”

The office of bishop is conferred by the public and solemn ceremony of episcopal ordination, which in the Roman Catholic Church includes, first, an examination of the bishop elect; second, the administration to him of an oath of allegiance to the pope; third, clothing him with episcopal vestments; fourth, the laying of the hands of

three officiating bishops on the head of the kneeling bishop elect, with the divine commission, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" fifth, a prayer by the senior or consecrating bishop; sixth, the anointment of the bishop elect with consecrated oil; seventh, the delivery to the bishop elect of the episcopal staff, episcopal ring, and a book of the gospels; and eighth, the administration to him of the Holy Communion.

This ceremony differs from that with which Moses consecrated Aaron, but that too was designed to be a very impressive proceeding. In the presence of all the congregation of Israel, in front of the tabernacle, Moses washed Aaron, put on him the sacerdotal robe, the miter, and the breastplate with the Urim and Thummim; anointed the altar, the sacred vessels and Aaron; sacrificed a bullock and two rams; touched the right ear, the right thumb, and the right great toe of Aaron with the blood of the sacrifices; sprinkled the blood of the sacrifices on the altar and on the clothes of Aaron; and burned the flesh of the bullock and of the rams on the altar.¹

The tradition of the Christian churches says that Jesus appointed his apostles with episcopal authority and ordained them with ceremonies similar to those now in use. But this tradition finds little confirmation and much contradiction in the New Testament. In the authorized English version two passages in the gospels declare that Jesus "ordained" his apostles, but in the original Greek, two different verbs are used in these passages, meaning in one verse to make and in the other to appoint. The Greek writers of the gospels used no verb that meant to confer sacerdotal office. The statements that Jesus "ordained," confer no distinct idea.²

Matthew says Jesus "called unto him" his twelve apostles and gave them power to "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, [and] cast out devils." According to Mark, he ordained his twelve apostles "that they should be with him and that he might send them forth to preach." In Luke we read that he "called his twelve disciples together and gave them power and authority over all devils and to cure diseases; and he sent them to preach the kingdom of God and to heal the sick." John tells us that the twelve were "chosen;" and in another passage, presumably relating to the apostles, there is no explicit statement to that effect; he says they were "ordained" or appointed.³

In all these passages there is no statement of any ceremony of ordination, nor is there a suggestion of sacerdotal authority. In the time of Jesus the Greek word *apostolos* was not applied to any religious teacher or high ecclesiastical official. It meant simply a messenger. Of all the duties which the gospels say Jesus imposed on his apostles, before his crucifixion, none are performed by the modern Christian bishops. They do not "heal the sick, cleanse lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils," or "preach the kingdom of God." They baptize, confirm, ordain priests and bishops, and administer the sacraments of marriage, confession, absolution, and holy communion, not one of which ceremonies was mentioned by Jesus in the long address to his apostles recorded in Matthew.

In Acts we have an account of the manner in which the vacancy in the twelve made by the withdrawal of Judas Iscariot was filled. At a meeting of the disciples in Jerusalem, when about one hundred and twenty persons were present, Peter made a speech explaining that

the vacancy should be filled, and that the new apostle should be "a witness with us of his [Christ's] resurrection."⁴ Here again we see that there was no ordination and no mention of sacerdotal duty.

Acts gives an account of the conversion and early ministry of Paul. Ananias, "a disciple" in Damascus having been instructed by revelation, entered into the room where the converted Paul was, and, putting his hands on him, he said, "The Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way, as thou camest, hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Ghost." And "straightway" Paul began to preach Jesus Christ.⁵

In his Epistle to the Galatians, Paul gives a different account of his authority in the church. He begins by saying that he is "an apostle not of men neither by man but by Jesus Christ." That means that he had never been ordained by any person. From the apostles at Jerusalem he accepted no ordination for himself or for those whom he appointed to the custody of his churches. He knew nothing of any exclusive authority in the twelve to confer sacerdotal office. Nor does the New Testament in any passage tell in unmistakable language that any person was formally ordained to be a priest or bishop.

The men selected by Jesus to be his apostles, and, presumably, more familiar with his opinions than any other persons, were all Jews. All made their homes in Jerusalem after the crucifixion, and, so far as we can learn from the New Testament, spent the remainder of their lives there. The First Epistle of Peter says its author was at Babylon, but the genuineness of the document is highly questionable, and if genuine has little value, because

bears no date and does not state how long Peter had been there. In Jerusalem, so far as we can learn, the apostles lived in peace with their Jewish neighbors and enjoyed "favor with all the people," as Acts says. There was none of that bitter animosity which broke out between Judaism and Christianity when the latter became a distinct religion. The followers of the twelve worshiped in the temple and observed all the sacred rites and sacred days of the old law. They had no sacred day of their own. They assumed no distinctive name. They did not formulate a new creed. As Neander says, "they remained outwardly Jews," and they adhered to "the existing religious forms," which, as they understood the teaching of Jesus, were to remain in force until the end of the world. He adds that "the establishment of a distinct mode of worship was far from entering their thoughts; . . . they took part in the temple worship with as much interest as any devout Jew." "Daily in the temple . . . they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." And the narrative implies that by so doing they gave no serious offense to the priests and elders who formed the municipal council and administered the local government, with authority to enforce their customs and protect their ecclesiastical organization, subject to the provision that no capital punishment could be inflicted without the consent of the Roman Government.⁶

SEC. 514. *Peter*.—In the opening chapters of Acts we find two addresses by Peter, one delivered to the disciples when an apostle to succeed Judas Iscariot was to be chosen, and the other to the Jews on the day of Pentecost. On neither occasion did the speaker mention a new religion, or a church open to Gentiles as well as to Jews, or an abandonment of the Mosaic law. If these

ideas had been in his mind at that time, he could not have omitted some reference to them.

That the apostles and disciples in Jerusalem continued for at least eighteen years to comply with the requirements of the Mosaic law is proved by the epistle of Paul and also by Acts. In the latter book we read that at a time not specified, probably not earlier than 40 A. D. Peter went to Joppa and there ate with Gentiles—that is, he violated the Pharisaic interpretation of one of the Mosaic ceremonial rules—and after his return to Jerusalem, he was called to account by his fellow disciples. He justified his conduct, not on the ground that Jesus had abrogated the ceremonial law of Moses, or any part of it, but that in a dream he had received a divine communication telling him that all manner of beasts, fowls, and creeping things were clean, and that it was lawful for him to keep company with Gentiles, who were “unclean under the law of Moses. This announcement was accepted as authoritative, but with much surprise, “because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost.”¹

This statement of the revelation to Peter, and of its acceptance by the disciples in Jerusalem, is doubtless an invention of the author of Acts. It cannot be brought into harmony with later passages of his own book, nor with the statements of Paul, who is our only trustworthy witness in these matters. According to Acts, about 50 A. D. a council was held in Jerusalem to put an end to the dissension which had arisen in the church on the questions of circumcision and unclean meats. This council decided in favor of Paul, who was in attendance, and the decision as given in a letter addressed not to all Christians but only to “the brethren which are of the

Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia"—where Paul had been making converts, informing them that they were not required to observe the Mosaic ceremonial law. It is quite clear that no such council would have been held if the matter had been decided ten years before, as Acts says it had been.

But this account of the council of 51 A. D. is also a fiction. About eight years later Paul went to Jerusalem again, and his appearance there provoked a riot. The mob wanted to kill him because of his hostility to the Mosaic law, and this mob included Jewish Christians as well as Jews. All the Christians in Jerusalem were zealous adherents of the Mosaic law. Some of the leading brethren, presumably apostles, advised Paul to take a false oath that he did not teach his Jewish converts to neglect the law. And, if we can believe Acts, he took that oath. This, however, did not pacify the mob, which would have put him to death if the Roman soldiers had not protected him. They took him to prison and finally to Rome.

This story in Acts implies that the apostolic church adopted one rule of discipline for the Gentile and another for the Jewish Christians; that the latter were, and that the former were not, required to comply with the Mosaic ceremonial law. This duplicity of discipline is not recorded elsewhere. It is not known to Paul; and if it had existed, he could neither have been ignorant of it nor remained silent about it. He tells us that the twelve apostles in Jerusalem, or those of them known to him, favored strict adherence to Moses; and the only way in which he could get along harmoniously with them was by promising to do no missionary work in Judea. He was to labor among the Gentiles,²

SEC. 515. *Paul's Gospel*.—Paul's relation to the twelve apostles was one of decided independence and even of opposition. He acknowledged no subordination to them. He addressed no doctrinal epistle to them or their churches, and received none from them. He made no reports to them. He did not correspond with them regularly. They never invited him to preach to their congregations and he never invited them to address his converts. He declared that he did not owe his conversion, his baptism, or his doctrine to the twelve, and that he never spent any long time in Jerusalem or in Judea as a Christian missionary. He claimed to be an apostle by a secret divine commission, but the twelve never admitted the validity of his claim. They never gave him the title of apostle; they never said anything indicative of willingness to admit him into their councils. Vacancies must have occurred in their number long before he went to Rome, but they never chose him to a vacant place. The following passages from his epistles are indicative of his claims to independence and originality: "I am the apostle of the Gentiles." "He [the Lord] made known unto me . . . the mystery . . . that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs . . . in Christ." "The gospel which was preached of me is not after man, for I neither received it of man nor was I taught it, but by the [special] revelation of Jesus Christ." "When it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me. . . . Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, and was unknown by face to the churches of Judea."¹

"Then fourteen years after [seventeen years after his

conversion, perhaps in 51 A. D.] I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas . . . and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles but privately to them which were of reputation. . . . And when James, Cephas [Peter], and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen and they unto the circumcision [the Jews]."²

"I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles."
 "I have preached to you the gospel of God freely."
 "The truth of Christ is in me." "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."
 "Be ye followers of me, even as I am of Christ."
 "When God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel."³

There is no passage in Paul inconsistent with these quotations; no passage suggesting that the admission of the heathen into the Christian church was an idea of Jesus, or that it was accepted by the twelve apostles in Jerusalem before the conversion of Paul, or that he received any instruction from them or acknowledged any duty of obedience or submission to them.

This gospel which Paul preached and which, according to his boast, was original with him, included many tenets not found in the four gospels or not set forth there in unmistakable terms. By implication, it repudiated the ascetic and communistic maxims of the synoptic gospels,—maxims unsuitable for the guidance of any prosperous and progressive state. On the other hand, it did teach a high conception of a spiritual and universal faith, decidedly superior to any ecclesiastical doctrine pre-

viously taught among men. It proclaimed the abrogation of the Mosaic ceremonial law. It proclaimed that the unsearchable riches of Christ were to be distributed as freely among the Gentiles as among the Jews. It announced itself as a new and independent religion; and popular speech recognized the correctness of the claim by calling its adherents Christians, and their doctrine Christianity.

SEC. 516. *Apostolic Charge*.—Soon after Jesus had selected his twelve apostles, according to Luke, he “gave them power and authority over all devils and to cure diseases. And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick. And he said unto them: ‘Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece. And whatsoever house ye enter, there abide and thence depart. And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them.’”¹

This is the entire charge of Jesus to his apostles when he sent them out to convert the world, as reported by Luke, who claims to give the address or a portion of it, and that presumably the most important portion, word for word. The language here attributed to Jesus conveys no idea that he had any purpose of founding a new church. Neither here nor anywhere else, in the language attributed to him in the New Testament, does he explain the phrase “the kingdom of God” to mean a new ecclesiastical organization. In several passages he does use it to signify the celestial dominion after the destruction of the world; and this is therefore presumably its meaning everywhere.

The gospel of Matthew is much fuller than that of

Luke in its report of the charge of Jesus to his apostles. Here is the text complete: "These twelve Jesus sent forth and commanded them, saying: 'Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses; nor scrip for your journey; neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat. And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, inquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into a house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it, but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you. And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city.

"Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves. But beware of men; for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues; and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.

"And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death,

and the father the child; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.

“The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? Fear them not therefore; for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.

“What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops. And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

“Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not, therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever, therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

“Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I am come not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father or

mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it. He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, He shall in nowise lose his reward.' " 2

This charge, as reported by Matthew, was evidently written by a weak man, who supposed that Jesus gave a charge to his apostles, and undertook to compose something suitable to the occasion. He omitted nearly all the main ideas that would have been appropriate in an address instructing the twelve to preach the foundation of Christianity. While pretending to instruct, the charge fails to give any important instruction. It does not say whether Jesus wished to reform or to supersede Judaism; whether his principal purpose was ecclesiastical, moral, political, or sanitary. The remarks about healing the sick and casting out devils are the most explicit of all the instructions. Certainly no reader can learn from that charge that Jesus intended to establish a new religion; and much less can he learn any feature of the faith or discipline of a projected new church. And this address is that portion of the New Testament where such information should be given most clearly.

There is not room here for all the speeches attributed to Jesus by the evangelists; but in none of those here

omitted is there any definite statement of doctrine or discipline that would suffice as a basis for a new church. He made no doctrinal definition and no ecclesiastical organization. He did not use the key words of the original doctrines necessary to Christianity or a new church, nor the key words of ideas afterwards associated with, but not necessary to, Christianity, such as Incarnation, Trinity, Immaculate Conception, and Transubstantiation.

SEC. 517. *Judgment Day*.—The subjects to which the most space or most prominence is given in the sayings attributed, in the gospels, to Jesus, are, first, the Mosaic law; second, judgment day; third, faith; fourth, the sins of the Pharisees; fifth, ascetic morality; and sixth, his divine commission. His remarks about the Mosaic law have been considered in previous sections; and we shall now pass to the other points.

We are told that Jesus, besides accepting the doctrine of a final judgment day, taught that it was near at hand, and was to come with the destruction of the world in his own generation. From the beginning of his public ministry the main idea of his preaching was, "Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." That kingdom was to be established immediately after the end of the world. He not only preached this doctrine himself, but he told his apostles to preach it. He said, "There be some here which shall not taste death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." The terms "kingdom of God" and "kingdom of heaven" are used with various significations in the New Testament; but in this sentence the "kingdom of God" evidently means the rule of Jehovah after the earth shall have been destroyed, Satan finally imprisoned in hell, and the righteous admitted to their reward in heaven.

Jesus said: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory; and before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' . . . Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'" "The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire. There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth."¹

"The days will come in which there shall not be left one stone [of the temple] upon another. . . . And they asked him saying, 'But when shall these things be?' . . . Then said he unto them, 'Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines and pestilences; and fearful sights shall there be from heaven. . . . And when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. . . . There shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. . . . Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'"²

Many of the expressions and ideas ascribed to Jesus by the evangelists are not mentioned in the epistles, but the near approach of the end of the world seems to have been prominent in the minds of nearly all the writers of New Testament books. It is repeatedly mentioned by Paul. He speaks of his own generation as "those upon whom the ends of the world are come," and in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, if that be his work, he says: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, . . . and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." The main idea of Revelation is the speedy return of Jesus to judge the world. "The time is at hand. . . . Behold I come quickly."³ It is evident that if the world was to come to an end in the generation of Jesus—that is, within the third of a century—there would be no opportunity for the establishment of a permanent church, and no sufficient motive for adopting an elaborate ecclesiastical organization, suited for permanence.

SEC. 518. *Faith*.—The gospel of Mark states in very plain words that belief is an indispensable part of righteousness: "He that believeth not shall be damned." In the fourth evangel Jesus is represented as saying, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." There is no suggestion in any part of the New Testament that faith should be founded on a careful study of evidence. To Thomas, Jesus said, "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed."¹

Faith in Jesus and repentance for sin are, in some passages, treated as equivalents. Jesus thus denounced the

unbelieving cities of Galilee: "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell; for if the mighty works which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee."²

We are told in the gospel of Mark that Jesus said that those persons who believe should have power to "cast out devils;" and according to the Synoptists, he frequently cured demoniacs, or persons of whom evil spirits had obtained control. The following is one of the most notable cases in which he expelled demons. "And when he [Jesus] was come to the other side [of the lake of Galilee] into the country of the Gergesenes, there met him two [lunatics] possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. And behold they [the devils] cried out, saying, 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?' And there was a good way off from them a herd of many swine feeding, so the devils besought him, saying, 'If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.' And he said unto them, 'Go.' And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine; and behold the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea and perished in the waters." A Phœnician woman had a daughter of whom a demon had

taken possession, and Jesus, after driving out the evil one, said to the mother, "The devil is gone out of thy daughter."³

The New Testament tells us that the miraculous powers possessed by Jesus were transmitted by him to all persons who sincerely believe in him. When taking leave of the apostles after his resurrection, he said to them, as reported by Mark, "These signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."⁴

These same miraculous powers are claimed by the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church in the present day for themselves and for the holy relics in their possession. They tell us of miracles performed by their missionaries among savages, where miracles are supposed to be most needed, and of supernatural cures performed by the waters of the holy fountain of Lourdes and by the holy coat of Treves. As Jesus performed no miracle in Jerusalem, and none in the presence of any high priest or Roman official whose name is given, so the Roman Catholic priests of our time perform none in London or Paris, and none elsewhere in the presence of distinguished Protestants or sceptics. The ancient and modern miracles are mostly cures of disease, under circumstances in which the ailment is imaginary, or the report of the cure suspicious. The construction of great architectural monuments, the introduction of important improvements in industry, and valuable contributions to scientific knowledge are never the results of supernatural power.

The aid of faith is necessary in the working of miracles. Jesus said, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed

[that is, in the smallest possible quantity] ye shall say unto this mountain, 'Remove hence to yonder place,' and it shall remove." On another occasion he said, "If ye have faith and doubt not, . . . if ye shall say unto this mountain, 'Be thou removed and cast into the sea,' it shall be done." He also said, "All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, ye shall receive."^b

SEC. 519. *Pharisees*.—It has been a custom with ascetics and anarchists to denounce not only rich men, but also those intellectual leaders who give their influence to support established institutions. In harmony with this usage, the ascetic writer, who furnished much of the material for the synoptical gospels, represented Jesus as cursing the lawyers, the scribes, and the Pharisees. The two latter classes are spoken of as though they were all hypocrites, and oppressors of the poor; though our information from other sources leads us to believe that they were no worse relatively in Judea than the scholars and scribes in other countries. Jesus said: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers. Therefore, ye shall receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. . . . Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup, but within they are full of extortion and excess. . . . Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye

also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. . . . Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"¹

Addressing himself to the multitude in his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus said, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of Heaven." This language implies that the scribes and Pharisees shall "in no case" be saved. Nevertheless, Jesus sometimes sought the company and accepted the hospitality of these children of perdition. On one occasion "he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread," and there is no mention of an invitation.²

On another occasion "a certain Pharisee sought him [Jesus] to dine with him, and he went in and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marveled that he had not first washed before dinner. And the Lord said unto him, 'Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Ye fools, did not He that made that which is without, make that which is within also? . . . But woe unto you, Pharisees; for ye tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God. . . . Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are as graves which appear not. . . . Woe unto you also, ye lawyers, for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.'"³

After that dinner with the Pharisee—how long after is not explained—Jesus went on a Sabbath into the synagogue—where is not stated—and there cured a paralytic

woman. The ruler of the synagogue thought such healing was unsuitable for the sacred day, and said so. Jesus replied: "Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound lo these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?"⁴ The ruler of the synagogue was inconsistent, but inconsistency is found in many people who are not hypocritical.

SEC. 520. *Bodily Resurrection.*—The New Testament teaches that the soul is attached inseparably to the material body; that it goes down with it to the grave; that it remains there unconscious till the day of final judgment; and that then the body and soul come forth to their final home in heaven or hell. The Roman Catholic, the Greek, the Anglican, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic churches agree in accepting the so-called Apostles' Creed, which explicitly accepts "the resurrection of the body" as a fundamental article of faith, and uses the word body in its plain meaning. Those churches also accept the dogma that the body of Jesus was thoroughly material. It was nourished by food; it was subject to death; and by crucifixion it was deprived of life; but, unlike the ordinary human body, it arose from the grave on the third day after its burial. This was a bodily resurrection, a rising again, a revivification of a body that had been dead. The word resurrection could not be applied properly to the continuation of the life of an immaterial soul which retained its consciousness after the death of the body and was not in any manner attached to the corpse.

In the third gospel we read that when Jesus reappeared

among his disciples after his crucifixion, "they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them, . . . 'Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.' And when he had thus spoken, he showed them his hands and feet. And while they yet believed not for joy and wondered, he said unto them, 'Have ye here any meat.' And they gave him a piece of broiled fish and of a honeycomb. And he took it, and did eat before them. . . . And it came to pass while he blessed them, he was parted from them and carried up into heaven."¹

According to the gospel of John, after his resurrection, Jesus showed his hands and his side to his disciples, and when the apostle Thomas remarked that a mere sight was not sufficient to convince him, Jesus said to him, "Reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into [the wound in] my side." This satisfied the doubter. The restoration of Lazarus, as told in the gospel of John, is not a resurrection for an eternal life, but a restoration for an additional term of earthly existence. It may, however, be considered as analogous to the final resurrection. Lazarus is represented as having been dead four days, in which time plain signs of decomposition had made their appearance.²

The Anglican Church in its creed (the Thirty-nine Articles) declares that "Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all men at the last day." When Paul said that "if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen," he implied that the resurrection is the same for the common man as it was for Jesus.³

The gospel according to Mark has the following story: "Then came unto him the Sadducees, which say there is no resurrection, and they asked him saying, 'Master, Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die and leave his wife behind him, and leave no children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now there were seven brethren; and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed. And the second took her and died, neither left he any seed, and the third likewise. And the seven had her, and left no seed. Last of all the woman died also. In the resurrection therefore, when they shall rise, whose wife shall she be of them? for the seven had her to wife.' And Jesus answering said unto them, . . . 'When they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels which are in heaven.'"⁴ This question and the response to it presuppose a belief in the resurrection of the material body.

In his address at Pentecost, Peter said of Jesus, "His soul was not left in hell, neither did his body see corruption." This phraseology implies that the corporeal substance of Jesus never decomposed, but that as it was on earth, so it ascended to and remained in heaven, preserving there the same material nature which the ordinary human body has in its normal life. It is part of the creed of the Roman Catholics and of most other Christians that the body of Jesus was exactly like that of the average man in its general physical elements, anatomical organs, and physiological functions. According to John, Jesus said, "The hour is coming in which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of

damnation.”⁵ This conveys the idea that the souls of the dead remain in the grave until the final judgment, hearing nothing and knowing nothing until they are aroused by the trumpet call of the last day.

Paul does not accept the theory that the material body will accompany the soul in a future life. He declares that “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven.” He compares burial to the sowing of grain, of which the new crop springs from the decomposition of the seed. “So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption. . . . It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body.”⁶ The theory of Paul could not be brought into harmony with the statements of the evangelists, and it was rejected by the early church.

SEC. 521. *A Material Hell*.—The resurrection of the body implies that heaven and hell are material places; and they are so represented in many passages of the Scripture. Satan and his angels are actual and visible people. Satan took Jesus to a pinnacle of the temple of Jerusalem, and afterwards took him up into an exceeding high mountain, there showed him all the kingdoms of the world, and said unto him, “All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.”¹ This story conveys the idea of a material devil and an actual conversation. The materiality of hell has been accepted by nearly all Christians until within recent years; and has been taught by such eminent poets as Dante, Milton, and Tasso, and by such distinguished theologians as Tertullian, Jerome, Thomas Aquinas, Massillon, Jeremy Taylor, and Jonathan Edwards. Until this century it was the custom of the Roman Catholics to exhibit pictures showing the torture practised in the infernal regions.

The material hell has material fire “prepared for the devil and his angels,” where the damned suffer with “weeping and gnashing of teeth,” where the “fire is not quenched,” where the flames are fed with brimstone, where the torments shall endure forever, and where the physical sufferings are aggravated by witnessing the pleasures of the righteous in heaven.²

One of the most celebrated sermons of Massillon, the most eminent pulpit orator of France, relates to the picture of Lazarus in Paradise. He represented Dives in the flames of hell looking up at Lazarus enjoying celestial delights in the bosom of Abraham; and this sight was one of the circumstances of his punishment. The beggar, covered with ulcers, whom he had not deigned to honor on earth with a glance,—this beggar was now in the place of refreshing peace, while he was broiled in eternal flames. What a parallel between the two! What wishes that he had obtained the fate of Lazarus! What rage, that he had lost it! He saw the serenity, the always new delights enjoyed by the one who was a mendicant on earth; and then his thoughts fell back upon himself with frightful force while he contemplated his own miseries. Tortured more by the ever-present image of the happiness which he had lost than by the horror of the agonies he was enduring, he was burned more by Heaven than by hell. Thus it is that in the conception of the orthodox Christian, Jehovah will open the bosom of his glory through all eternity; that he will display the heavens before the millions of the accursed, precipitated by his vengeance into the everlasting abyss; and that there he will exhibit to every damned soul the sight best calculated to nourish its fury and to augment its punishment.³

As the sinners in hell will feel increased misery because of their glimpses of heaven, so the saints will be happier when they look down into the other place. As Edwards says, "When the saints in glory therefore shall see the doleful state of the damned, how will this heighten their sense of the blessedness of their own state, so exceedingly different from it! When they shall see how miserable others of their fellow-creatures are, who were naturally in the same circumstances with themselves; when they shall see the smoke of their torment and the rasping of the flames of their burning and hear their dolorous shrieks and cries, and consider that they in the meantime are in the most blissful state, and shall surely be in it to all eternity, how will they rejoice!"⁴

SEC. 522. *Mundane Depravity*.—According to Jesus, the world is under the control of Satan, who is "the prince of this world;" and because of its subjection to the evil one, the world hated Jesus. As the world does not love righteousness, so no righteous person can love the world. "If," said Jesus, "any man . . . hate not . . . his own life, . . . he cannot be my disciple;" and again he said, "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal." On another occasion he told his hearers that "if any man will come after me, let him deny himself." "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, . . . for behold your reward is great in heaven." "Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep."¹

According to the New Testament, this life is a mere

antechamber of another to come hereafter. It is brief, and the other is eternal. It is a place of probation and the other of fruition. It is base, and for the saints the other is glorious. The chief duty of man on earth is to qualify himself for heaven by acquiring righteousness, which includes faith, acceptance of baptism, obedience to Christian priests, and the observance of the ascetic rules laid down by Jesus.

“Whether,” says Massillon, “we consider worldly prosperity by the impression which it makes on the heart to corrupt it, or by the facilities which it offers for the gratification of the passions, when the heart is already corrupt, we must admit that salvation is so difficult in this condition of felicity and abundance that the righteous man should regard worldly prosperity as a present which God usually gives to men who are to be victims of his wrath. . . . A Christian soul should live as a stranger on the earth; his origin, as Tertullian says, his home, his hope, his nobility, his crown, are in heaven; and his heart ought to be where his treasure is. If it ceases for one moment to sigh for its country, it ceases to belong to the future age and to the church of the first-begotten; if it takes pleasure in its exile, it is no longer worthy of the inheritance. Its desire makes here below all its piety; its anxiety makes all its merit; it should have all its consolation in its hopes. But this disposition, so essential to the faith, is effaced by the first impression made by prosperity on the heart, the impression of attachment to the earth. . . . It is difficult to be displeased where everything smiles upon us; to regard a world of delights as a place of exile; to give all our thoughts to another world when this one seems to belong to us; . . . to groan, like the prophet, about

the tediousness of our pilgrimage, when we do not feel its toils or its worries; and to long for the other life, while this one tempts us with its enchantments. . . .

"If you ask what there is wrong in the disposition to enjoy the world, . . . I reply with St. Augustine, that if your desires could control your fate, you would live forever on the earth; you would accept as a favor the privilege of living eternally in material pleasures, far from God; if you could obtain this world for a perpetual home, you would not pray for another."²

"A Christian is a child of the promises, a man of the future existence, a citizen of heaven, a portion of Christ, a person who longs without ceasing for his reunion with this mystical body, a person who advances every day towards spiritual perfection, and will never reach it until he arrives at his celestial home." "Faith teaches us that we are detestable; for there is nothing lovely save the celestial order which we have violated; there is nothing lovely save truth and justice which we have deserted; there is nothing lovely save the work of God, and we are the work of sin. Therefore, we should hate ourselves; otherwise we would be unjust and would contradict the liveliest sentiments of our consciences." "The gospel has no anathemas save for those who receive their gratifications in this life. Everywhere woe is predicted for those who laugh and are satiated; everywhere the promises of consolation are made only to those who suffer here below; everywhere the present world is delivered to the sinners as their possession and their inheritance; everywhere the recompenses of the saints on earth are tears and afflictions; and everywhere, finally, their kingdom is not of this world."³

To the question whether the proportion of those to be

saved is small, Massillon replies that there were many widows in famine-stricken Israel, and that the widow of Sarepta was the only one who deserved to be succored by the prophet Elijah; that the number of lepers was great in Israel in the time of the prophet Elisha, and yet that Naaman was the only one cured by the man of God. In all ages the chosen have been few. The family of Noah were selected from all alive on the earth to be saved from the flood; Abraham alone was selected to become the custodian of the covenant; out of 600,000 Hebrews, who emigrated from Egypt, Joshua and Caleb were the only ones who entered the promised land; Job was the only righteous man in Uz, as was Lot in Sodom; and the three Jewish children were the only righteous descendants of Abraham in the Babylon of their time. The suggestions of these frightful figures are corroborated by the expressions of the prophets. In Isaiah you observe that the faithful are likened to the grapes left on the vines after the vintage, and to the ears of corn not reaped at the close of the harvest. Jesus has spoken of the two roads, one narrow and rough, traveled by the few; and the other smooth and broad, lined with flowers, and covered with the multitude of wayfarers.⁴

As the earth was the detested realm of Satan, and life hateful in the language attributed to Jesus, so humanity itself was corrupt. The Jews of his time were an "evil and adulterous generation." The scribes and Pharisees were vipers. The cities of Galilee were accursed. In all the earth there was not one good man. The teaching of Jesus was understood by Paul to mean that the multitude are "vessels of wrath fitted to destruction." He says, "The carnal mind is enmity against God;" and, "There is none righteous, no, not one." St. Augustine,

Calvin, Massillon, Jonathan Edwards, and all those eminent preachers who have been the most logical ministers of the gospel, accept and emphasize these ideas of Paul. Calvin declares that "there never was an action performed by a pious man which, if examined by the scrutiny of divine justice, would not deserve condemnation." According to Augustine, "man of himself is a devil."⁵

The ideas that human nature is totally depraved as a punishment purposely inflicted on it for the sin of the first man, and that a just and loving Creator and Governor of the universe, acting in consistency with his attributes, could condemn the great majority of his children to infinite and eternal misery for the sin of Adam, were found in the Scriptures and until this century were accepted by all the large Christian sects, and are even now accepted by them nominally; but the priests have learned that their congregations resent any preaching of such offensive doctrines, and, therefore, say little or nothing about them. The question whether these ideas are scriptural has been superseded by another whether they are reasonable; and by reason the decision has already been rendered. Oliver Wendell Holmes declares that civilization "is outgrowing the Christian Tartarus;" and that "all the stories that can be found in old manuscripts will never prevent the going out of the fires of the legendary Inferno."⁶

"Such teaching" as the Augustinian doctrine of the damnation of unbaptized infants and the Calvinistic doctrine of reprobation observes Lecky "is, in fact, simply *dæmonism*, and *dæmonism* in its most extreme form. It attributes to the Creator acts of injustice and of barbarity which it would be absolutely impossible for the imagination to surpass, acts before which the most monstrous

excesses of human cruelty dwindle into insignificance, acts which are in fact considerably worse than any that theologians have attributed to the devil.”⁷

“The main object of the Catholic priests has been to make death in itself as revolting and appalling as possible, and by representing escape from its terrors as hopeless, except by complete subjection to their rule, to convert it into an instrument of government [and revenue]. By multiplying the dancing or warning skeletons, and other sepulchral images representing the loathsomeness of death without its repose; by substituting inhumation for incremation and concentrating the imagination on the ghastliness of decay; above all by peopling the unseen world with demon phantoms and with excruciating tortures, the Catholic Church succeeded in making death in itself unspeakably terrible, and in thus preparing men for the consolations it could offer.”⁸ Lecky, from whom this quotation is taken, limits his remarks to the Catholic Church, but he might have added that nearly all the large sects of Christians, including Greeks, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Anglicans, accept the same ideas.

SEC. 523. *Mendicancy*.—In the synoptical gospels Jesus is represented as the teacher of a system of ascetic morality similar to that of the Buddhist monks, but, unlike the strict code of Siddhartha, it is addressed not to a small class of mendicant celibates but to the whole world. It is imposed upon all believers equally; there is no exception for age, sex, or condition of life. It occupies nearly all the space given to the teaching of morals in the sayings attributed to Jesus. He says: “Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven.” “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.” “Woe

unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation." "Whosoever he be that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." "Blessed be ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled." "If any man will sue thee at law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." "Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal; for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. . . . No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment. . . . Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek. For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself." ¹

"There came one running and kneeled to him and asked him, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said . . . 'Thou knowest the commandments?' . . . And he answered and

said unto him, 'Master, all these have I observed from my youth.' And Jesus, beholding him, loved him, and said unto him, 'One thing thou lackest; go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.'"²

"There was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table. Moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom; the rich man also died and was buried. And in Hell, he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried, and said, 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.' But Abraham said, 'Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.'"³

Many preachers have asserted that Dives was damned because he gained and used his money dishonestly; but the evangelist plainly conveys the ideas that the only sins of Dives were the continued possession of wealth and the enjoyment of earthly prosperity; and that the only elements in the righteousness of Lazarus were his poverty and suffering. The parable was given for its moral instruction, and contains or should contain all the information needed to give clearness and value to the lesson.

Massillon, the famous Jesuit preacher, argued that the

parable should be understood as it is told, without attributing to Dives any imaginary sins. He thought that Dives was a highly respectable citizen, a kind father, a good neighbor, a man of regular habits, who lived as public opinion demands that a person possessing great wealth should live, who made his house a center of liberal and elegant hospitality, and who was so careful in his conduct that the strict moralists found nothing in it to condemn. But it was the conduct of a heathen; it was marked by virtue without righteousness; it did not comply with the requirements of ascetic or Christian self-abnegation and was therefore punished with eternal misery.⁴

SEC. 524. *Celibacy*.—In regard to matrimony Jesus said: "They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection of the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage." "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her has committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out." "There be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." "It is better for thee to enter life maimed, than, having two hands, to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched; where the worm dieth not."¹ These passages are unmistakable in their meaning and are not favorable to matrimony.

The highest saints in the heaven of Jesus are celibate men, as we are told in the following passage of Revelations: "A lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and with him a hundred and forty and four thousand, wearing his Father's name written in their foreheads." . . . These are they which were not defiled with women; for they

are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb."

The plain meaning of these passages is that celibacy is important if not indispensable to the righteousness of Jesus. The first quotation in this section means that they who are worthy of salvation do not marry in this life; and it is in complete harmony with the subsequent quotations from the language of Jesus, and with many in the epistles of Paul, who said, "It is good for them [the unmarried] if they abide [remain] even as I [in celibacy]. . . . He that is married careth for the things that are of the world. . . . The unmarried . . . careth for the things of the Lord."⁸ Jesus himself never married, and, according to the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church, Peter put away his wife. That church imposes celibacy on its clergy, and ascribes a higher condition of righteousness to its priests and to the members of its celibate orders, than to the married laity. Jerome, who is a very high authority among the Roman Catholics, says that "matrimony fills the earth, but celibacy replenishes heaven."

SEC. 525. *Moral Theory*.—The Christian who wishes to act in accordance with the moral teachings of the gospels must renounce all the pleasures of the world. He must have no wealth, no luxury, no fine clothing, no elegant dwelling, no political authority, no wife, no anxiety save that for his eternal salvation. He should become a hermit or monk; he should govern himself always by the rules of poverty, chastity, and submission. He should remember the command, "Resist not evil." He must stay away from the theater, from the dance,

and from the concert, and must even abstain from all jovial company. Jesus says to him, "Let your communication [conversation] be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil," and again he says, "Every idle word that men speak they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment."¹

These commands are explicit and are not abrogated or qualified by other passages not here quoted. If they were ever authoritative for anybody, they are now in full force for everybody. They have been interpreted literally and made a rule of life by millions of Christian monks; and that they were meant to be taken literally is proved by the fact that similar rules had been adopted for centuries before the time of the evangelists by the Essene and Buddhist ascetics.

The only ethical maxims not ascetic in their tenor attributed in the New Testament to Jesus are the golden rule and the injunction to observe the Mosaic decalogue; and these do not contradict, abrogate, or modify the specific commands of celibacy, poverty, submission to all forms of oppression, and abstinence from jovial conversation and from social pleasure of every kind.

The average Christian of our time says these ascetic maxims are not addressed to him. He must say something of this kind to excuse the discord between his conduct and the gospel precepts which he pretends to make the rule of his life. He loves the world. He respects humanity. He believes in progress. He is proud of his freedom. He protects his rights at the risk of his heart's blood. He delights in the pleasures of love, of wealth, of intellectual companionship, of the fine arts, and of many forms of luxury. He wants an excellent table, elegant clothing, a commodious dwelling, good books,

dramas, musical entertainments, and social gatherings of many kinds. He will not give up all his worldly possessions and go out with a single garment, preaching the gospel. Between the position of Dives and that of Lazarus, he prefers the former with all its certainties in this world and its chances in the next.

Christians generally, as their habits prove, put a very liberal interpretation on the ascetic maxims of Jesus. They understand them to mean, first, Do not mutilate yourself; second, marry; third, accumulate property; fourth, do not sell it and divide the price among the poor; fifth, live in luxury if you can; sixth, when a man smites you on one cheek, knock him down; seventh, if a man steal your coat, send him to jail; eighth, resist evil; ninth, avoid people who do not laugh and who limit their conversation to yea, yea, and nay, nay; and tenth, enjoy yourself, love this life, do not worry about another, and deal justly here.

To persons not familiar with orthodox Christian literature, this method of interpretation may seem disrespectful to Webster's Dictionary, but it is in accordance with the long established and general custom of commentators in high repute. The ethical works of Roman Catholic and of Protestant theologians, including such men as Paley and Liguori, will be found to agree substantially with the interpretation in the preceding paragraph.

There is no asceticism in Paul, but he instructs his converts to submit to those clothed with authority. He does not want his doctrine to become a source or excuse for disorder. He says, "The powers that be are ordained of God." Again he says, "Servants, obey in all things your masters." In reference to the sexes he writes: "The

head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man. . . . For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man."²

In the New as in the Old Testament, the idea is held out that the highest authority in morals is not human conscience but Jehovah's instruction. To "fear God and keep his commandments" was declared to be "the whole duty of man" for the Jew; and for the Christian it was to keep the Ten Commandments, give up all property to the poor, and follow Jesus.³ According to the leading advocates of the Biblical theory of ethics, the recognition of the superior moral authority of the human conscience would be an insult to revelation. The Roman Catholic, following the doctrine of papal infallibility to its logical results, recognizes his obligation to obey all the ethical decisions of the Pope addressed officially to the whole church.

The Utilitarians, who are the successors of the Epicureans, and who, since the disappearance of the Stoics, divide the civilized world with the adherents of the Biblical theory, claim that morality is a natural product of the human mind; that it germinates in an innate ethical faculty; that plain traces of it are found in the maternal and social affections of brutes; that it appears prominently in the strong mutual obligations of the lowest savages towards one another; and that, guided by reason and experience, and aided by a higher culture, it has advanced beyond the teachings of Jesus to the positive recognition of the rights and duty of political equality, religious freedom, popular education, free inquiry, self-respect, enjoyment of wealth, and resistance to evil. It is an undeniable and for the Biblical theory an

unfortunate fact that the most eminent Christian priests have been advocates of slavery, despotism, religious persecution, aggressive war, witch burning, censorship of the press, and the accumulation of immense wealth in ecclesiastical institutions.

SEC. 526. *No New Religion.*—The main doctrines of Jesus in regard to his divine commission, attributed to him by the evangelists, are that he was the Messiah of Jewish prophecy; that his authority as Messiah was proved by his miraculous powers; that he could transfer and that he did transfer such powers to cure the sick, to cast out devils, and to revive the dead to all who then had, or should in the future have, faith in him; and that in the future life he was to be the judge of mankind. These ideas furnish no sufficient basis for a new religion.

If he had intended to establish Christianity as it has been conceived since 300 A. D. by the majority of Christians, he would have done many things which he did not do. He would have prescribed the main points of the creed and the main rules of the discipline in clear terms. He would have said explicitly that he was the Savior of mankind. He would have explained the relation of Adam's sin to the future life, and would have added that he was the bearer of a new covenant under which all who believed and entered into his church by baptism would be relieved from the penalty of that original sin. He would have announced that the ceremonial law of Moses was absolutely repealed; that worship by sacrifice was abolished; and that all the sacred days of the Pentateuch were to give way to new holidays. He would have selected some apostles among the Gentiles, so that all should understand that he was the founder of a universal religion, which offered salvation on

equal terms to all nations. He would have used all the key words and phrases of Christianity, and he would have defined incarnation, trinity, redemption, sacrament, bishop, priest, church, apostle, apostolical succession, ordination, and saving faith, so that there would have been no opportunity for the disputes which have divided Christians in reference to the meanings of these terms. He would have ordained priests, with instructions to transmit their authority to a continuous line of successors, protected by unquestionable sacerdotal credentials.

These points, which, as the history of Christianity shows, were indispensable to the development of the church; and which were done in later times amidst unexampled controversy and bloodshed; and which in the interests of harmony and truth, if the latter is at all concerned with Christianity, should have been explained clearly and finally at the start. Jesus did not explain them, did not understand their importance, and did not foresee the career of Christianity. In short, he had no purpose of founding a new religion. That he did not explicitly announce such a purpose, as he is reported in the gospels, is admitted; and some of the orthodox writers are greatly puzzled to explain his conduct. Milman, one of the ablest among them, thinks he concealed his project of a new religion, because if "avowed without disguise" it "would have revolted the popular mind and clashed too directly with the inveterate nationality"¹ of the Jews. According to this theory, the founder of a new religion possessing omnipotence and omniscience to aid him in converting his favorite people, concealed or veiled his truth from them, and not from them only, but from the evangelists who were to write his life, and from the apostles who were to preach his doctrines! Chris-

tians accept the main points of their creed and discipline from tradition, under the influence of which they find in the New Testament ideas that never occurred to its authors.

Most of the sayings attributed, in the gospels, to Jesus give no support to the theory that he intended to found a new religion or to the other theory that he labored to purify Judaism. For neither project did he need to be the son of David or to have a Jewish apostle to sit on the throne of each of the twelve Israelitish tribes. Neither could be aided materially by such talk as that ascribed to him about the near approach of judgment day, about the duty of nonresistance, about the damnation of the Pharisees, and about the miracles and miraculous powers given to all believers.

SEC. 527. *The Messiah*.—In our examination of the sayings and doings attributed to Jesus by the evangelists, we have found conflicting statements which left us in doubt about the main purpose of his public ministry. He claimed to be the Messiah of Jewish popular expectation, and of Jewish prophecy. The Hebrew *mashiach*, which takes the form of *mcshiha* in Aramaic, and messiah or messias in English, means "an anointed person," or "anointed," as does *christos* in Greek. From *christos*, we have the English Christ. *Mashiach*, *mcshiha*, and *christos* all mean the anointed king or priest, consecrated by anointment to the service of Jehovah.

Let us now inquire what the Messiah of Jewish prophecy was. Section 318 of this book gives a brief account of the messianic predictions. They promised the restoration of the independent Jewish monarchy, the perpetual authority of the dynasty of David, the exaltation and security of Jerusalem, and the eternal observance of

the Mosaic law under the ministrations of the Aaronite priesthood. All these predictions were associated together in the Jewish Scriptures and in the popular expectation, and they were called messianic because the messiah was to be the chief agent in their fulfillment. He was to be the anointed king, the chief heir of David, by virtue of his seniority in the direct male line of descent.

The title *mashiach* is used thirty-nine times in the Hebrew Bible, and is invariably applied to a king or priest.

"He shall give strength unto His king and exalt the horn of His anointed [*mashiach*]." "I will raise me up a faithful priest . . . and he shall walk before mine anointed [*mashiach*] forever." "The Lord forbid that I should . . . stretch forth mine hand against him [Saul], seeing he is the anointed [*mashiach*] of the Lord." "And David said to Abishai, 'Destroy him [Saul] not; for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed [*mashiach*] and be guiltless?'" "Shall not Shimei be put to death for this because he cursed [David] the Lord's anointed [*mashiach*]?" "He [Jehovah] is the tower of salvation for His king; and showeth mercy to His anointed [*mashiach*] unto David and to his seed forever more." "David, . . . the man who was raised up on high, the anointed [*mashiach*] of the God of Israel." "O Lord, turn not away the [Thy] face of [from] Thine anointed [*mashiach* Solomon]." "Great deliverance giveth He to His king and showeth mercy to His anointed [*mashiach*], to David and to his seed forever more." "Thou has been wroth with Thine anointed [*mashiach*]." "I will make the horn of David to bud; I have ordained a lamp for Mine anointed [*mashiach*]. His enemies will I clothe with shame; but upon himself shall his crown flourish."¹

These passages give an idea of the manner in which the word *mashiach* was used by the Jews; and in every case it had the same meaning. It meant the anointed servant of Jehovah; and in the Septuagint, the Greek version made in the IIIrd century B. C., it was invariably rendered by the Greek word *christos*. The English translators of the Jewish Bible were unwilling to apply the title messiah to Saul, David, Solomon, or any Levitical priest or temporal ruler, and they used the word anointed to represent *mashiach* except in several passages where they understood it to apply prophetically to Jesus; and there they translated it Messiah. By this treatment of the Hebrew word *mashiach*, English readers of the Bible have been systematically misled to suppose that the messiahship had no association with any temporal kingdom or office.

The monarch hopes that his dynasty will occupy the throne for a long period; and the prophet who seeks to please the monarch predicts permanence to the sovereign authority of his descendants. Such promises were common in Egypt and Assyria. They were made to David and Solomon. By the mouth of Nathan, Jehovah said to David, "Thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee, thy throne shall be established forever." On another occasion he said to David, "There shall not fail thee a man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel." Referring to the time when the national independence of the Jews should be re-established, Isaiah predicted that "in that day there shall be a root of Jesse [father of David] which shall stand for an ensign of the people." Through Ezekiel, Jehovah said, "I will save My flock . . . And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even My servant David."

In Jeremiah we find these words attributed to Jehovah. "I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign." "Behold the days come . . . that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel and to the house of Judah. . . . David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel."² The passages quoted from the books of Samuel, Kings, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah in the preceding paragraph are the leading messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. They are direct in their language and clear in their meaning, but they are not cited as messianic by orthodox writers because they do not sustain the orthodox theory that the Messiah promised in the Old Testament was to be a savior, a spiritual king, and a religious reformer.

SEC. 528. *Judaism Eternal*.—These prophecies of the perpetuity of the dynasty of David were accompanied by others that the Mosaic law, the Mosaic ceremonial, the exclusive covenant of Jehovah with the children of Israel, the exclusive worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, the Jewish monarchy and the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem, should be maintained forever. All these predictions are conceived in the same spirit; they are recorded in the same books; they are part of the same ecclesiastical system; and they were the basis of the messianic ideas current in ancient Judea.

Jehovah said to Nathan, "I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as beforetime."

To Solomon, Jehovah said, "I have hallowed this house [the temple] which thou hast built, to put My

name there forever; and Mine eyes and Mine heart shall be there perpetually." Through Jeremiah Jehovah said, "I will be the God of all the families of Israel and they shall be My people." And again, "I will gather them [the Jews] out of all countries whither I have driven them in Mine anger, . . . and I will bring them again unto this place [Jerusalem], and I will cause them to dwell safely; and they shall be My people and I will be their God."¹

By the mouth of Ezekiel Jehovah said to Jerusalem: "I will establish unto thee an everlasting covenant." "In Mine holy mountain . . . there shall all the house of Israel, all of them in the land, serve Me." "I will take you [the Jews] from among the heathen and gather you out of all countries and will bring you into your own land." "I will make them [the Jews and Israelites] one nation, in the land upon the mountains of Israel. . . . And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob My servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children and their children's children forever; and My servant David shall be their prince forever. . . . I will be their God and they shall be My people. And the heathen shall know that I, the Lord, do sanctify Israel, when My sanctuary shall be in the midst of them forevermore." "I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel forever." Amos tells us that Jehovah declared: "I will bring again the captivity of My people of Israel, and they shall build up the waste cities and inhabit them. . . . And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up."²

Jehovah authorized Zechariah to publish this promise: "I will save My people. . . . And they shall dwell

in the midst of Jerusalem; and they shall be My people, and I will be their God." Isaiah tells us that "the Lord shall comfort Zion."³ Through Jeremiah the Jews received this message from Jehovah: "Fear not thou, O My servant Jacob, and be not dismayed, O Israel; for, behold, I will save thee from afar off, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and be in rest and at ease, and none shall make him afraid. Fear thou not, O Jacob My servant, saith the Lord; for I am with thee."⁴

Several passages in the Old Testament promise that the heathen shall worship at Jerusalem; but they are relatively few and they mean only that the heathen should submit themselves to the Mosaic customs. Thus Zechariah said, "Many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord." "Everyone that is left of the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of the tabernacles." And Isaiah declared: "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities. Thine eyes shall see a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken." "And the sons of strangers shall build thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee. . . . For the nation and kingdom that will not preserve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. . . . They shall call thee 'The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel.' Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency."⁵

The evangelists mention many predictions of minor events in the career of the Messiah, such as that he should be born in Bethlehem, that he should be taken to Egypt, that he should be a man of sorrows, that he should ride on an ass, that he should bear the sins of his people, that his garment should be divided among his persecutors, and so forth; but these so-called messianic predictions are puerile interpretations of passages which had no reference to the Messiah.

The Jews, while under the dominion of Rome, made a habit of reading the messianic predictions in their synagogues, and took delight in the anticipation of their fulfillment. Every generation hoped to see the coming of the Messiah, as warrior, conqueror, and king, worthy, by his success, to be considered the equal of his ancestor David, who was reputed to have been the most powerful monarch of his time. After Judea became a Roman province, it was evident that the Messiah could not succeed unless he were stronger than Rome. He would therefore carry his arms from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. He would rule over the known world. Popular inference gave to him universal dominion. Otherwise the messianic expectation of the Jews agreed with the messianic prophecies cited in the preceding section. The messiah who should re-establish the monarchy and its splendor was to be succeeded by other messiahs, his descendants in the direct male line, who should reign in Jerusalem until the end of the world.

There was no expectation that the messiah was to be a religious teacher, a redeemer from sin, an incarnate God, or the founder of a universal religion. He was to have no Levitical blood, no sacerdotal authority. He would have no more right to reform the religion of Judea than

a son of Aaron would have had to usurp the crown. There is no prophecy in the Old Testament that the law of Moses was temporary in its authority, crude in its conceptions, or susceptible of improvement or purification. On the contrary, the books of the law and the prophets explicitly declare in many passages that the ancient mode of worship should be maintained forever. Moses said, "These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe . . . all the days that ye live upon the earth." Elsewhere he added, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it." And again he said, "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them." In a hundred different verses of the Bible the ceremonial observances of the Mosaic system are declared to be essential parts of the everlasting covenant between Jehovah and Israel. Micah, one of the late prophets, promised that "all people will walk everyone in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord [Jehovah] our God forever and ever." There was to be no community of faith with the alien; no church including all men; no religious fellowship with the heathen; no abandonment of the Jewish hatred of the Gentiles, whose riches they would eat, and upon whom their god would "execute vengeance in anger and fury."⁶

SEC. 529. *Jesus Christ.*—Jesus claimed to be the Messiah of Jewish prophecy. Peter said to him, "Thou art the Messiah;" and Jesus admitted that he was. When the Samaritan woman spoke to him of the Messiah, he replied to her, "I, that speak unto thee, am he." Before the high priest, to the question, "Art thou the Christ?" his response was, "I am." He claimed to be

king of the Jews. The third evangelist tells us that when the annunciation was made to Mary, the angel told her that Jehovah would give to her son "the throne of his father David." At the beginning of the public career of Jesus, Nathaniel said to him, "Thou art the king of Israel," and as this title was not directly repudiated, it was indirectly accepted. He said to his apostles that when he should sit "in the throne of his glory," "ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." When asked by Pilate, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus replied, "I am." The response as rendered in the authorized and revised English versions is, "Thou sayest," which, in our tongue, means nothing. The correct translation is given by Norton, and is implied in the remarks attributed to Jesus in the fourth gospel. In his first address to the disciples at Jerusalem, after the crucifixion, Peter said that God swore "with an oath to him [David] that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, He would raise up Christ to sit on his throne." Jesus spoke of the prophecies that the Messiah should be a descendant of David, and should be born in the town of Bethlehem, David's town; and he repeatedly referred to the scriptural prophecies relating to himself, meaning that they indicated his messianic character; though the evangelists, when mentioning these references, do not say what was to be proved by them.¹

In his epistles Paul habitually attaches the title Christ to the proper name Jesus, calling him either Jesus Christ, or Christ Jesus. In his address at Pentecost Peter, according to Acts, spoke of him as Christ. The New Testament is pervaded throughout with the idea that Jesus was the Messiah of Jewish prophecy, and that his messianic character carried with it a right to speak with

authority. The proper name Jesus was of relatively little note; Paul and his converts claimed to be followers of Christ and were therefore called Christians.

Although Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and although this claim is put forward very prominently in the New Testament, yet we find that, according to the evangelists, he never made this claim publicly until after his arrest, and when questioned about it in public, either refused to reply or gave an evasive answer. Neither in his sermon on the mount, with which he opened his ministry, nor in his charge to his disciples when he instructed them to preach his gospel, nor in his final address to the multitude at the temple, did he make the least reference to his claim of the messiahship; and these are the most significant doctrinal addresses attributed to him.

After the return of the apostles from their preaching expedition, how long after is not explained, when Jesus was in the vicinity of Cæsarea Philippi, he addressed to his disciples the question, "Whom say ye that I am?" And Simon Peter answered and said, 'Thou art Christ' . . . And Jesus answered, . . . 'Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.' . . . Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus, the Christ."² Thus, according to the first evangelist, when his apostles discovered his messiahship, he requested them to keep it secret; but, according to the second and third gospels, he never claimed it in conversation with them.

Early in the public career of Jesus, some Jewish zealots wanted to "take him by force to make him a king;" but he escaped from them and hid in the mountains. We may presume that they had heard that he claimed to be the

Messiah, and they wanted him to raise the standard of insurrection against Rome without delay. Not long after this incident "Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him and said unto him, 'How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ tell us plainly.' Jesus answered them, 'I told you, and ye believed me not; the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.'"⁸ He gave them no other satisfaction. He would neither admit nor deny that he was the Jewish Messiah. He did not use the opportunity to explain that he was a religious teacher, not a military leader. He is represented as assuming that they had heard him and had seen his miracles; though the gospel makes no mention of any miracles previously wrought by him in Jerusalem or of any of his speeches heard by these same men. His refusal to give an explicit reply to the question whether he was the Messiah is not comprehensible on the theory that his purpose was to found a new religion.

While Jesus was so reticent about his claim to the messiahship, the Jews suspected it and made it a subject of discussion. One of them said, "Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ? Howbeit we know this man, whence he is; but when Christ cometh no man knoweth whence he is.' . . . [Another said] 'When Christ cometh will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?' . . . Others said, 'This is Christ.' But some said, 'Shall Christ come out of Galilee?' . . . So there was a division among the people because of him."⁴ And while the Jews were so anxious to know whether Jesus claimed to be their Messiah, he never once came out publicly and said, "I am the Messiah;" or, "I am not the Messiah whom you expect."

We are told that, several times, soon after Jesus began his ministry, some Jews sought to kill him, but no clear explanation is given of the motives of their hostility. We must presume that they wished to protect themselves against the sufferings that would result from a rebellion. Expressions of the fear of such evils are found in a number of passages in the gospels. When Jesus, after his arrest, was taken into the presence of Pilate, a rabble followed, and one of them said, "We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king."⁵ When Jesus made his final entrance into Jerusalem, he made no protest against the treasonable outcries: "Blessed is the king of Israel." "Blessed be the kingdom of our father David." If the Romans had heard such speeches, they would have dispatched the speakers on the spot.

SEC. 530. *Jewish Council*.—In all the provinces, the yoke of Rome was oppressive. The taxes were heavy and the method of collection offensive. Of the subject nations in the empire, none was so discontented and so frequently brought into hostile relations with their rulers as the Jewish people. The Jews had no large city like Alexandria, Antioch, or Syracuse, the commercial interests of which were a security for peace. Judea was a mountainous country with an adjacent desert, well suited for defense and for refuge after defeat. The Jews were made hostile to Rome by their religion; and their belief in a messiah who was to restore their national independence and sacred monarchy filled many of their young men with a readiness to follow any leader who claimed to be the heir of David. If only a small proportion of the population scattered throughout Judea should engage in a revolt, they could drag in their rela-

tives, friends, and neighbors in such a manner that all Jews in the country must fight either for or against Rome. It was, therefore, necessary that the prudent men should do their utmost to prevent a rebellion from getting a start.

With such motives for vigilance, the priests, Pharisees, and scribes watched Jesus suspiciously to find something in his words or actions that might serve as evidence of a treasonable purpose. They sent agents to inquire whether the Jews ought to pay tribute to Cæsar. If he said "no," he would expose his plan; if he said "yes," he would offend some of the zealots among his followers. In the gospel of John we are told that more than a year before the crucifixion, the chief priests and the Pharisees held a council in Jerusalem and said: "'What do we? For this man [Jesus] doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.' And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, 'Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.' . . . Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death. Jesus, therefore, walked no more openly among the Jews but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples. And the Jews' Passover was nigh at hand."'

The story of this council is evidently fictitious. If the evangelist had a precise record of the words spoken at a council of priests and Pharisees before the crucifixion, he should have shown that he knew in what year that interesting event occurred. He conveys the idea that

the Pharisees in Jerusalem were much agitated by the influence of the miracles of Jesus, whereas the New Testament leads us to believe that he never performed a miracle in Jerusalem; that in the Galilean cities where he performed most of his miracles he made few converts; that at the end of his career he had only one hundred and twenty converts in Jerusalem; and these all Jews.

Besides, the evangelist furnishes no basis for his assumption that the Romans would destroy their "nation" if the Jews allowed Jesus to go on working miracles and making converts. He does not show that the Romans then or at any time in that generation took the least interest in the reported miracles, the conversions, or the religious ideas attributed to Jesus. When he was on trial, Pilate made no inquiry about these points.

A very significant result in the report of this council is that immediately after it Jesus walked no more openly among the Jews; that is, during the last year of his life he remained in concealment. This statement in the gospel of John is not contradicted elsewhere. The Pass-over here mentioned occurred one year before the crucifixion.

SEC. 531. *The Trial*.—The four evangelists agree that Jesus was executed under a sentence of death, pronounced, in accordance with the forms of Roman law, by Pontius Pilate, Roman governor of Judea. They also agree that the first question addressed to Jesus by Pilate in reference to the alleged crime was, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" According to Matthew the reply was, "Thou sayest." According to Mark and Luke, "Thou sayest it." According to John he said: "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world."

The gospel of John tells us that after the examination Pilate said, "I find no fault in this man," and wanted to release him, but the Jews cried out: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. Whoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar." The chief priests protested also, "We have no king but Cæsar." We may be confident that Pilate never wanted to spare a man who claimed to be king of Israel, and that he knew as well how to protect the interests of Rome as did the Jewish rabble and priests.

When the Romans crucified a criminal, they posted up his crime on the cross; and, in accordance with that custom, they affixed to the cross of Jesus the words, "The King of the Jews." If the claim of that title had not been a capital crime, Pilate would not have dared to announce it publicly. The Romans were strict observers of the forms of law, and there was a considerable Roman garrison in Jerusalem with high officers familiar with the main principles of the law.

The soldiers understood the charge and taunted Jesus with his treason and his failure in it. "Hail, king of the Jews!" The Jewish rabble added their taunts, "Let Christ, the king of the Jews, descend from the cross."

The question of Pilate, the condemnation, the protests of the Jewish people and priests against release of the prisoner, the inscription on the cross, the taunts of the soldiers and rabble addressed to the man suffering the agonies of the crucifixion,—all these indicate that the only charge against Jesus was treason. And that the charge was believed to be true by the friends of Jesus is proved by the lament of the disappointed zealot after the crucifixion, "We trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel;" and also by the query addressed to

him after the resurrection, by one of his apostles, "whether he would at this time restore the kingdom of God?"¹

Jesus was arrested with the aid of a traitor as if he was known to few and had been concealed. Otherwise the treachery and the payment for it would have been without reasonable motive. The betrayal implies secrecy and conspiracy; and these harmonize with the statements that Jesus preserved silence and enjoined upon others silence about his messiahship.

SEC. 532. *A Rebel*.—In section 526 we found that most of the speeches and actions attributed in the gospels to Jesus are inconsistent with the theory that he intended to establish a new religion, and also with the hypothesis that the main purpose of his public labors was to reform Judaism. The only other theory that seems to deserve serious consideration is that he plotted a rebellion against Rome. With the help of this last supposition, which, as we have seen, is corroborated by a large array of testimony, we can understand many things that without its aid would be incomprehensible. Many of the measures which would have been taken by Jesus, if he had possessed superhuman wisdom and power and had intended to establish Christianity as it now exists, he did not take; whereas, he took many of the measures which the plotter of a revolt against Rome, arrested near the beginning of his career, would have taken.

If an intelligent Jew, about the beginning of the Christian era, had aspired to re-establish the Jewish monarchy and to place himself on its throne, he would have claimed to be the heir of David, the Messiah of Biblical prophecy and of Jewish expectation. He would have concealed his claim from the multitude until he was ready to take up arms. He would have explained it confidentially to some

few persons whom he considered trustworthy. If questioned publicly whether he was the Messiah, he would have replied evasively or refused to reply. He would have traveled about the country to become acquainted with its military resources, with the feelings of the people, and with men who might become his chief subordinates. He would have spent most of his time in the rural districts, away from the Romans and those Jews who were most friendly to the Roman dominion. He would have avoided Jerusalem, which had a large Roman garrison and strong fortifications. He would have selected none save Jews for his associates. He would have strictly observed the ceremonial law of Moses. He would have been an attendant at the temple and the synagogue.

He would have found the organization of a rebellion against Rome a very arduous enterprise. He would have encountered Jews who could see nothing but disaster for themselves and their people in such a project and who would do all they could to render it abortive. He would have met ignorant zealots, ready to resort to arms at once without any of the organization that would be necessary to make an outbreak formidable. From both of these classes he would have had to protect himself. After suspicion got abroad that he was engaged in making arrangements for a revolt, he would have had to conceal himself from those who wanted him to declare himself king without delay, and also from those who wished to arrest him as a disturber of the public peace. All these experiences, which would have occurred to the Jewish projector of a revolt against Rome in the time of Jesus, occurred to him.

A rebel against Rome, claiming to be the Messiah, would not have argued that the popular expectation of a

political and military leader was without foundation in the scriptural prophecies. He would not have undertaken to convince them that the true mission of the Messiah was to wash out the sin of Adam, to abrogate the ceremonial law of Moses, to abolish the priesthood of Aaron, to establish a system of worship without sacrifice, and to found a new religion called Christianity. And these are things Jesus did not do. On the other hand, if the main purpose of Jesus was to organize a revolt against Rome, why, after his execution, did his followers treat him as an object of worship? How did they succeed in making his name the nucleus of the greatest of all churches? Why did Paul never allude to the fact that Jesus was guilty of treason? Why did Paul speak of him as a purely spiritual Messiah? If Jesus was engaged in plotting rebellion, how could he have composed the parables? And if he did not compose them, whence could they have come?

It is easier to ask than to answer these questions satisfactorily, as it is easier to wonder at, than to comprehend, the mental processes of many other minds. There is much in the gospels that cannot be made to harmonize with any theory of the purpose of Jesus; much that was collected from false legends, by men who had little accurate information about Jesus. The problem here is not to find a hypothesis that avoids every difficulty, for that is impossible; but to find one that has the preponderance of probabilities in its favor. That one is found in the theory that Jesus undertook to organize a revolt against Rome and was executed as a rebel.

SEC. 533. *Life of Jesus*.—Not until the genuineness of the gospels and the main purpose of Jesus in his public ministry have been subjected to critical investigation, is

the student prepared to avoid serious errors in his conceptions of the origin of Christianity. As we have seen, the evangelists were not the companions of Jesus, and did not derive correct accounts of him at second hand. We do not know who they were or when or where they wrote. We do know that no one of them wrote a clear and coherent account of his movements and ideas, and that no one of them had a distinct conception of Christianity as we now understand it. They asserted much that is false; they omitted much that is true. They did not supply us with materials from which a satisfactory biography of Jesus can be compiled, nor can such materials be found elsewhere. The only trustworthy Christian author who lived in the first century of our era and whose writings are now in our possession, was Paul; and he does not undertake to tell the story of the life of Jesus, to give a comprehensive statement of his doctrines, or to quote any of his significant speeches. No contemporaneous monument, no contemporaneous heathen author, gives us any light.

So far as we can learn from the New Testament, Jesus had no educated associates, no familiarity with any foreign literature or language, no acquaintance with the important achievements of Greek science and philosophy. According to the gospel of Luke, he read once in public. It was in the synagogue of Nazareth, the city of his residence, among the neighbors who had known him from childhood. He had been absent at Capernaum, where, according to report, he had wrought wonderful miracles. He read from the Scriptures and made some remarks, saying that if the persons present expected any miracles from him, they would be disappointed, for he knew that "no prophet is accepted in his own country," "and all

they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up and thrust him out of the city."¹

He began his public ministry about 30 A. D., seventy miles north of Jerusalem, in Galilee, from the natives of which district he selected his twelve apostles. All were poor and ignorant men, without influential friends, proved talent for administration, or experience in prominent public business. There is no explicit statement that any one of them could write or speak Greek, or understand the speech in which the Mosaic law was written. Peter and John, leading men among them, were fishermen, and unlearned. Matthew belonged to the disreputable class of tax gatherers.

Having neither property nor productive occupation, Jesus and his apostles obtained their living by mendicancy. They had no congregation of disciples to support them. When hungry they went into a house, either of an acquaintance or stranger, and, directly or indirectly, solicited food. Their clothing consisted of nothing save a mantle or blanket and a pair of sandals.

If Jesus had possessed a clear conception of Christianity as it now exists, and if he had foreseen distinctly the sects, the controversies, the persecutions, and the wars, of which it has been the source, he would have defined its doctrines and discipline with care. He would have shown that he foresaw the work that was to be done in his name. He would have written his sacred book, or would have provided for its writing and authentication. He would have prepared a summary statement of his creed. He would have ordained priests, defined their jurisdiction, and provided for the transmission of their offices to a line of successors. If he had wanted bishops

to rule over priests, and a pope to rule over bishops, he would have said so. He would have defined baptism, ordination, sacrament, redemption, transubstantiation, purgatory, and immaculate conception, if he had wished his followers to accept them. He would have said something about the worship of images, the adoration of saints, and the persecution of heretics. He would have taken care that Paul and Peter, Arius and Athanasius, Huss and Wycliffe, Luther and Calvin, Rome and Geneva, Russia and England, should not disagree about the meaning of the words and phrases attributed to him.

Of all religions Christianity has developed most slowly, has branched out into the most numerous sects and divergent creeds, has produced the largest controversial literature, has caused the greatest amount of systematic sacerdotal misrepresentation and forgery, and has provoked the most malignant persecutions and the most destructive ecclesiastical wars. The warfare which its priests have made continuously on science for the last three hundred years is one of the most discreditable features in its history.

SEC. 534. *Peter's Address*.—Soon after the crucifixion, the eleven apostles made their permanent residence in Jerusalem under an explicit command from Jesus that they should not depart until after the fulfillment of the promise of the restoration of the kingdom of God.¹ This command was not accompanied by any explanation of how long they should have to wait, or any precise instruction of what they should do in the meantime.

Acts contains several speeches which purport to be reported literally, but all are presumably the productions of the historian. Not one of them is worthy of the occasion to which it is attributed. The addresses ascribed

to Peter are specially inappropriate. The meeting at Pentecost, about two months after the crucifixion, gave him an opportunity of explaining the main principles of the new faith to the Jews who had collected to hear him; and he was stimulated by the excitement of the disciples, among whom appeared "cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." Peter said: "Ye men of Judea and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you and hearken to my words. For these [disciples who were speaking with tongues] are not drunken, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken of by the prophet Joel: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams; and on My servants and on My handmaidens I will pour out in those days of My Spirit; and they shall prophesy; and I will show wonders in heaven above and signs in the earth beneath; blood and fire and vapor of smoke; the sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come; and it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

"Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know; him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and by wicked hands have crucified and

slain; whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. For David speaketh concerning him: 'I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for He is on my right hand, that I should not be moved; therefore, did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover, also my flesh shall rest in hope; because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine holy one to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; Thou shalt make me full of joy with Thy countenance.' Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulcher is with us unto this day. Therefore, being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, He would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he, seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither did his flesh see corruption. This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we are witnesses. Therefore, being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the heavens; but he saith himself, The Lord said unto My Lord, 'Sit thou on My right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool.' Therefore, let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ."²

This speech of Peter, which is here copied in full, gives no idea of Christianity, of the establishment of a new religion, of an atonement, of an incarnation, of salvation by faith, of the abrogation of the old law, of the relation of

the self-sacrifice of Jesus to the son of Adam, or of any other main point that an intelligent Jew might want to know from a Christian preacher when Christianity was preached for the first time in Jerusalem.

SEC. 535. *The Apostles*.—The history of the Christian church is brought down in Acts to about the year 62 A. D.; but after the first chapter, that book mentions none of the twelve apostles, save Peter, John, and James; and does not say that any apostle made converts among the Gentiles, that any apostle made his residence out of Jerusalem, or that any apostle taught that all Christians were freed from the ceremonial law of Moses. The author of Acts nowhere gives the title of apostle to Paul or mentions the fact that he assumed the title.

As the destruction of Jerusalem in the VIth century B. C. greatly facilitated the establishment and enforcement of the religion of Jehovah among the Jews, so the destruction of the same city in 70 A. D. greatly facilitated the growth of Christianity. If the Jewish capital had remained prosperous, the Christians, after the close of the apostolic period, would have been impelled to go to the successors of the twelve whom Jesus had chosen, for the books and traditions which the church should accept as its guides; and as those books and traditions were hostile to Paul, his influence would have suffered. But the destruction of the city, the dispersion and impoverishment of its people, left its Christians without power to resist the march of Pauline ideas; and by the time that Jerusalem had regained importance as a city, the Pauline character of Christianity had been fixed permanently. The Christians in Judea were divided into two classes, the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, neither in full accord with the Pauline or Catholic Christians. The Nazarenes said

the Jewish Christians, and the Ebionites said all Christians, must conform to the Mosiac ceremonial law. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all Ebionites, or Nazarenes. The descendants of those converted by Jesus were enemies of Paul.

In the first three gospels a clear distinction is made between the twelve apostles and the disciples generally; but the evangel of John confounds the two classes, as if the former had no official title. After reaching the middle of his first chapter, the author of Acts does not recognize any clear authority in the apostolic office. According to him, the apostles had no distinct organization, no president, no records, no separate meetings, no creed, no disciplinary rules. The place of Judas Iscariot was filled, not in a meeting of the apostles, not by vote, not by appointment, but by lot, in a meeting of one hundred and twenty disciples. Acts conveys the impression that all the twelve made their home in Jerusalem during the remainder of their lives. It mentions events that occurred as late as 60 A. D. without suggesting that any one of the apostles (it does not apply that title to Paul) had a residence or a regular sphere of apostolic labor outside of the capital of Judea. The apostles did not divide the world, or Palestine, or part of it, into separate apostolic districts; nor did they make a division of labor among themselves. They had no bureaus of doctrine, discipline, ecclesiastical education and charity, such as are found in modern churches. After the first chapter of Acts, no mention is made in the New Testament of Matthew, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, James the son of Alphaeus, Simon Zelotes, or Matthias. In a period of more than thirty years not one of them did anything considered worthy of notice. The name of Jude appears

once; that of James, son of Zebedee, twice; that of John, fourteen times; that of Peter, sixty-four times; and that of Paul, one hundred and sixty-two times; more than twice as often as those of all the twelve together. Except in the New Testament, we have no trustworthy information about the apostles. The traditions of the fathers, whether they relate to the apostles, the evangelists, or any other subject, do not deserve the least credence unless they are corroborated by other testimony.

The statement in Acts that the disciples in Jerusalem dwelt together and "had all things in common, and sold their possessions, and parted them to all men as every man had need"¹ agrees with the communistic sentiments of the same author in the gospel of Luke, but does not harmonize with the conduct of Christians in Jerusalem several years later, or elsewhere in subsequent centuries, and has no corroboration in the epistles of Paul.

We are told that the disciples worshiped "daily with one accord in the temple," and that the new church "had favor with all the people"² in Jerusalem; but how, upon the basis of adherence to the law, the apostles could make converts to a Christian church is incomprehensible. It seems probable that the disciples were an insignificant Jewish sect until Paul began to preach his gospel in the cities of the Gentiles. His assertion that the twelve apostles did not understand the main principles of the religion of their master was a bold proceeding, but it was crowned with success.

Soon after the time when Paul attained prominence, the twelve sank into relative insignificance. He tried in vain to obtain their approval for his gospel; they attempted to control him, and failed. Mutual denunciations followed. They sent messages to his churches that he falsified the

faith of Jesus; he retorted that they were the slaves of an abrogated law, and that they had no right to meddle with his converts.

Their influence was obstructed by their residence in Judea and their adherence to the Mosaic forms. Paul had great advantages over them in his superior education, his adoption of a universal and form-free religion, and his extensive missionary labors. He visited cities of Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. He established churches in many of their leading cities, including Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Rome. Nearly all the Christian churches outside of Judea fell under his influence, directly or indirectly. The Christianity which has played a part in the history of the world was the religion taught by him. All the Christian churches of medieval and modern times sprang from the seed which he planted.

Paul is the true hero of the New Testament. He is the founder of Christianity. He is the first man who saw that faith in Jesus might become the basis of a universal religion. He laid that basis. He preached a Christ unknown to the apostles in Jerusalem. From his churches all the doctrines and discipline, the converts and sacerdotal ordination of modern Christianity have descended. He is the only Christian of apostolic times whose writings have been preserved to us without falsification.

The body of doctrine which became the nucleus of the new religion had its origin in his preaching, and the men who carried it throughout all the provinces of the Roman empire, save Judea, were his converts and their followers. He taught a new gospel, he emancipated faith in Jesus from Moses, he explained the relation of the crucifixion to the sin of Adam, he gave a logical consistency to the

scheme of redemption, he took no notice of the ascetic doctrines prominent in the synoptical gospels, and he laid the foundation of a new ecclesiastical discipline.

The fundamental doctrines of Christianity original with it and distinctive of it are, first, the eternal future punishment of all who die in mortal sin inherited from Adam; second, the eternal future reward of all who are redeemed by faith in Jesus from that hereditary sin; and third, the exclusive authority of the visible church as the agent in redemption. Of these three doctrines not one is clearly laid down in the words attributed to Jesus by the evangelists, and all are either distinctly stated or plainly implied in the epistles of Paul.

The discipline of Christianity, one of its most meritorious and most original features, and one of the chief causes of its success, must be credited mainly to Paul. But for the abrogation of the Mosaic ceremonial law, it would have been impossible to build up a powerful system of ecclesiastical government in the new church. With the abrogation of that law, opportunity was made for the observance of Sunday and of such annual Christian festivals as Christmas and Easter. After the doctrine had taken shape, and the priesthood had been organized, rules were adopted for the admission of children and adults into the church, for requiring them to tell their sins periodically to the priest, and for giving the church control at weddings and funerals.

SEC. 536. *Post-Apostolic Period*.—In writing of the early Christian church it has been found convenient to make three periods between the crucifixion and 150 A. D. The Apostolic period, in which the epistles of Paul were written, extends from 35 till 70 A. D. The second of these periods, that of the Apostolic Fathers who were

taught by the apostles, reaches from 70 to 110 A. D.; and the third, that of the Post-Apostolic Fathers, closes with 150 A. D. We have no trustworthy account of any important event that occurred in the Christian church in the period of the Apostolic Fathers. Some epistles purporting to have been written then by Clement and Ignatius, most of them unquestionably forgeries, have been handed down to us; but so far as they are presumably genuine, they have little historical value.

The most noted Christian of the period of the Post-Apostolic Fathers is Justin Martyr. In two hundred passages of his *Apology*, he mentioned various books of the Old Testament; in a dozen passages he referred to the *Memoirs of the Apostles* without indicating clearly whether by that title he meant one book or several distinct books; and he made numerous quotations of the sayings of Jesus from those *Memoirs*; but these sayings, though similar to many in our gospels, are still not quoted with literal correctness from any one of them. Justin never mentioned Matthew, Mark, or Luke; he wrote of John, but only as the author of the *Apocalypse*; he never referred to the "four gospels;" and he did not mention any book of the New Testament as divine revelation, or suggest that the Christians of his time had any sacred writings except the Hebrew Scriptures. He cited the *Memoirs of the Apostles* as if they were uninspired; and he recognized the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Pilate* as equal in authority to the *Memoirs*.

It was probably in this period that the four gospels were written. The three synoptical evangelists were compiled from traditions and other materials, with considerable additions and variations. The ascetic speeches and the parables may have been copied from the Scriptures of

the Essenes. The expectation of the near approach of the end of the world had its source in the disordered imagination, which worries with the same idea in modern times. Such a prediction could not serve any purpose that Jesus had in view, and it is reasonable to suppose that he did not say anything on the subject. The speeches about the Mosaic ceremonial law include phrases current among its friends and others current among its enemies. The tradition of the time when Jesus was regarded as a man, the son of Joseph, is preserved. He was looked upon without awe by his relatives. On one occasion his friends expressed a doubt of his sanity, so far were they from any great reverence for him. He lamented his inability to convert his brethren and his neighbors of Nazareth and Galilee. He prayed to God, and when the title of "good master" was given to him, he disclaimed it, saying, "None is good save one, that is God." Alongside of this tradition is preserved the later myth that he had no human father, but was the incarnate divinity, whose superhuman character and mission had been announced to his mother by an angel, and made known to the "wise men from the East," who, guided by a star, took presents to him, and then "departed into their own country," leaving no trace in history save the mention in the gospel of Matthew. The evangel of Luke has a different myth, according to which the announcement of the birth of a Savior was made by an angel, not to intelligent men in Jerusalem or Athens, but to some "shepherds." All the wonders occurred to unnamed people, at unspecified dates and places, and, like the very existence of Jesus himself, were left without mention in any book written while he was alive. It is impossible to accept such a story without violating every

rule of legal evidence, of literary authentication, and of common experience.

In the period of the Post-Apostolic Fathers a number of false gospels—that is, evangels not admitted into the New Testament—made their appearance, or began to attract attention. Among these the most notable is the gospel of the Hebrews, which was used by the Jewish Christians, and was the only gospel of the Ebionites. Many authors suppose it was written by the apostle Matthew and that with some modifications, including the introductory chapters asserting the superhuman pater-nity of Jesus, it became the gospel of Matthew,¹ the first book of the New Testament.

The gospel of James (called also the Protoevangelion), the gospel of the Infancy, the Acts of Pilate, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the gospel of Marcion were extensively accepted among Christians as divine revelations. There is much reason to believe that the gospel of Marcion was used in the composition of the gospel of Luke, and the gospel of the Infancy in the composition of the gospels of Matthew and Luke. Other false gospels which had their origin in the IInd century are those of the Egyptians, of James, of Andrew, of Bartholomew, of Philip, of Matthias, of Judas Iscariot, of Hesychius, of Cerinthus, of Nicodemus, of Basilides, of the Syrians, of Eve, and of Perfection. Of apocryphal books called Acts, there were those of Pilate, of Peter, of Peter and Andrew, and of John. The book of Revelation was rivaled by prophetic books called the apocalypses of Paul, Peter, Bartholomew, and others.²

SEC. 537. *Primacy*.—It was in the period of the Post-Apostolic Fathers that questions about the nature of Jesus began to disturb the church. Of the great heretics Marcion was the first in time and among the most potent

in influence. For twenty years he was prominent as a missionary and author. He compiled a gospel, an account of the life and sayings of Jesus, and appended to it most of the epistles now ascribed to Paul. This was the first edition of the New Testament, that is, the first collection of Christian Scriptures accepted as revelation by Christian churches. Marcion did not accept any ancient Hebrew book as inspired. The Old Testament had no divine authority for him. He did not recognize Jehovah as a suitable name for God. He declared matter impure and asserted that Jesus had no material body and no share of human nature; that he was exclusively divine; that his visible form was a mere phantasm, an optical illusion; that as Jesus had no material body, so his body did not rise from the tomb; and that the material bodies of men do not accompany the soul in the resurrection.

With the disputes about the nature of Jesus arose the idea of the distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, the former being in charge of the catholic or universal church, the seat of authority, possessing in its doctrine the standard of truth. The sacred books could not be appealed to, because there was no agreement about the sacredness of Christian books. But how could the universal church express itself? Not through the church at Jerusalem, because priests and people there were Nazarenes. Not through the church of Alexandria or Antioch, because the two were rivals and neither would accept the decision of the other. Besides, both were greatly agitated by many controversies. The only other prominent church was that of Rome, and this had many advantages, including those of greatly preponderant wealth and numbers, of central position in the empire, of

frequent opportunities to communicate with all the provinces, and of relative freedom from various angry contentions which had disturbed the Christian communities in Asia Minor and Egypt. The church of Antioch claimed a higher sacerdotal authority than that of Rome; it was established by Paul; it pretended to have been the residence of Peter at a later date, and thus to have inherited the highest jurisdiction. The opponents of Antioch felt confident that Rome must have still better credentials; that she must have been the final residence of Peter as well as of Paul; and whether it was in response to the feeling of the interest of the church or not, a tradition arose that Peter had been bishop of Rome for many years and was crucified there.

It was presumably after the rise of various heresies and after the idea had gained favor that the interests of Christianity would be advanced by allowing the bishop of Rome to act as umpire in deciding controversies between Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage, that the four gospels took their present shape. In Matthew we are told that Jesus said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."¹ This speech is evidently a fabrication of a generation later than that of Jesus. It was not referred to by either Peter or Paul in their controversy as reported in the New Testament; and if it had been known to them they must have made it the subject of remark.

At first sight this speech seems to establish a primacy which, however, becomes very suspicious after a little ex-

amination. No church, no doctrine sufficient to be made the basis of a new church, and no organized priesthood suitable for the government of a church, had been established previously by Jesus to serve as the basis for a sacerdotal primacy. Besides, this address to Peter was made to him alone; it was not a commission addressed to the church. It was a confidential communication. It purported to be the latter part of a conversation, the beginning of which is given in Mark's gospel, which, like that of Luke and John, knows nothing of any gift of the keys to Peter. The gospel of Matthew is not consistent with itself on this point, for in a later passage Jesus is represented as conferring the power to bind and loose on all the apostles equally. Yet this was the authority previously given to Peter exclusively. The other apostles had no idea that Peter was next in authority to Jesus; John and James supposed that by solicitation they might sit next to Jesus on his right hand and his left when he occupied his throne in the kingdom of God. Jesus denied their request, but said nothing of Peter's superiority over them in sacerdotal rank. On a later occasion he remarked that "One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren;" implying that they then were and should ever remain equals. He also said, "Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel;" as if there were no gradation of rank among them. Neither in the gospels nor in Acts does Peter claim or exercise any superior authority; and when, as the representative of the apostles in Jerusalem, he opposed Paul, the latter denied his right to exercise control in matters of discipline or to set forth the doctrines of Jesus in a manner that required the submission of Christians. When Paul said, "I am set for the de-

fense of the gospel," he declared himself the head of the church for all those congregations which he had organized. If "the truth of Christ is in me," as he said to the Corinthians, it was not in Peter in the same degree.²

The gospel of John has a passage in which Jesus says to Peter, "Feed my sheep," but like the remark about the keys in Matthew, this speech is private, and even if unquestionably genuine, was not published until thirty years or more after its date, and therefore was without authority as a commission. The disciples at Jerusalem knew of no supremacy in Peter, for they "contended with him," and accused him of being false to the principles of his religion. When a question of discipline arose among the Christians in Jerusalem, Peter did not decide it, but the decision was rendered by "the apostles and elders, with the whole church."³

SEC. 538. *The IIIrd Century.*—The oldest comprehensive summary of Christian belief is that known as "the Apostles' Creed," which, in its present shape, cannot be traced beyond 200 A. D. In the translation accepted by the Anglican church, it is here given: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; he descended into hell; the third day he arose from the dead; he ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints; the Forgiveness of Sins; the Resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen."

The Apostles' Creed recognizes, but does not define, the holy Catholic Church. It does not attach orthodoxy to any episcopate or city. It has no suggestion of a supremacy and primacy. By its silence it denies both. It does not designate any church as possessing superior apostolic succession, dignity, or authority. It does not mention the divine inspiration of the New Testament, the authority of tradition, or the relation of the sacrifice of Jesus to the sin of Adam.

The bishop, as a superior priest, ruling over a subordinate clergy, made his appearance in the IInd century, and obtained a secure position with well defined jurisdiction in the IIIrd. It was about 225 A. D. that buildings erected for purposes of Christian worship began to make their appearance; and with the church buildings came the adoption of elaborate ceremonies of worship. With or without change of name, the priests adopted all the pagan usages that would increase their influence and their revenues. They copied the holy water, the incense, the candles, the processions, the bows, the genuflexions, the turnings to the east and to the west, the festivals, the sacerdotal vestments, the minor divinities (called saints in the Christian vocabulary) with local and professional jurisdictions, the idols, and a hundred other forms until the pagan temple was outdone with its ceremonies to impress the imagination and the theater with its decorations to catch the eye.

The Christians increased in numbers, and soon began to attract attention. They refused to participate in the ceremonies of the state religion. They turned their backs to the statues of the deified emperors. They ridiculed the official auspices. They denounced the gods of Rome as devils. They boasted that they would soon be

numerous enough to prohibit and punish the worship of Jupiter. In the reign of Nero, some Christians were executed as incendiaries; and in most of the succeeding reigns for two centuries and a half, others suffered death under charges of sacrilege, some of them becoming victims of carnivorous beasts in the amphitheaters. The mobs of the large cities often shouted "the Christians to the lions." It is impossible to ascertain even approximately the number of Christian martyrs under the pagan emperors of Rome; but it was very small as compared with that of any equal period under the Christian monarchs between 350 and 1650 A. D., when persecution reached a fury which it never approached in earlier times. Origen said that before the reign of Decius, who ascended the throne in 249 A. D., the martyrs were few; and Decius, the worst of pagan persecutors, reigned only two years.

The growth of the church was rapid. In the middle of the IInd century there were Christians in all parts of the empire; near the close of the next century they were so numerous and were so well organized that they obtained toleration and imperial favor; and early in the IVth century their faith became the religion of the empire, though in the opinion of Gibbon, and there is no better authority, nineteen out of twenty of the subjects of Rome at that time were pagans or Jews.

SEC. 539. *Derivation.*—Most of the ideas attributed to Jesus, by the evangelists and by Christian authors of later times, were not original with him. The golden rule expresses felicitously an idea of Epicurus, and is similar in phraseology to maxims previously used by Confucius and Hillel. Congregational worship, with the reading of the Scriptures, comment on them, singing and

prayer, without sacrifice, were established in the synagogue. Baptism, as a symbol of admission into an ecclesiastical society, was used by the Essenes, by John the Baptist, and by many pagans of earlier centuries. A sacred communion, in which the worshiper ate bread representing the flesh of the god, was an ancient rite. The trinity and the incarnation were familiar ideas in Hindostan before the Babylonian captivity.

In the New Testament we read that the Pharisees accepted the dogmas of a future life, of the descent of the soul with the body into the grave, of a final resurrection of the two together, of a material hell and heaven, and of a day of judgment; and these dogmas were familiar in Persia and Egypt as well as in Judea. The ascetic doctrines, which made up nine-tenths of the sayings relating to morals, attributed to Jesus, are mere repetitions of the maxims of the Essenes, who had adopted them from the Buddhists. The Essenes were a Jewish sect, who, at the beginning of the Christian era, had communities in Judea and Egypt. In Judea they numbered about five thousand. Most of them were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, though some few followed handicrafts in the towns. Nearly all were members of communities, which owned their property in common. They toiled enough to live in a rude comfort, but did not permit the accumulation of individual wealth. They were divided into four classes, which were presumably the same as those of Buddhism,—laity, aspirants to the celibate life, women celibates, and men celibates. Matrimony was permitted to the laity, not to the other classes. They took their meals together in silence or with little conversation, and that little not jovial in its tone. They had a sacred book, the contents of which

they did not divulge to unbelievers. An applicant for admission into one of their communities was not accepted immediately, but was placed on probation for a year.

They attached great importance to morality, and pledged themselves to be truthful, honest, and kind. When finally admitted to the celibate class, the Essene partook of some water of purification. Josephus says of them: "They condemn the miseries of life, and are above pain by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidences what great souls they had in their trials; wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced to blaspheme their legislator or to eat what was forbidden them, yet they could not be made to do either of them, no, nor once to flatter their tormentors, nor to shed a tear, but they smiled in their very pains and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as they expected to receive them again."¹ The Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul, with future reward and punishments. One class of the Essenes married and had children.

The resemblances between the ethical systems of Sidhartha and of the Essenes are too numerous and too striking to be accidental. Knowing that Judea and a portion of Hindostan were provinces of the Persian empire for two centuries, and for another century before the rise of the sect of Essenes, had much intercourse with one another by military and commercial expeditions, and that numerous Buddhist missionaries visited the shores of the Mediterranean, we must presume that Essen-

ism was a combination of the ethical system of Buddhism with the theology of Judaism. The ascetic rules attributed in the synoptic gospels to Jesus were not original with him, but were mere repetitions of, and variations from, the teachings of Siddhartha, who meant them literally and established them in actual practice among his bikshoos.

Such rules might do for some anchorites in Hindostan and Judea, but were not adapted to the wants of any large community, and were especially unsuitable for the Europeans, whose intellectual energy, industrial activity, political freedom, and martial spirit demanded protection for the rights of person and property. Asceticism forms no part of the common life of Christianity.

When Siddhartha died, the empire of Persia included not only Asia Minor, Judea, and Mesopotamia, but much of Hindostan. It brought Persians, Jews, Greeks, and Buddhists into intimate political relations for more than a century before the conquest of Alexander; and for centuries after his time those relations were equally intimate. Greek sovereigns, whose capitals were in Bactria and Afghanistan, ruled over considerable districts in the valley of the Indus, for several centuries. Menander, a Greek monarch, ruled over a thousand cities of Hindostan; and Buddhist tradition says he became a convert to Buddhism. One of the sacred books of that religion is a record of discussions in which he took part. About 290 B. C. Megasthenes, a learned Greek, who, as ambassador from Seleucus I., visited King Chandragupta, at Patna, in the valley of the Ganges, wrote a book called *Indica*. Dionysius, another learned Greek, was ambassador from Ptolemy II., of Egypt, to the son of Chandragupta. Seleucia, a city of 500,000 people under the

rule of a Greek aristocracy, maintained a large trade with India for more than two centuries. In the time of Augustus, the trade between the Mediterranean and Hindostan gave occupation to more than a hundred ships on the Indian Ocean. After the time of Alexander, a caravan of elephants to be used in war was sent nearly every year to Persia and Asia Minor from the valley of the Indus, and from that source came the elephants which Pyrrhus took with him to Italy in 281 B. C.

In the middle of the IIIrd century B. C., Asoka, who ruled over a large part of Hindostan, became a zealous Buddhist, and he sent missionaries to preach his faith in western Asia, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus. These missions and the intimacy of political and commercial relations between Hindostan and the Persian empire, the resemblances between Buddhism and Essenism, and the later origin of the latter, are sufficient to prove that it is a mere adaptation of Buddhistic ideas to the circumstances of Judea.

SEC. 540. *Causes of Success.*—The triumph of Christianity over the older faiths was due mainly to the superiority of its discipline. It was the first ecclesiastical organization to be a church, as we understand that word. Its congregational worship; its sacred ceremonies at baptisms, marriages, confirmations, confessions, absolutions, and burials; its teaching of the catechism; its systematic and comprehensive charities; its accumulation of wealth; its acquisition of all the important family secrets; its attraction for high oratorical and administrative talents; and the thoroughness of the discipline in which every member of the community was made subject to a supreme sacerdotal authority,—all these things contributed to a combination of influences to which no other ecclesiastical

organization of extensive dominion had ever made any approach. In the IIIrd century the Christian clergy had become the most thoroughly disciplined, the most influential, and the most remarkable priesthood the world had ever seen. They were men selected for plausible and fluent speech and administrative capacity. They were educated for their business. They were supported liberally. By the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage, confession, absolution, and burial, and by the supposed possession of the keys of heaven and hell, they had control over the secrets, the consciences, and the conduct of their followers.

Besides superiority over all other religions of the Roman empire in its discipline, Christianity was also superior to them in its doctrines. It was the only universal religion preached, or at least preached extensively; and the people were tired of national religions. Osiris, Baal, Moloch, Chemosh, Athena, Mars, and Zeus had been discredited. No national god was found to possess supreme power; no nation could prove that it had all the virtue and wisdom of the world. The ideas that there was only one God, who had no proper name, and that he looked with equal favor on all nations, had gained an extensive foothold before the time of Paul. Christianity was the first ecclesiastical organization that preached these doctrines distinctly and urged them forcibly upon the attention of all the people of the Roman empire. The educated classes were tired of worship by sacrifice, tired of a worship without didactic influence, tired of hereditary priests, and tired of disconnected temples dedicated to numerous gods. They were glad to find refuge from them in Christianity.

The dogmas of Christianity, with their explanation of

the relations between God and man, are more comprehensive than those of any other ecclesiastical system. They impress the common mind. They furnish an abundant stock of positive and plausible assertions, which the ordinary heathen could not disprove, and to which he could not reply effectively. They supply abundant material for the talk of the missionary who finds that fluency and confidence in himself are two of the chief elements of success.

In the pagan religions, the sacerdotal power was hampered by the hereditary transmission of office, by the ceremonial character of the worship, by the worldliness of the priesthood, and by the lack of hierarchical organization. Among the Christians, on the other hand, the ablest young men were selected for the church, they were trained as orators and social and political managers, they were brought under strict disciplinary supervision, and they were supplied with large revenues.

The evangelists tell us that Jesus appealed to prophecy and miracle as evidences of his divine commission. But this testimony, when examined, has more weight against than for his claim. Most of the so-called prophecies to which he and the apostles called attention are passages which had not the least messianic meaning; and in cases of unquestionable messianic prophecy said to be fulfilled in his person, as in regard to the blood of David and to birth at Bethlehem, we have reason to suspect that the only evidences of fulfillment are fictitious. The main purpose of Jesus in appealing to the prophecies must have been to convince the scribes, Pharisees, and lawyers among the Jews, and among these classes he failed completely.

The miracles are treated in the gospels as the chief

evidences that the Messiah had come. When Peter addressed the disciples at their first meeting after the final disappearance of their Master, he said that Jesus was "approved among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you." When the cities of Galilee were cursed for their unbelief, it was because they were indifferent to the "mighty works," the miraculous cures, done in their midst. When a blind man was brought to Jesus, the disciples, assuming that the blindness was the punishment for a sin, inquired whether the offense was committed by the blind man or by his parents. Jesus replied, "Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him."¹ That is, he was deprived of sight so that Jesus should have an opportunity of proving his divine authority by working a miraculous cure.

The miraculous evidence did not prove very successful. The brothers of Jesus refused to believe in him. On one occasion his friends suggested that he was a lunatic. He was driven out of Nazareth, the city of his residence. He made few converts in Chorazin and Bethsaida, the chief cities of Galilee. He complained that "a prophet is not without honor but in his own country and among his own kin and in his own house."² The miracles reported in the gospels are extremely suspicious. Most of them are cures of bodily ailments in which disease and recovery might have been imaginary or simulated. The records of the miracles, instead of being written with full particulars by persons of high repute and published on the spot without delay in the common language of the country, lack all those essential requirements. The miracle worker believed that numerous diseases were caused by diabolic possession; and some of the most nota-

ble miracles attributed to him were performed in casting out devils. The belief in diabolic possession had been abandoned by physicians and philosophers of Greece more than three centuries before the Christian era; and its acceptance by Jesus implies that, instead of being divinely wise as he should have been to properly exercise supernatural power, he was behind the enlightenment of his age.

If a supernatural religion is one that is revealed in a complete and unchangeable form when first published, then of all religions Christianity is the least miraculous. No other was at first presented to the world in terms so vague. No other developed so many forms. No other appropriated its doctrines and discipline from such a variety of individuals, sects, and nations. No other continued to gain important accretions at intervals during twenty-five centuries,—for so long was the period from Hilkiah to Pius IX., both of whom contributed to the books accepted as authoritative by many Christians. No other diverged into such a multitude of highly discordant creeds. No other provoked so many cruel persecutions and destructive sectarian wars. Unlike Jesus, Siddhartha and Mohammed, his great rivals in the foundation of universal religions, not only announced their purposes of founding new faiths in unmistakable terms, but they organized their churches with a complete equipment of creed and discipline which have been maintained without material variation to the present time.

The gospels are so late in date, so uncertain in authorship, and so conflicting in their statements, that we know little with reasonable certainty about Jesus, except that he lived; that he was a Nazarene Jew; that he went about Palestine gathering Jewish followers, or disciples; that

they regarded him as the Messiah; and that in the reign of Tiberius he was tried, convicted, and crucified as a rebel. After his death his disciples maintained their organization, asserted that he had founded a new sect, and sought to gain converts. They required the observance of the Mosaic ceremonial law, which implied that faith in Christ as they represented it was merely a form of Judaism. Three years after the crucifixion, Paul, a man whom Jesus had not taught, and whom the twelve apostles had not accepted as a convert, began, without their approval, to preach the doctrine, given to him by special revelation, that faith in Christ was emancipated from the bondage of Mosaic ceremony, and was offered on equal terms to Jew and Gentile as a new and universal religion.

According to Acts, the twelve apostles for years after the crucifixion continued "daily with one accord in the temple." This means that they worshiped by sacrifice, that they accepted Jerusalem as the only place of worship, and that they observed the Sabbath and the three great annual festivals of the Jews. The demolition of the temple, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the followers of the twelve apostles in 70 A. D., liberated the Pauline churches from the authority of the Judaizing Christians.

Neither in the evangels nor in the epistles of the New Testament do we find any explicit mention of the Christian Sunday as a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath or of the Christian Easter for the Jewish Passover; of the establishment of baptism, marriage, and ordination as sacraments; of the Christian revelation; of the apostolical succession; of the institution of the parish in which all the believing inhabitants should be subjected to occasional

drill and to constant supervision by the priest; of the diocese in which the parish priests should be subjected to drill and supervision by the bishop; of the province in which the bishops should be under the supervision of a council and a metropolitan bishop; of the incarnation; of the Trinity; of the combination of the divine and human natures and wills in Jesus; of transubstantiation; of the immaculate nature of the mother of Jesus; or of the primacy, supremacy, and infallibility of the bishop of Rome. All of these ideas were to be introduced afterwards, and many of them in times and places of which we have no definite information.

In its main features Christianity is an Aryan religion. It is Semitic in the place of its origin, in the name derived from the man who was the occasion of its foundation, and in little more. Paul, its chief author, though a Jew in blood, was a Greek in education. Athenian philosophy made him familiar with a God who has no favorite nation, no sacred city, and no regard for sacrifices. These are the most important ideas at the basis of the new religion. Its early creed is Greek; its sacerdotal organization is Roman; its dominant spirit in modern times is Teutonic. From the start, Christianity showed that it was peculiarly adapted to the mental constitution or to the social and political condition of the Euraryan peoples. It gained few converts among most of the Asiatic Aryans, among the Persians, the Afghans, the Belooches and the Hindoos; it failed almost completely among the Semites, the Chinese, and the Tartars. But it had scarcely been presented to the Greeks, the Romans, the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slavs before it obtained a secure foothold among them, and within several centuries it had complete dominion over them because it was Aryan in its character,

The most important fact in the life of Jesus, the one that is brought forward most prominently by the evangelists and the epistles, and the one that is the most trustworthy indication of the purpose of his ministry, is that he claimed to be the Messiah. This title, as understood by priests and people, was a declaration of an intention to re-establish the Jewish monarchy. It would throw insuperable difficulties in the way of a man laboring to organize a new sect, or church; it might be of great service to a man plotting rebellion. The Jew who in the time of Jesus called himself the Messiah was either a rebel or a lunatic.

If there is one institution of supernatural origin it is Christianity; and if there is one miracle on record, it is the resurrection of Jesus offered to the world as a proof of his divine commission. But neither in history nor in science is one supernatural institution or event established by satisfactory proof; in neither of those great departments of thought has anything ever been traced directly and immediately to miraculous influence; in no known case has the operation of natural law been interrupted by a special interposition of divine providence; and in thousands of cases, claims of such interposition have been examined by scientific authorities and proved to be baseless. The conclusion is that there have been no miracles; that Christianity is a product of evolution; and that within the reach of human observation, the domain of natural law has never been disturbed by supernatural interference.

APPENDIX.

In this volume, as in previous ones, references are made to the Bible, by book, chapter and verse, of the authorized version. In some cases all the citations of a paragraph are brought together in one note. References to Livy are made by book and chapter.

NOTES.

SEC. 421. *Rome in Culture*.—The history of the Roman republic by Mommsen takes rank with the works of Grote and Thucydides, among the best of its class. It closes with the death of Julius Cæsar, after which date, for two centuries and a half, Merivale's *Romans under the Empire* is the best authority. For the general course of events in Europe after 100 A. D. Gibbon is excellent, though the decline of the empire, as he understood it, did not commence until 300 A. D. Long's history of the decline of the republic is accurate in details, but is not attractive to the general reader. As a very brief history Liddell has decided merits; and so has Merivale's *History of Rome*, which is to be distinguished from his history of the *Romans under the Empire*.

Ihne's history of the republic is a work of much merit. G. C. Lewis' *Credibility of Early Roman History* is the most complete treatise and the highest authority on the subject. All its main points may be considered established. Marquardt, Mommsen, Becker, and Friedlander are the leading authorities in regard to the details of the industry, commerce, and social and ecclesiastical relations of ancient Rome.

SEC. 423. *Legendary Period*.—¹This is Niebuhr's opinion as expressed by Liddell (74). Merivale (R. U. E. ii. 397) thus states it: "These stories, whatever be their actual truth, serve at least to paint the heroic ideal of the nation."

Niebuhr wrote the history of Rome down to 370 B. C., and then his valuable work was interrupted by death. Upon the period of which he treated, he threw a flood of light. The record of the

monarchy was, in his opinion, so incomplete and incorrect that it had no value; but the story of the republic from 510 till 370 B. C., though full of "impossibilities and contradictions," might be reconstructed so as to give us a "certain and credible history." He complained of "the dishonesty of the Roman annalists." He accused Livy of falsifying his materials (437, 442), and of treating without care or judgment many passages which he did not misrepresent. He denounced the stories of Coriolanus, of Cincinnatus, of Virginius, of Camillus, of Mælius, and of the moderation of the plebeians after the overthrow of the decemvirate, as incredible. His book bristles with passages in which he discredits Livy, Dionysius, and Plutarch. With all his scepticism about the records of the republic before 370 B. C. he does not doubt that the plebeians did secede peacefully on several occasions, nor that five of the second board of decemvirs were plebeians—statements that to me are far more improbable than the adventures of Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, and Camillus.

SEC. 426. *Clients*.—See essay on clients in Mommsen F. i. 355.

SEC. 427. *Senate*.—¹Mommsen H. R. i. 411.

SEC. 430. *Roman Army*.—¹Mommsen S. iii. 244. ²Napoleon ii. 73. Marquardt R. S. ii. 330.

SEC. 431. *The Legion*.—¹Marquardt R. S. ii. 482.

SEC. 433. *Sacred Mount*.—¹Livy ii. 25. The secession lasted so long that no crop was planted. *Ib.* 34. The army allowed itself to be defeated to spite the patricians. *Ib.* iii. 42.

SEC. 436. *Tribal Assembly*.—¹Livy ii. 56. Mommsen F. 154-162. Ihne E. R. 113-146. Lewis ii. 192.

SEC. 437. *XII Tables*.—¹Hunter 16. In chapter xiv of his history of Rome on "The First Decemvirs and the Laws of the XII Tables," Thomas Arnold conveys very erroneous impressions. He assumes (98) to give "a view of the Roman law as it was settled by the XII Tables, or as it existed in the oldest form in which it is possible to trace it." Instead, however, of stating the law in its earliest form, he presents it in the forms to which it was reduced by Gaius, Ulpian, and Papinian, his chief authorities. He omits all the most remarkable features of the XII Tables. It is strange that Milman, a very careful writer, overlooked this serious mistake. Blinded by the brilliancy of Arnold, in a comment on Gibbon's note 25, to his XLIVth chapter, he says Arnold's chapter "on the law of the XII Tables" is one "of the most valuable" portions of his work.

Tomkins (40) thinks that we have two-thirds of the text of the XII Tables. If this opinion be correct, the original XII Tables contained about as many words as there are in eighteen pages of the text of this book. Marezoll (31) considers the fragments, in their present shape, of doubtful authenticity. Cicero, in his extravagance, praised the XII Tables as "inculcating the soundest principles of government and morals," and as of greater value than all the books of Greek philosophy, Gibbon iii. 651.

SEC. 439. *Formulas*.—¹Hadley 88. ²*Ib.* 228.

SEC. 440. *Decemvirs*.—¹Arnold H. R. 649. Livy vi. 49.

SEC. 444. *Plebeian Priests*.—¹Mommsen H. R. ii. 385. ²Beesley 61.

SEC. 447. *Nobles United*.—Duruy (ii. 4. 260) calls Rome "a wise democracy." According to Bluntschli (viii. 695) the Roman Government, after 286 B. C., was democratic. Froude, in his life of Cæsar, says, "The Roman constitution was popular in form beyond all constitutions of which there is record in history. The citizens assembled in the comitia were the sovereign authority of the state." In one passage (F. i. 280) Mommsen tells us that in struggling for political equality, the Roman plebeians "made the grandest application of the world-vivifying principle of free association ever seen in history by organizing a powerful society of commoners, which, like a state in a state, governed itself and enacted laws, and after two centuries of conflict secured its full equality with the patrician-plebeian community by constitutional methods." In another passage (H. R. ii. 426), and as I think one nearer to the historical fact, he remarks that "never even in the most limited monarchy was a part so completely null assigned to the monarch as was allotted to the sovereign Roman people." Again he says (*Ib.* 427) that the multitude in Rome "had no will of its own."

SEC. 448. *Mythical Virtue*.—¹Lewis ii. 442, 457. Livy viii. 13, 14, 19-21. Liddell 509. Niebuhr iii. 217.

SEC. 454. *Macedon*.—¹Livy xlv. 18. Napoleon i. 181.

SEC. 455. *Carthage Destroyed*.—¹Ihne H. R. iii. 325.

SEC. 457. *T. Gracchus*.—¹Ihne H. R. iv. 393.

SEC. 460. *The Allies*.—¹Gaius 58.

SEC. 461. *Social War*.—¹Livy viii. 13, 14. Mommsen H. R. iii. 276.

SEC. 466. *Anarchy*.—¹Beesley 21. ²Mommsen H. R. iv. 598.
³Marquardt S. i. 539. ⁴Part of this paragraph is translated freely from Bluntschli viii. 698.

SEC. 467. *Success*.—¹Merivale R. U. E. iv. 297.

SEC. 469. *Perfidy*.—¹Livy xlv. 34. ²Mahaffy A. E. 304. Liddell 669. Arnold R. 349. Ihne H. R. iii. 321. Merivale R. U. E. i. 72. Finlay G. U. R. 67. Mommsen P. ii. 333. Mahaffy A. E. 293, 305.

SEC. 470. *Plunder*.—¹Merivale R. U. E. i. 53. ²Cicero translated in Arnold P. A. 71. ³Merivale R. U. E. i. 35. Mommsen H. R. iv. 616, 634. ⁴Mahaffy A. E. 292. ⁵Merivale R. U. E. i. 32.

SEC. 471. *Verrès*.—¹Merivale H. R. 252. ²Cicero O. i. 146.

SEC. 472. *Roscius*.—¹Long ii. 362.

SEC. 474. *Pharsalia*.—¹Merivale H. R. 328.

SEC. 478. *Prætorian Law*.—¹Hadley 96.

SEC. 479. *Imperial Law*.—¹Sheldon Amos 83.

SEC. 480. *Roman Law Books*.—¹Sheldon Amos 33.

The number of quotations in the *Digest* is given in Tomkins 119.

SEC. 483. *Cities under Rome*.—¹Mommsen P. ii. 181.

SEC. 484. *Provinces*.—The best authorities in reference to the provinces are Mommsen's *Provinces of Rome*, and Arnold's *Roman System of Provincial Administration*.

SEC. 486. *Greek Analogies*.—¹Virgil 219. ²Long i. 40. Merivale R. U. E. iv. 15. Marquardt S. iii. 59. ³Mahaffy G. L. T. 526. ⁴*Ib.* 527. Cicero T. 26. Mommsen H. R. iii. 522. ⁵Ihering i. 351. Marquardt S. iii. 169.

SEC. 487. *Jupiter*.—¹Mommsen H. R. i. 223. ²Ihne iii. 122. ³Coulanges 203. ⁴*Ib.* 276.

SEC. 488. *Pontiffs*.—¹Plutarch Numa. Napoleon i. 27.

SEC. 489. *Augurs*.—¹Mommsen S. i. 3. ²Goettling 214.

SEC. 491. *New Faiths*.—Marquardt S. iii. 72.

SEC. 492. *Roman Funerals*.—¹Mommsen H. R. ii. 470.

SEC. 493. *Roman Inventions*.—¹Niebuhr (H. R. ii. 448) expresses the opinion that double-entry bookkeeping and bills of exchange were used in ancient Rome. For the use of gold amalgam in gilding, and sluices in gold washing, see Pliny vi. 98, 102. Vitruvius describes the method of recovering gold from dust by amalgamation, and this practice suggests that they may have used quicksilver in mining. It should have been mentioned in section 165, where the statement is made that amalgamation in the reduction of silver ores was unknown to Europeans before 1557. Canalon (188) thinks there was no mold-board on the Roman plow, and says (380) that tablecloths made their appearance in Rome about 200 A. D. ²Marquardt P. L. 527, 528. ³Lindsay i. 105.

SEC. 495. *Size of Rome*.—For size of Rome see Merivale R. U. E. iv. 395.

SEC. 497. *Roman Slaves*.—¹Marquardt P. L. 192. ²Arnold P. A. 162. Wallon iii. 105. ³*Ib.* iii. 62. ⁴Gaius 59. ⁵Wallon iii. 296.

SEC. 498. *Roman Virtue*.—¹Lecky i. 216. ²Merivale.

SEC. 499. *Roman Education*.—¹Long ii. 146. ²Max Muller S. L. ii. 114.

SEC. 500. *Dress, etc.*—¹Mommsen S. i. 279.

SEC. 501. *Latin Literature*.—¹Virgil 226. ²Mahaffy G. W. 393.

SEC. 502. *The Triumph*.—¹Napoleon i. 335. ²Hooke iii. 487.

SEC. 503. *Gladiators*.—¹Merivale R. U. E. iv. 418. Lecky i. 297.

SEC. 505. *The Christian Bible*.—¹Palfrey i. 103. ²Parker 211.

³Contemporary Review xvi. 12. ⁴Coleridge v. 610. ⁵Rogers 443

⁶Max Muller C. i. 55. W. Robertson Smith O. T. 6. Guizot H. C. E. pref.

SEC. 507. *Luke*.—¹Acts ix. 27; xxvi. 20. Gal. i. 22. Acts xvi. 2. Gal. iii. 3; iii. 28; v. 1; ii. 1; xvi. 6; xxi. 21, 24. ²Acts xiii. 10; viii. 21; iii. 14; xiv. 8; v. 15; xix. 12; v. 19; xii. 3; xvi. 28. ³Acts xv. 7. Gal. ii. 9. ⁴Acts xxi. 17-31. ⁵"Matthew and Luke, though clearly impressed by some form of Mark, yet probably borrowed not from Mark but from some original tradition upon which Mark also is based."—*Enc. Brit.* x. 792.

SEC. 509. *Mark*.—¹Mark x. 21; xvi. 16. ²Matt. xii. i-xiii. 52; v. 1-8, 17; xxi. 8-xxvi. 2. Mark xi. 20-xiii. 37. Luke xx. 1-xxiv. 53; Martineau 185.

SEC. 510. *John*.—¹Mark iv. 34. ²John x. 30; xiv. 11; ix. 9; viii. 58, 12; xi. 25; v. 22; ix. 39; xvii. 16.

SEC. 511. *The Gospels*.—¹John vii. 15.

SEC. 512. *A Jew*.—¹Matt. iv. 23. Mark i. 39. Luke iv. 44. John xviii. 20. ²Matt. x. 17, 18, 23; viii. 4; xv. 24, 26; xix. 28; xxiii. 2, 3; xviii. 17. ³Matt. v. 33; xii. 8; xxviii. 19. Luke xvi. 16.

SEC. 513. *Apostles*.—¹Lev. viii. 1-36. ²Mark iii. 14. John xv. 16. ³Matt. x. 1, 8. Mark iii. 13, 14. Luke ix. 12. John vi. 70; xv. 16. ⁴Acts i. 26. ⁵Acts ix. 10, 17, 20. ⁶Neander P. 27. Acts v. 42.

SEC. 514. *Peter*.—¹Acts x. 11-45. ²*Ib.* xxi. 20. Gal. ii. 9.

SEC. 515. *Paul's Gospel*.—¹Rom. ii. 13. Eph. iii. 36. Gal. i. 11, 12, 15-22. ²*Ib.* ii. 1-9. ³2 Cor. xi. 5, 7. Gal. i. 8. 1 Cor. xi. 1. Rom. ii. 16.

SEC. 516. *Apostolic Charge*.—¹Luke ix. 1-5. ²Matt. x. 5-42.

SEC. 517. *Judgment Day*.—¹Matt. xxiv. 30. ²*Ib.* xxv. 31-41;

xiii. 41, 42. ³Luke xxi. 6-33. ⁴1 Cor. x. 11. 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. Rev. xxii. 10, 12.

SEC. 518. *Faith*.—¹Mark xvi. 16; vi. 47. John xx. 29. ²Matt. xi. 21-24. ³Matt. viii. 28-32. Mark vii. 29. ⁴*Ib.* xvi. 17, 18. ⁵Matt. xvii. 20; xxi. 21, 22.

SEC. 519. *Pharisees*.—¹Matt. xxiii. 13-33. ²*Ib.* v. 20. Luke xiv. 1. ³Luke xi. 37-46. ⁴*Ib.* xiii. 15, 16.

SEC. 520. *Bodily Resurrection*.—¹Luke xxiv. 37-51. ²John xx. 27; xi. 39. ³1 Cor. xv. 13. ⁴Mark xii. 18-25. ⁵Acts ii. 31. John v. 29. ⁶1 Cor. xv. 35-50.

The best authority on the resurrection is Alger. He says (492) "the uniform orthodox doctrine of the Christian church has always been that on the last day the identical fleshly bodies shall be raised from the earth, sea, and air, and given to them again to be everlastingly assumed." He quotes (500) from the catechism of the Council of Trent, an authoritative exposition of the creed of the Roman Catholic Church the phrase that the "identical body" shall be resurrected, and that "as it was a partner in the man's deeds, so it may be a partner in his punishments." He also gives the names of the early fathers who declared explicitly their belief in the resurrection of the material body. St. Jerome inquires: "If the dead be not raised with flesh and blood, how can the damned, after the judgment, gnash their teeth in hell?"

SEC. 521. *A Material Hell*.—¹Matt. iv. 7, 30. ²*Ib.* xxv. 41. Mark ix. 46. ³Massillon ii. 180. ⁴Edwards iv. 292.

SEC. 522. *Mundane Depravity*.—¹John xvi. 14, 11, 12, 31; xiv. 30; vii. 7; xv. 18. Luke xiv. 26. John xii. 25. Matt. xvi. 24; v. 3-5. Luke vi. 22, 23, 25. ²Massillon iii. 6. ³*Ib.* 2. ⁴This paragraph is a paraphrase from Massillon iii. 274. ⁵Matt. xiii. 39; xix. 17. Rom. ix. 22; viii. 7; iii. 10. Calvin i. 210; ii. 8. ⁶Holmes 254. ⁷Lecky i. 97. ⁸*Ib.* 210.

SEC. 523. *Mendicancy*.—¹Luke vi. 29, 24; xiv. 33, 21, 25. Matt. v. 39-41, 42. ²*Ib.* vi. 19-34. ³Mark x. 17-21. Luke xvi. 19-25. ⁴Massillon ii. 176.

SEC. 524. *Celibacy*.—¹Luke xx. 35; xix. 12. Matt. ix. 43, 44. ²Rev. xiv. 1-4. ³1 Cor. vii. 8, 33, 34.

SEC. 525. *Moral Theory*.—¹Matt. v. 39, 37; xii. 36. ²Rom. xiii. 1. Col. iii. 23. 1 Cor. xi. 2-9. ³Ec. xii. 13. Mark x. 21.

Lecky (i. 1-160) asserts that of the two main schools of ethical philosophers one, including the stoics and Christians generally, finds the source of morals in intuition; and the other, including

the Epicureans and Utilitarians, finds it in reason. But his statement is based on fundamental misconceptions and abounds with minor mistakes. The Epicureans and utilitarians have never denied the existence of an innate moral faculty; and the stoics distinctly declared that educated reason, not intuition independent of instruction, is the proper guide in morals. It was because Zeno, Epictetus, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius believed that intuition was insufficient that they became teachers of morals. An impressive passage of Cicero explaining an idea common to Epicurus and Zeno declares that "the true law is right [educated] reason conformable to the nature of things, constant, eternal, diffused through all." See Middleton 309.

Lecky makes another mistake when he says that Christianity was the first religion to teach morals. The duties of justice and kindness were inculcated more impressively in the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* than in the New Testament. They are more prominent in the teachings of Siddhartha and Confucius than in those of Jesus. They are mentioned in the sacred books of the Brahmins, Persians, and Jews. They were not overlooked in the mysteries of Eleusis. But in some important points of ethical influence Christianity surpassed all these older religions. Its stronger ecclesiastical organization, its higher didactic activity, its closer relation to the people, its greater social influence, its dominion over more intelligent and powerful people, and the higher education and capacity of its clergy, gave it an aggregate of moral power such as no other ecclesiastical organization had ever approached. But the larger part of the morality now taught by Christian teachers is not derived from the New Testament or in harmony with the ascetic doctrines there taught. The dominant tone of the Christian ethics of our day is hostile to slavery, despotic power, religious persecution, celibacy, self-renunciation, and all the slavish maxims of asceticism.

SEC. 526. *No New Religion.*—¹Milman i. 232. Jesus never held a meeting for the worship of God. He never prayed publicly. In most of his discourses, as an act of instruction, not of devotion, he recited the Lord's prayer, which can be used by Jew, Gentile, and Mohammedan as well as by Christian. He never composed a hymn. He never led his disciples in singing. He never sang one of the old psalms. He prescribed no form and fixed no time for worship. If he intended to establish a new church, either he forgot to do so, or his evangelist forgot to record nearly every act indicative of his purpose.

SEC. 527. *The Messiah*.—¹1 Sam. ii. 10, 38; xxiv. 6; x. 9. 2 Sam. xix. 21; xxii. 51; xxiii. 1. 2 Chron. vi. 42. Ps. xviii. 50; lxxxix. 38; cxxxii. 17. ²2 Sam. vii. 16. 1 Kings viii. 25. Isa. xl. 10. Eze. xxxiv. 22, 23. Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 14, 17.

The theory that Jesus was not a religious teacher, and that if he delivered any religious discourses he used them merely as a pretext to conceal his political purpose, is original with me, and is now published for the first time. Therefore I can appeal to no authorities for its support. James Martineau, finding that Jesus, as a religious teacher, does not comply with the requirements of the messianic prophecies, endeavors to avoid the difficulty by expressing the opinion, in his *Seat of Authority*, that Jesus did not claim to be the heir of David.

SEC. 528. *Judaism Eternal*.—¹1 Kings ix. 3. Jer. xxxi. 1; xxxii. 37. ²Eze. xvi. 60; xxxvi. 24; xxxvii. 22-28; xliii. 7. Amos ix. 14, 15. ³Zech. viii. 28. Isa. li. 3. ⁴Jer. xlvi. 27, 28. ⁵Zech. viii. 22; xiv. 16. Isa. xxxiii. 20; ix. 10-15. See also Micah iv. 7, 8. Zech. xiv. 16, 17. ⁶Deut. xii. 1; iv. 2; xxvii. 26; iv. 5. Isa. lxi. 2; Micah v. 15.

SEC. 529. *Jesus Christ*.—¹Matt. xvi. 16, 17. John iv. 26. Mark xiv. 61. Luke i. 33. Matt. xix. 28; Acts. i. 30. Luke xxiv. 27. John v. 39. ²Matt. xvi. 15-20. ³John x. 24, 25. ⁴John vii. 26-43. ⁵Luke xxiii. 2.

SEC. 530. *Jewish Council*.—¹John xi. 47-55.

SEC. 531. *The Trial*.—¹Luke xxiv. 21. Acts i. 5.

SEC. 532. *A Rebel*.—¹If we had proof that the sayings of Jesus are correctly reported in the gospels, we should find it impossible to bring them into harmony with the theory that his main purpose was political. But we have no such proof; and in the mental constitution of humanity, we have strong evidence that he could not have made the speeches attributed to him in the synoptists, and also those in the gospel of John. We must reject one set or the other. And if we accept the authority of Paul, as all Christian churches do, then we should regard both as highly untrustworthy. It is impossible that the gospels of Matthew and John should both have been written as sincere accounts of his teachings, by men who had been his companions during the whole period of his public ministry. And if he had been a religious teacher who clearly impressed a strong body of doctrine upon twelve apostles, it is impossible that they should have maintained silence, while an outsider, like Paul, pushed them aside and declared that they did not understand the religion of their master.

The destruction of Jerusalem, the death of many of its inhabitants in war with Rome, the dispersion of the survivors, the complete disappearance of the Essenes and of their literature, and the total obscurity in which the Christian church is hidden for a generation after the death of Paul,—all these are facts that must be taken into account, when we try to understand how the gospels had their origin. The theory of the origin of Christianity is now in a position similar to that of the origin of Judaism, when the true dates of the composition of Deuteronomy and Leviticus were first published about thirty years ago. Before that publication there was no key to the serious and irreconcilable differences between those two books, and between each of them and the historical and prophetic books of the Jews. The discrepancies between the story of the synoptists and that of John, and between each of them and Paul, are quite as serious as those in the Old Testament; and the only explanation is to be found in the theory that Jesus was not a religious teacher, and that the moral and religious teachings attributed to him in the gospels were collected from Essene and other sources, by writers who had never seen Jesus, who were not hampered by accurate information, and who ascribed to him a variety of anonymous sayings that they supposed to be appropriate to a man in his position.

Intelligent students should come to the conclusion that Jesus intended to establish a new religion; or that he planned a rebellion; or that the evidence is so conflicting that his purpose is undiscoverable. It would be illogical to say "the proof of the political theory is unsatisfactory, and therefore Jesus must have conceived and founded Christianity."

SEC. 533. *Life of Jesus*.—¹John vii. 15. Luke iv. 16-29.

SEC. 534. *Peter's Address*.—¹Acts i. 2-4. ²Acts ii. 22-36.

SEC. 535. *The Apostles*.—¹Acts ii. 44, 45. ²*Ib.* 46, 47.

SEC. 536.—*Post-Apostolic Period*.—¹Waite 56. ²*Ib.* 255-266, 147-164, 70-89.

SEC. 537. *Primacy*.—¹Matt. xvi. 18, 19. ²*Ib.* xviii. 18. Mark x. 35-45. Matt. xxiii. 8. Phil. i. 17. ²Cor. xi. 10. ³John xxi. 15, 17. Acts xi. 1-18; xv. 22.

Besides the evidences suggested in the text, the New Testament contains many others, that when its books were written, no superior authority was ascribed to Peter.

I. All the key words and phrases of papal doctrine are lacking. We seek in vain for "Papacy," "pope," "supremacy," "primacy,"

"holy father," "his holiness," "prince of the apostles," "supreme apostle," "head of the church," "vicar of Christ," "supreme judge of the faithful," or any term equivalent to any of them.

II. In the epistles attributed to Peter there is no claim of authority. When Pope Leo XIII. assumed the triple crown, he addressed an encyclical letter to all Roman Catholics under his official seal, and in this document he spoke of "our pontificate," "the apostolic See," "the church and its visible head," and "the infallible authority of this apostolic chair," and he declared that "there is nothing more clearly our duty than to maintain whole and unimpaired the dignity of the Roman See." This language was proper in Leo XIII., and something of the same kind would have been proper in Peter if he had held a similar office.

III. It is the duty of the head of the church to address at least one letter to all the faithful, but the epistles attributed to Peter are addressed to the "strangers [Christians] scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" (1 Peter i. 1; iii. 1), all of which provinces were in Asia Minor. Thus he never addressed anything to the Christians in Syria, Judea, Egypt, and Europe.

IV. Peter never exercised any of the functions exclusively belonging to the head of a church. He was not the recognized source of baptism and ordination; he did not establish a central office for the supervision and co-ordination of the more important affairs of the ecclesiastical organization; he never prescribed the sacerdotal duties or territorial jurisdiction of his ecclesiastical subordinates; he never appointed a bishop, nor created a diocese, nor bestowed a pallium, nor exacted an oath of obedience; he never distributed work among the apostles or missionaries, nor demanded or received a report from them of their labors; he never decided a question of faith or morals in his own name; he never summoned a council, presided in one, or dissolved it; he did not require the gospels and epistles to be submitted to him for approval before being read in the churches, and he did not make up the canon of the New Testament, although some of its books were written while he was alive, and according to the Catholic doctrine no book is canonical without papal approval. If the Catholic theory were correct, Peter should have appointed and ordained the successor of Judas and have exacted an oath of fidelity and obedience from him, and should also have reminded the disciples that it was his duty as supreme head of the church, to take charge of its discipline. The council selected two persons as suitable for the vacancy,

and the choice between them was decided by lot, the result being in favor of Matthias. He did not contribute much to the New Testament. In short, he did not exercise any prominent function now attached to the Papacy, or which such an institution as the Papacy, if established in his time, would then have exercised.

V. He gave no instructions about the method in which his successor should be chosen, nor did he even mention the succession, as he must have done if he had possessed a supremacy transmissible to others and necessary to the discipline, the unity and the welfare of the church. The permanence of the supremacy is even more important than its original creation to the Roman church, but the words of Jesus have not the least suggestion of such a power to be inherited by a line of pontiffs running through many centuries.

VI. The council held in Jerusalem about A. D. 51, in its decree, given literally in the New Testament, says its members were "the apostles and elders and brethren," and by them jointly a decision on an important point of faith was rendered. This language implies unmistakably that no supremacy was then recognized. Peter was a participant, but was not considered worthy of separate mention.

VII. "When the apostles which were in Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John." (Acts viii. 14.) This language implies that the supremacy was exercised by the twelve as a body which treated the two missionaries as subordinates. No Catholic council of our time would "send" a pope on a mission.

VIII. After Peter had paid a visit to Joppa and had there associated and eaten with Gentiles in violation of the Mosaic law, "the apostles and brethren" held a meeting to hear him explain his conduct, and "they that were of the circumcision contended with him." (Acts xi. 1-18.) He justified himself not by saying that he was the infallible head of the church and could not be called to account for disregarding its discipline or for teaching heretical opinions—that should have been his defense if the Catholic theory were true—but, instead of that, he asserted that he had had a dream which instructed him that the Mosaic law was to be set aside.

IX. Peter did not summon the council which was called to consider the Pauline neglect of the Mosaic law; he did not preside in it; not he, but James, formulated the judgment of the council; and the decision, instead of being issued by Peter, as head of the

church, was issued by "the apostles and elders and brethren," in short, "the whole church." (Acts xv. 22, 23.) The chief authority was therefore not in Peter, nor in the apostles, but in the whole body of believers.

X. Jesus did not recognize Peter as his favorite apostle. John was distinguished as the apostle whom Jesus loved; he was the only one mentioned as having been present at the crucifixion (John xix. 26), and to him Jesus intrusted the care of his mother (*Ib.* 27). When Peter wished to know which of the twelve would betray Christ, he did not venture to ask directly, but induced John to inquire for him. (*Ib.* xiii. 24-26.)

XI. By implication Paul repeatedly denied the existence of any personal supremacy. He said, "In nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles." (2 Cor. xii. 11.) This phrase indicates that there was no one chief apostle. In another passage he says: "God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets." (*Ib.* 28.) If he had recognized a supremacy, he must have said: "first the supreme head of the church, second the other apostles, third prophets." Instead of recognizing any superior power in the church, the entire course of Paul as a Christian missionary was independent of control, in faith and discipline. Twice Paul, in mentioning apostles, did not give the first place to Peter (Gal. ii. 9; 1 Cor. ix. 5) when using his name.

The Papacy rests on five assertions, each of which is indispensable as a support of its claims, and each of which is false. These are that Jesus established a supremacy in his church; that he conferred this supremacy on Peter; that Peter was a bishop; that Jesus provided that the supremacy should be transmitted to the successors of Peter in the episcopal office; and that Peter became bishop of Rome. If these assertions were true, it would be a most remarkable fact that the New Testament, instead of sustaining all, should furnish a great preponderance of evidence against each of them.

In giving the history of the apostolic church since 60 A. D., Acts indirectly asserts that Peter never went to Rome, nor to Europe, nor even to Asia Minor. Of Paul, a much less important personage in the Roman Catholic history, we are told that he went to Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, Malta, Syracuse, Reggio, Puteoli, and Rome. If Peter had been bishop of Rome from 42 to 67 A. D., Paul would not have written his epistle to the Romans, which not only does not mention Peter, but says, "I speak to you

Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles." (Rom. xi. 13.) This implies that Peter never had been in Rome and that he had no right to be there. But even if Paul had not claimed to be the apostle of the Gentiles, and if he had mentioned Peter in respectful terms, still it would be a gross violation of ecclesiastical etiquette and of hierarchical subordination, for a subordinate to send a pastoral letter to the diocese of the head of the church. Paul was not the man to meddle with the churches established by others. As field for his missionary labors, he purposely selected those cities which no other apostle had previously visited. He declared that he would not "build upon another man's foundation." (*Ib.* xv. 20.) His letters to and from Rome imply that he was the first apostle to labor there. In his letters sending messages by name to and from more than thirty Christians in Rome, Paul never mentioned Peter among them. (*Ib.* xvi. 1-15; Phil. iv. 22; Col. iv. 7-14; 2 Tim. iv. 11-20; Philemon i. 23, 24.) If the Roman Catholic tradition of the long continued and widespread labors of St. Peter in Asia Minor and Europe, where Christianity achieved its most important conquests, were true, Paul would not have claimed that he had made more converts than all the other apostles, as he did when he wrote, "I labored more abundantly than they all." 1 Cor. xv. 10.

The tradition that Peter was in Rome comes to us through Eusebius (104), who accepts the authority of Dionysius, and the latter, writing about 170 A. D., destroys his own credibility by asserting, in defiance of the New Testament, that Peter co-operated with Paul in planting the church of Corinth as well as that of Rome.

SEC. 540. *Causes of Success.*—¹Acts ii. 22. John ix. 3. ²*Ib.* vii. 5. Mark vi. 4.

The most comprehensive statement of the facts in relation to the use of the four gospels before 175 A. D., is given in *Supernatural Religion*, which has had a great influence on public opinion. The ablest reply to it is that of W. Sanday, who admits the correctness of his opponent on all the points of greatest importance. Waite gives a good account of the history of Christianity for a century and a half after the death of Jesus.

In regard to the relations between Paul and the other apostles, the chief authority is C. F. Baur.

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